

**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:

### Blowing security bubbles in Afghanistan

By Ian Davis and Ben Thomas

*I'm forever blowing bubbles,  
Pretty bubbles in the air.  
They fly so high,  
Nearly reach the sky,  
Then like my dreams,  
They fade and die.  
Fortune's always hiding,  
I've looked everywhere,  
I'm forever blowing bubbles,  
Pretty bubbles in the air.*

Chorus of a popular song, [I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles](#), which debuted in 1918

When British forces handed over control of Sangin to the Americans recently Prime Minister David Cameron was adamant that the 106 servicemen killed in action in that country over the last nine years had not died in vain, [stating](#) that "they made Afghanistan a safer place and they have made Britain a safer place and they will never be forgotten". Meanwhile General Petraeus has been [talking about his work over the last two months](#) to get a "feel" for the security situation in Afghanistan. He drew comparisons between the current situation in Afghanistan and the situation in Iraq a few months after the 2007 surge began there. With the surge forces ordered last year to Afghanistan by President Barack Obama now in place, the current strategy, General Petraeus said, revolves around expanding what he calls "security bubbles".

Under the security-bubble strategy, troops are expected to create a continuous safe zone in the most populous areas of the south, where the Taliban are strongest, and push violence to rural areas on the fringes. "I am constantly looking at the shape of the security bubble and how we can link one security bubble to another," said General Petraeus. With similar efforts playing out in northern and eastern Afghanistan, the counterinsurgency campaign is focused on lessening violence and restoring confidence in President Hamid Karzai's government. Within established security bubbles General Petraeus plans to thin out international forces and replace them with Afghan forces.

(Photo credit: Jeff Kubina/flickr)

However, such announcements are increasingly at odds with the realities of the political and

security situation in Afghanistan where levels of violence remain high. A [helicopter crash](#) that killed nine troops in the NATO-led mission last week made this the deadliest year for the force, bringing the total number of ISAF troops killed this year to at least 529. Afghanistan civilian casualties are [spiralling even higher](#): up 31% on the first six months of this year. Nearly 2,000 Afghan policemen and some 3,600 Afghan civilians were [killed or injured](#) in the insurgency during this period.



(A security bubble in action: new system to counter improvised explosive devices at Kandahar air base – photo credit: NATO)

Moreover, widespread reports of rigging during the parliamentary elections in Afghanistan have reinforced doubts over the capacity of Afghanistan's patronage-based political system to deliver the reforms envisioned by NATO members and further undermine efforts to find a workable solution to the Afghan problem.

At the heart of the problem is the lack of any real unified political purpose in NATO's Afghan strategy or any realistic and acceptable end state for operations there. Al Qaeda—the very reason for intervention in the first place—has been reduced to a peripheral entity (at least in Afghanistan), while the Taliban retain enough residual support, especially in rural areas, to ensure that no acceptable political outcome is likely to succeed without their inclusion. As such, NATO forces seem to have become stuck in a quagmire – the initial mission having largely been accomplished while the realities on the ground have surely put paid to any grandiose conceptions of building a democratic Afghan nation. Essentially all that appears to be left is the search for a face-saving exit strategy.

This, then, is the dilemma that faces military commanders on the ground, who, lacking any real political guidance as to how to proceed, are desperately seeking to establish a security space within which some form—any form—of political progress can be made. This seemed to be the message from [Major General Nick Carter](#) when he spoke of the need to 'dominate' Kandahar in order to create a security space (he avoided calling it a bubble) within which a political solution could be found.

At a carefully choreographed media briefing on 7 September, Maj. Gen. Carter outlined current military operations in the province and efforts to build the capacity of Afghan Security Forces. He told the audience that if NATO



troops could improve the security situation in Kandahar whilst building local services and governance capacity then over time the Afghan people's confidence in government might gradually be restored.

Like General Petraeus, the British commander was essentially placing the NATO effort in Afghanistan in the same context as the US surge in Iraq. While force in Iraq did bring a temporary halt to the deadly sectarian violence that was threatening to engulf the country in civil war, and as such could be regarded as a qualified success, it did so mostly because of a confluence of factors: Muqtada al-Sadr's unilateral ceasefire, the American-sponsored 'Sunni awakening' as well as the military surge (and perhaps also the rather inconvenient truth that much of the country had in reality been 'ethnically cleansed' by the time the surge was fully underway).

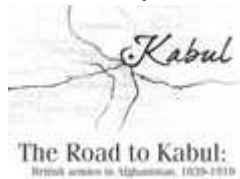
In Afghanistan, however, the coalition is battling an insurgency drawn almost entirely from Pashtuns, the country's largest and traditionally dominant ethnic group. In addition, rampant levels of corruption, weak governmental structures and the fragmented nature of Afghan society (especially increasing tension between the Pashtuns and the smaller Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara ethnic groups) make it unlikely that any successful military campaign would be accompanied by the sort of political improvements that were trumpeted in Iraq. What is perhaps hoped for, but largely left unsaid, is that NATO will leave behind an Afghan security force competent enough to strong-arm enough of the country to maintain a relatively stable order into the near future (or at least until the next US and British election cycle).

So the reality is that NATO troops are being sacrificed for short-term political expediency in Western capitals and the creation of a corrupt and authoritarian regime of questionable efficiency in Kabul. Indeed, the evidence strongly suggests that

the NATO presence in Afghanistan is itself acting as a radicalising process for young Islamic militants, and rather than 'making Britons safer' the mission is actually making them less so. Indeed, even General Petraeus attributes the rise in violence in the past two years in Afghanistan in part to the massive spike in allied forces. "I can trace the line of the violence, right along the security bubble," Gen. Petraeus said. "When we have an operation going on, people shoot back from their sanctuaries and safe havens", he



added. Well, there's a surprise, the blighters have the audacity to shoot back!



The [National Army Museum](#) in London currently has an exhibition entitled 'The Road to Kabul: British Armies in Afghanistan, 1838-1919'.

The advertising poster, in an uncanny echo to modern times, quotes Field Marshal Frederick Roberts, one of the most successful commanders of the Victorian era, as saying (in 1880):

*I feel sure I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us, the less they will dislike us.*

The current strategy rests on the hope that NATO forces can batter the Taliban to the negotiating table. And while Maj. Gen. Carter was adamant that the initiative had swung back in favour of NATO forces in Kandahar, without further political progress military action is only likely to provide limited and short-term success. In the meantime politicians back home continue to give their citizens platitudes that have long ceased to be relevant and NATO troops and Afghan civilians continue to die for an unpalatable but 'necessary' end state.

A recent [report](#) by the US-based *Afghanistan Study Group* claims that "US interests at stake in Afghanistan do not warrant this level of sacrifice" and that "prospects for success are dim". It is hard to disagree with that conclusion as well as the report's main recommendation: the need for a "new way forward" based on reconciliation among the warring parties, economic development, and region-wide diplomatic engagement. The real

tragedy of the conflict is that none of the options left open are very appealing and any outcome is likely to be riddled with uncomfortable compromises. However, while the focus remains on expanding security bubbles, the prospects for a comprehensive peace settlement in Afghanistan continue to fade and die.

*Ian Davis is director of NATO Watch and Ben Thomas is a post-graduate student at Kings College, London*

(photo credit: Oolong/flickr)

## Time to call-off the drones

By Ian Davis, director of NATO Watch

As millions of people celebrated the [International Day of Peace](#) on 21 September, the US military (or possibly the Central Intelligence Agency)<sup>1</sup> marked the occasion with [two further](#) drone strikes



in South Waziristan (Pakistan), killing a handful of alleged militants. These were the 70th and 71st such reported strikes this year. Four more were [reported](#) in North Waziristan in the last three days, making September the heaviest single month of drone strikes since 2004. A conservative [estimate by US think-tank, New America Foundation](#), suggests that US drone attacks in Pakistan have killed one civilian for every two combatants, but no official figures are available.



Reaper UAV Taxes at Kandahar Airfield – photo credit: defence images, UK MoD/ flickr

Two recent conferences in Europe highlight the growing concerns among civil society about the military use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), known as drones. NATO Watch shares these concerns and is calling for a global moratorium on the deployment of armed drones and for urgent international discussions to develop an arms control regime to regulate the use, development and transfer of these weapon systems.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR), a UK-based Christian NGO, [hosted a conference](#) in London on 18 September, which discussed the use of armed drones and the wider dangers of a robotic arms race. Speakers included Noel Sharkey, professor of robotics and artificial intelligence at Sheffield University, and Professor Dave Webb of Leeds Metropolitan University. Both speakers explored the recent proliferation of armed robots including their expanding use for targeted killings (assassinations). They also discussed concerns over the movement towards autonomous armed robots that might eventually select and kill their targets without human intervention, raising associated ethical and legal issues.<sup>2</sup>

A similar three-day workshop organised by the [International Committee for Robot Arms Control \(ICRAC\)](#) took place in Berlin on 20-22 September.<sup>3</sup> The London and Berlin meetings involved a broad range of policy experts and academics, Red Cross representatives, peace activists, military advisers and human rights lawyers. In March this year, Philip Alston, then the

UN's special rapporteur for extrajudicial executions, said in a [report](#) that the US, "*the most prolific user of targeted killings*" in the world, should halt the CIA's campaign of drone strikes in northwest Pakistan. He warned that the practice amounted to "*a licence to kill without accountability*".

While only the US military and CIA deploy drones in Pakistan, both the British and US governments use them in Afghanistan to launch Hellfire missiles and Paveway bombs against Taliban targets. (For information and comment on UK's use of drones see [this website](#)). All the drones are operated from Creech Air Force base near Las Vegas, eight thousand miles away from the frontline. However, a judicial review of US drone attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan may now be forthcoming as a [judge agreed earlier this month](#) not to treat the past arrest of 14 peace activists at the Creech Base as a simple trespassing case. The judge said he would take three to four months to study the issues and testimonies involved before making a decision.



Creech Air Force Base – photo credit: CODEPINK women for peace/flickr

At the London conference, FoR launched their new report, [Convenient Killing: Armed drones and the playstation mentality](#), which urges the UK government to publish information about the use of drones and the casualties involved. The report warns that, "*while politicians and defence officials issue assurances that armed drones will always have a 'man-in-the-loop' to give the go-ahead before an attack, the military industry seem to be researching and exploring the development of drones that have the capacity to launch weapons autonomously*".

Drone use has increased significantly in recent years. The British reaper drone had been fired 97 times in Afghanistan by July 2010. The US budget allocation for drones increased from \$1.7bn in 2006 to \$4.2bn in 2010. FoR's report concludes that, "*Drones are the latest in a long line of 'super' new weapons developed and used in the mistaken belief that they will provide a clean and*

tidy solution to human conflict. Time and again history has proved that this is a myth".

And where is NATO in all of this? When asked a question about drone attacks in Pakistan at his monthly [press briefing on 15 September](#), Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen simply replied, "I have no comments whatsoever on the alleged drone strikes" – which is somewhat surprising, since the Secretary General is not normally reticent in providing an opinion. NATO doctrine on drones is being developed at the [Joint Air Power Competence Centre \(JAPCC\)](#) at Kalkar in Germany – a 'Centre of Excellence' established in 2005 and supported by 17 NATO nations. A January 2010 JAPCC report, [Strategic Concept of Employment for Unmanned Aircraft Systems in NATO](#), sets out current thinking in some detail.

The JAPCC report offers operational guidance for "optimum UAS employment across a range of military operations", such as counter-terrorism, expeditionary and counter-piracy missions, and includes discussion on doctrine, organisation, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, facilities, airspace management, standardisation and interoperability. Consideration is also given to limitations that most frequently affect the drones, such as reliance on data links and adverse atmospheric conditions (wind, turbulence, icing conditions etc). However, there is no guidance or discussion about how such systems could impact on the ways in which wars are fought, the legality of their use or what the likely effect will be on civilian populations.

This is a huge oversight and the NATO Secretary General should be leading the call for a comprehensive review of the military and security roles of UAVs within the Alliance. The UN's

special rapporteur for extrajudicial executions has recommended that states publicly identify the rules of international law they consider to provide a basis for any targeted killings. NATO in consultation with Member States should do likewise. The Alliance should also examine the feasibility of developing an international 'code of conduct' or agreement to regulate and limit the use of drones.

Revisions to the Missile Technology Control Regime and UN Arms Register offer two potential regulatory approaches, although a new regime governing robotic behaviour, including a ban on

fully autonomous systems, would probably be necessary. And mechanisms for ensuring greater civilian oversight might include, for example, the tagging of video footage for subsequent independent review. In sum, there is no shortage of potentially effective regulatory options, just the political will to explore and implement them. This needs to change.

#### Notes:

1. As a rule neither the US military or CIA confirm drone attacks but they are the only two forces in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region that deploy pilotless drones inside Pakistan.
2. Professor Webb's presentation, 'The Rise of the Drones', is available [here](#).
3. See the [statement](#) of the 2010 Expert Workshop on Limiting Armed Tele-Operated and Autonomous Systems, Berlin, 22 September

## News, Commentary and Reports:

### Afghanistan:

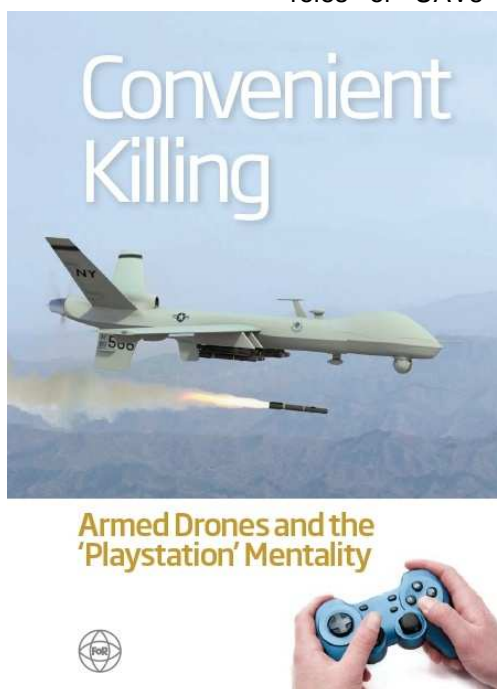
#### News

[Pakistan blocks NATO trucks after deadly strike](#) - 'We will have to see whether we are allies or enemies,' government minister says after three troops die, *NBC News*, 30 September

[Hamid Karzai in tearful plea for peace with Taliban](#) - Afghan president who spent years in exile weeps for Mirwais, the son he fears will be 'a foreigner', *The Guardian*, 28 September

[Pakistan and the U.S. Exit From Afghanistan](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 28 September

[C.I.A. Steps Up Drone Attacks in Pakistan to Thwart Taliban](#), *New York Times*, 27 September



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



[Pakistan furious over Nato cross-border Taliban raids](#) - Nato claims it acted in self-defence after US helicopters crossed 'very briefly' from Afghanistan to attack Taliban fighters, *The Guardian*, 27 September

[Nato helicopters kill 'dozens of rebels' in Pakistan](#) - Nato-led forces say they have killed more than 50 insurgents on Pakistani soil after rare pursuits across the border from Afghanistan, *BBC News*, 27 September

[U.S. seeks Afghan trainers](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 26 September - Lt. Gen. William Caldwell, the top US general in charge of training Afghanistan's security forces has asked allies to contribute 1,000 more specialized trainers to help speed the development of the country's police and army. There are currently around 256,000 people in Afghanistan's security forces, though planners expect to lose 83,000 in the next 13 months because of deaths, desertion and low retention rates



(Farah Wholesale Market in Farah, Afghanistan, 27 September 2010 – photo credit: isafmedia/flickr)

[American and Afghan Troops Begin Combat for Kandahar](#), *New York Times*, 26 September

[Afghan Equality and Law, but With Strings Attached](#), *New York Times*, 24 September

[Two killed as NATO tankers, containers blown up in Pakistan](#), *AFP*, 23 September

[Afghanistan adds female officers to swelling army](#), *Reuters*, 23 September

[U.S. covert paramilitary presence in Afghanistan much larger than thought](#), *Washington Post*, 22 September

[Leading by example](#), *natochannel.tv*, 22 September – as part of the process to increase security in Kandahar, the Afghan National Civil Order Police (ANCOP) are deploying to the area

[Al Jazeera slams ISAF over arrests](#) – Network seeks immediate release of two cameramen detained by foreign troops in Afghanistan, *Al Jazeera*, 22 September

[Bob Woodward book details Obama battles with advisers over exit plan for Afghan war](#), *Washington Post*, 22 September: among the disclosures in the book is the existence of a 3,000 person CIA "covert army" of Afghans who capture and kill Taliban fighters; bitter disagreements between various administration officials about the strategy, including some personal insults; and the existence of US intelligence allegedly reporting Afghan President Hamid Karzai has been diagnosed with manic depression

[UK troops leave Helmand's Sangin](#), *BBC News*, 20 September - British forces in Afghanistan have handed over responsibility for security in Sangin to US forces, marking the end of their four-year mission in the area

♠♠ [Afghan elections – looking back](#), *natochannel.tv*, 20 September

[Violence, fraud and cronyism keep millions away from Afghan poll](#), *The Independent*, 20 September

[5 U.S. Soldiers Accused of Killing Afghan Civilians](#), *New York Times*, 19 September

[Obama envisions no major changes in Afghan strategy](#), *Washington Post*, 18 September

[Afghan Votes Come Cheap, and Often in Bulk](#), *New York Times*, 17 September - reports that votes could be bought for between \$1 and \$18, with the average price hovering around \$5

[Kabulbank directors were paid \\$500K bonuses: audit](#), *Reuters*, 15 September

[Afghanistan election violence fears lead UN to evacuate third of staff](#) - Remaining workers will be subject to draconian security restrictions including a ban on movement around Kabul, *The Guardian*, 15 September

[U.S., NATO Look to Use Local Police in Afghanistan](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 15 September

[U.S. Takes Over Fight in Helmand](#) - As British Soldiers Leave Bloody Afghan Province, American Troops Try Out More-Mobile Strategy, *Wall Street Journal*, 13 September

[NATO says new contracting rules will help eliminate Afghan corruption](#), *Washington Post*, 13 September - a NATO contract for \$300 million with three Afghan companies owned by women will provide boots and clothing to Afghan soldiers, in keeping with

*What if government corruption is more dangerous than the Taliban?*

Question posed by journalist, Dexter Filkins, [Inside Corrupt-istan, a Loss of Faith in Leaders](#), *New York Times*, 4 September



[new alliance guidelines](#) stipulating that NATO should first seek Afghan companies for contracts; [NATO-ISAF takes steps to prevent corruption](#), NATO News, 13 September

[Security in Afghanistan Is Deteriorating, Aid Groups Say](#), *New York Times*, 9 September

[Taliban chief says Afghanistan victory close](#), *Financial Times*, 9 September

[UK's top Afghanistan diplomat steps down](#), *BBC News*, 8 September - The UK's most senior diplomat in Afghanistan has stepped down with immediate effect - Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles was appointed special representative on Afghanistan and Pakistan in March 2009 but has been on extended leave since June. He has been critical of NATO and US policy in Afghanistan

[NATO Drive on Kandahar Begins, With Mixed Results](#), *New York Times*, 8 September

[Petraeus Expects Sustained Violence](#) - U.S. General Sees High Level of Attacks In Afghanistan Ahead of War Review, *Wall Street Journal*, 8 September

[NATO chief: Please don't burn the Quran in Florida](#), Josh Rogin, *The Cable, Foreign Policy*, 7 September

[NATO-led and Afghan forces have the initiative in Kandahar, says southern Afghanistan Commander](#), NATO News, 7 September

[New system to counter improvised explosive devices at Kandahar air base](#), NATO News, 7 September - A sophisticated system that can detect explosives, weapons and radioactive material has been installed at one of Afghanistan's busiest entry points. The new facility at Kandahar air base uses state of the art technology such as vehicle scanners, pedestrian screening sensors and arch metal detectors to boost security without compromising the need for quick logistics

[U.S. commander seeks 2,000 new troops for Afghanistan](#), *Reuters*, 6 September

[Lacking Money and Leadership, Push for Taliban Defectors Stalls](#), *New York Times*, 6 September - A \$250 million program to lure low-level Taliban fighters away from the insurgency has stalled, with Afghans bickering over who should run it, and international donors slow to put up the money they had promised

[NATO deputy rues early optimism on Marjah](#), *Washington Times*, 5 September 2010

[Afghanistan a 'quagmire,' CIA officer says](#), *UPI*, 2 September

*We have never had the granular understanding of local circumstances in Afghanistan that we achieved over time in Iraq.*

Gen. Petraeus, cited in [Petraeus: U.S. Lacks Afghan Tribal Knowledge](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 2 September

## Commentary and Reports

*The Taliban are significantly more integrated into the social fabric than many have previously thought. A well-developed public relations strategy, separate from the Taliban "propaganda wars" shows that the Taliban infiltrate towns and provinces in a far more cautious, deliberate, and nonviolent manner than has been described up to now, playing on local grievances and enlisting support by offering protection from the government and/or the foreign forces.*

♣♣ [The Battle for Afghanistan: Militancy and Conflict in Helmand](#), Jean MacKenzie, *Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper*, New America Foundation, 14 September

♣♣ [The War Addicts - 2016 and Then Some](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 30 September

[Female police in Kandahar](#), *natochannel.tv*, 29 September

♣♣ [Empire going mad](#), Thomas Ruttig, *Foreign Policy*, 28 September

[India in Afghanistan and Beyond: Opportunities and Constraints](#), C. Christine Fair, A Century Foundation Report, September 2010

[Post-Soviet Central Asian National Interests in Afghanistan](#), Joshua Foust, A Century Foundation Report, September 2010

[NATO to sustain training momentum, says NATO Commander](#), NATO News, 28 September - The Commander of the NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan (NTM-A), LtGen William Caldwell, briefed Brussels-based media on progress in training Afghan national security forces at NATO Headquarters. Read his address to NATO's Military Committee [here](#)

♣♣ [Prisoners of War - Bob Woodward and All the President's Men \(2010 Edition\)](#), Andrew J. Bacevich, *TomDispatch*, 26 September

[This Week at War: Obama vs. Team Surge](#) - The president is going to regret putting off an inevitable showdown with Gates, Mullen, and Petraeus over Afghanistan, Robert Haddick, *Foreign Policy*, 24 September

[Too fat to fight?](#) Fast food back on the menu for NATO troops in Afghanistan, NATO Watch *News Brief*, 21 September

Interactive maps showing the [density of Afghanistan's polling stations](#), measured by the number of people per polling centre and recent incidents of [electoral violence](#) and intimidation, *Al Jazeera*, 17 September

ABC interview with Gen. David Petraeus, the top US and NATO commander in Afghanistan, on a range of topics including the Quran burning, the drawdown of troops, and anti-corruption measures, 14 September - read the transcript [here](#)

♣♣ [The Battle for Afghanistan: Militancy and Conflict in Zabul and Uruzgan](#), Martine van Bijlert, *Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper*, New America Foundation, 14 September

[Afghanistan Will Only Get Worse](#), Gilles Dorronsoro, *International Herald Tribune*, 14 September

[Exit Is A Smarter Strategy](#), Kanti Bajpai, *The Times of India*, 13 September

♣♣ [How Much "Success" Can Afghans Stand? The American War and Afghanistan's Civilians](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 12 September

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, 10 September - where he discussed the road ahead in Afghanistan, cooperation with other international organizations and the Alliance's new Strategic Concept



(Afghan uniformed policewomen practice marksmanship techniques at Kabul Military Training Centre, 29 September – photo credit: isafmedia/flickr).

[The Great Pakistani Deluge Never Happened Don't Tune In, It's Not Important](#), Juan Cole, *TomDispatch.com*, 9 September

[Running out of options in Afghanistan](#) - The departure of Britain's special envoy reflects a loss of momentum behind political and diplomatic efforts to end the war, Julian Borger, *The Guardian*, 9 September

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, [video blog](#), "A message from the White House lawn", 8 September

[9/11 and the 9-Year War](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 8 September

♣♣ [Allies told to shift Afghan focus](#), *Financial Times*, 7 September - The US and its Nato allies should begin an immediate large-scale withdrawal from southern Afghanistan, moving to a policy of "containment and deterrence" against the Taliban and al-Qaeda while focusing on narrower political goals for the country, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in its *Strategic Survey 2010: The Annual Review of World Affairs*. Read the IISS [Press Statement](#)

♣♣ [A New Way Forward: Rethinking US Strategy in Afghanistan](#), Report of the [Afghanistan Study Group](#), August 2010 - The United States should by no means abandon Afghanistan, but it is time to abandon the current strategy that is not working. Trying to pacify Afghanistan by force of arms will not work, and a costly military campaign there is more likely to jeopardize America's vital security interests than to protect them. The Study Group believes that the United States should pursue more modest goals that are both consistent with America's true interests and far more likely to succeed:

#### THE WAY FORWARD: A FIVE POINT APPROACH

1. Emphasize Power-Sharing and Political Reconciliation
2. Scale Back and Eventually Suspend Combat Operations in the South and Reduce the US Military Footprint
3. Keep the Focus on Al Qaeda and Domestic Security
4. Promote Economic Development
5. Engage Global and Regional Stakeholders

## Arms Control:

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, [video blog](#), 17 September, outlining his vision for a safer Europe. He called for a united stance on issues such as missile defence, the use of conventional forces in Europe and the further reduction of short-range nuclear weapons remaining from the Cold War



## Civil Emergency Planning:

[Armenia 2010 – Rescue Dogs](#), *natochannel.tv*, 25 September

[Armenia 2010 – Chemical Spill](#), *natochannel.tv*, 24 September

[Armenia hosts NATO's annual disaster response exercise](#), NATO News, 17 September - From 11 to 17 September, NATO held its annual disaster response exercise near the Armenian capital of Yerevan, organized by the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) – for further details, see [here](#) and coverage on *natochannel.tv*, 13 September, see [here](#)

## Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Humanitarian Relief:

[NATO continues to airlift relief goods to help Pakistan's flood victims](#), NATO News, 20 September



[Humanitarian relief flights to Pakistan go on](#), NATO News, 16 September

[NATO airlift of relief goods to Pakistan continues with several more flights](#), NATO News, 9 September

(NATO Water treatment system for Pakistan – photo credit: NATO)

*we need to move forward on EU-NATO co-operation in crisis management. I have a mandate from the European Council to work on moving this forward. This is difficult, we know, but we cannot afford not to move forward*

[Remarks](#) by High Representative Catherine Ashton at the informal meeting of EU Defence Ministers Ghent, 23 and 24 September 2010

## Counter-Terrorism:

[NATO science programme examines origins, trends and methods of tackling suicide terrorism](#), NATO News, 23 September - around 35 experts from NATO, Partner and Mediterranean Dialogue countries examined suicide terrorism at the levels of society, the organization and the individual at a workshop in Astana, Kazakhstan from 23 to 26 September

[Focusing the Fight on Counter-Radicalisation: Why NATO Must Protect Its Own](#), James Farwell, *defenceIQ*, 20 September

[NATO science programme identifies new techniques in dealing with effects of terrorism](#), NATO News, 6 September - from 15 to 16 August in Ankara, Turkey, a NATO-funded workshop looked at how music therapy can be used to rehabilitate people who have been affected by acts of terrorism

[Inside Al Qaeda](#) - Nine years after 9/11, Osama bin Laden's network remains a shadowy, little-understood enemy. The truth, as revealed by one of its fighters, is both more and less troubling than we think, Sami Yousafzai and Ron Moreau, *Newsweek*, 4 September

(Opening of NATO exhibition to mark the 10th Anniversary of UN Res.1325 on Women, Peace and Security – photo credit: NATO)

## Defence Budgets and Procurement:

[Norway delays JSF purchase](#), Bill Sweetman, *Aviation Week*, 28 September

[US fears scale of European defence cuts](#), *Financial Times*, 16 September

[Scania Signs NATO Agreement to Supply Trucks](#), *Bloomberg Business Week*, 3 September

## Gender:

[Multimedia exhibition on NATO's contribution to women, peace and security opens](#), NATO News, 13 September

[Women, Peace and Security](#), New NATO DVD - These short films examine how NATO is working to protect women and children in its areas of operations and to increase the participation of women at every level to prevent future conflicts.

[Changing Gender Perspectives](#), NATO News, 6 September



## Maritime Security and Piracy:

[Maritime Security in the Mediterranean, European and Transatlantic Approaches](#), Basil Germond and Eric Grove, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI-Italy), *Mediterranean Paper Series 2010*, 16 September

[NATO aims to find ways to predict, recognize and deter maritime piracy](#), NATO News, 10 September - From 20-25 September, 70 experts from NATO, Partner and Mediterranean Dialogue countries met at a NATO-funded Advance Study Institute in Hammamet, Tunisia, to examine ways by which a collaborative, human-centric information system can help curb the rise of modern piracy

[Britain's naval decline and NATO maritime security](#), *NATO Watch Comment*, Carlo de Hennin, 8 September

## Missile Defence:

[Missile defense key to boosting Russia ties: NATO](#), *Reuters*, 16 September

[Missile Beats Flying Lightsaber In Crucial Test](#), *Danger Room - Wired*, 8 September

[MEADS Passes Key Review](#), *Defense Daily*, 3 September - A NATO air and missile defence development effort has shown sufficient technological maturity to proceed into its systems integration and flight testing phases, the system's manufacturer recently said

*missile defence is coming to Europe. The United States new so-called Phased Adaptive Approach, based on proven technology, is on its way. Right now, it is founded on bilateral cooperation between the United States and some individual countries. The question is, should European missile defence be done in a NATO context – and, flowing from that, how can we cooperate with other European countries as well?*

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Aspen Institute, Rome, 17 September

## NATO Military Committee:

[NATO military chiefs meet in Slovakia](#) – new alliance strategy under discussion, *The Slovak Spectator*, 21 September

[Chiefs of Defence from NATO's Countries meet in Slovakia for annual Conference](#), *IMS News Release*, 18 September

## NATO-Russia Relations:

[NATO-Russia Council meeting promises greater cooperation](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 23 September

[Briefing on Transatlantic Meetings and NATO-Russia Council Meeting](#), Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, New York City, 22 September

[NATO-Russia Council meets in New York](#), NATO News, 22 September; [Opening statement](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the NATO-Russia Council meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers, New York; [Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen following the informal meeting of the NRC at the level of Foreign Ministers in New York, 22 September; [US expects closer ties Russia-NATO ties](#), *AP*, 22 September; [NATO seeks more military cooperation with Russia](#), *Reuters*, 22 September

[Secretary General calls for new steps in NATO-Russia relations](#), NATO News, 17 September; *"Success generates success: the next steps with Russia"* - [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Aspen Institute, Rome, 17 September

[Russia's integration into NATO senseless - envoy](#), *Ria Novosti*, 10 September - Russia's envoy to NATO says there would be no sense in Russia joining the military alliance and the country must preserve its national identity

♣♣ [Perpetuating U.S. Preeminence: The 1990 Deals to "Bribe the Soviets Out" and Move NATO In](#), Mary Elise Sarotte, *International Security*, Summer 2010, Vol. 35, No. 1, Pages 110-137 – This article argues that Washington and Bonn pursued a shared strategy of perpetuating US pre-eminence in European security after the end of the Cold War. As multilingual evidence shows, they did so primarily by shielding NATO from potential competitors during an era of dramatic change in Europe. In particular, the United States and West Germany made skilful use in 1990 of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's political weakness and his willingness to prioritize his country's financial woes over security concerns. Washington and Bonn decided "to bribe the Soviets out," as then Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates phrased it, and to move NATO eastward. The goal was to establish NATO as the main post-Cold War security institution before alternative structures could arise and potentially diminish US influence. Admirers of a muscular US foreign policy and of NATO will view this strategy as sound; critics will note that it alienated Russia and made NATO's later expansion possible. Either way, this finding challenges the scholarly view that the United States sought to integrate its former superpower enemy into post-conflict structures after the end of the Cold War.

[Russia and its neighbours: Warring histories and historical responsibility](#), Igor Torbakov, *FIIA Comment* 4/2010, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 1 September

## Nuclear Weapons:

(photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

[European Leaders Network \(ELN\) statement on NATO nuclear policy](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 29 September;

♠♠ [European Leaders Call for New NATO Nuclear Policies](#), Arms Control Association, *Issue Brief*, Volume 1, Number 24, 29 September

[The End of Tactical Nukes in Europe?](#) Stephen Herzog, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 20 September

[U.S. Tactical Nuclear Weapons: A European Perspective](#), Tom Sauer, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol.66 (5), September-October 2010, pp.65-75

[NATO's Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Beyond "Yes" or "No"](#), NATO Defense College *Research Paper* 61, Karl-Heinz Kamp, September 2010 – this report argues that NATO's nuclear forces in their present form are no longer suited to credibly underpin nuclear deterrence in the security environment of the 21st century, but that withdrawing the weapons immediately is not an option as there is no agreement in NATO regarding such a step. It also argues that it might be unwise to launch a debate on withdrawal at a time when there is already an ongoing discussion on NATO's reassurance capabilities and on Alliance solidarity. The author concludes that developing a new nuclear consensus in NATO will require time. But in the long run, the author concludes that their removal is inevitable

[NATO Chief Anticipates Diminished Reliance on Nuclear Arsenal](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 8 September

[NATO Struggles to Define New Nuclear Doctrine](#), Oliver Meier, *Arms Control Today*, September 2010

[NATO's Nuclear Decision](#), Media Advisory, Daryl Kimball, Arms Control Association, 2 September

## Reform:

[NATO representatives discuss future research and technology projects](#), NATO News, 30 September

[NATO's new division: a serious look at 'emerging security challenges' or an attempt at shoring up relevance and credibility?](#) ISIS Europe Briefing Note, *ESR No.51*, September 2010

*I think I can say definitively that this was by far the most transparent policy development process in NATO's history..... But at a certain stage, it comes time to close the door and have confidential discussions. Even something like the placement of a paragraph can have political implications. And I know, having sat through many of these negotiations that one of the things people discuss is: "Should we put this paragraph on this issue higher to give it more prominence? Should it go lower down?" That kind of discussion is best had in confidence so the discussions are not compromised. And I think that's something everybody can understand. We're now very close to the final stage of publication.*

[Weekly press briefing by NATO Spokesman James Appathurai](#), 28 September

## Strategic Concept:

[Call for draft of future NATO strategy to be made public on International Right to Know Day](#), *NATO Watch Press Release*, 28 September

[A New Strategic Policy for an Alliance in Transition](#), Editorial Team, *Atlantic Community.org*, 27 September – top three recommendations focus on the core mission, strengthening global partnerships, and launching broad public diplomacy initiatives

[Is NATO irrelevant?](#) Stephan Walt, *Foreign Policy*, 24 September

[Diplomats discuss NATO's future and Portugal's role within the Alliance](#), NATO News, 23 September

[Nato's long drift towards irrelevance](#), Philip Stephens, *Financial Times*, 23 September

[US NATO ambassador sets out goals for renewing the transatlantic alliance](#) - British officials confirm "no strategic shrinkage" for the UK despite budget concerns, *NATO Watch News Brief*, 23 September

[5<sup>th</sup> Bratislava security conference highlights enduring challenges to NATO cohesion](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 20 September





## [DVD NATO REVIEW - NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT](#)



Much has changed in the years since NATO's last Strategic Concept was signed in 1999. The world has changed a lot in 10 years. This DVD sets out the challenges involved in updating NATO's new strategic concept and draws on the opinions from people ranging from Madeleine Albright to Estonia's Minister of Defence, from think tanks to Generals and from NATO insiders to Russian advisors

[Speech](#) by Ivo Daalder, US Ambassador to NATO, Royal United Services Institute, Global Leadership Forum, London, 17 September

[Speech](#) on 'NATO's New Strategic Concept - A German Perspective' by Assistant secretary of State Werner Hoyer, 17 September

*I expect the discussions around the Strategic Concept to revolve around three main axes:*

*First: how do we best defend the 900 million citizens of NATO countries against modern threats: for example, cyber defence or missile defence*

*Second: which lessons do we need to learn from Afghanistan and other operations – for example, should NATO develop a permanent capability to train local forces?*

*Third: how widely should NATO's partnerships reach? And how do we ensure they remain effective and practical, not just talk shops?*

[Transcript](#) of monthly press briefing by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 15 September

[Secretary General previews preparations for Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 15 September

[NATO for the Next Decade](#), Editorial Team, *Atlantic Community.org*, 8 September

[The strategic concept of NATO and the European interests](#), Narcis Serra, *Europe's World*, 7 September

♠♠ [NATO's new Strategic Concept – An Illustrative Draft](#), Klaus Wittmann, September 2010. Written by Brigadier General (ret.) Dr. Klaus Wittmann, this draft is meant to demonstrate two things: (1) that it is possible to produce a document which is brief, succinct and concise as well as publicly comprehensible, and still lays out NATO's "grand strategy" in a meaningful and substantive way, providing clear guidance for the foreseeable future; and (2) that, however, much "dispute potential" still exists.

*I think that if anything has happened to Europe since 1945 that defines it, it is collectively Europeans do not believe in war anymore, until it comes as an absolute last resort, and then they're going to do it rather badly. The United States, I think, still sees war as a necessary part of its existence.*

British novelist John le Carré [interviewed](#) on *Democracy Now*, 20 September

## Transparency and Accountability:

[Transatlantic Trends survey shows support for the Alliance still strong](#), NATO News, 29 September

[Is Publication of Classified Info a Criminal Act?](#), Steven Aftergood, *Secrecy News*, 27 September - When Wikileaks published tens of thousands of classified US military records concerning the war in Afghanistan last July, did it commit a criminal act under US law? That was the question posed by a new [report](#) from the Congressional Research Service. The tentative conclusion is that "although unlawful acquisition of information might be subject to criminal prosecution, the publication of that information remains protected".

[NATO still enjoys considerable public support in Europe and the United States](#), Stefanie Babst, *Europe's World*, 16 September

[Darpa Wants You To Build An Anti-Secrecy App](#), Spencer Ackerman, *The Danger Room*, Wired, 14 September

[WikiLeaks and Internet Disclosures](#), Article 19 Statement, 10 September

[Pentagon Plan: Buying Books to Keep Secrets](#), *New York Times*, 9 September- US Defence Department officials are negotiating to buy and destroy all 10,000 copies of the first printing of an Afghan war memoir they say contains intelligence secrets

[Transparency group's report gives Obama mixed grades](#), reporters committee for the freedom of the press, *news update*, 8 September - OpenTheGovernment.org, a group of organizations dedicated to enhancing and preserving freedom of information in government, states in its newly released [annual report](#) that while the Obama administration has strengthened its openness more than the Bush administration — which was criticized for its secrecy and unaccountability — a true trend toward transparency remains to be seen

## **Upcoming Events:**

Experts' Roundtable: NATO nuclear policies, the New Strategic Concept and European Security, EU Office Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Brussels, 6 October

NATO Foreign Affairs and Defence Ministers Meeting, Brussels 14 October

Redefining NATO and the transatlantic relationship, [SDA Roundtable](#), Brussels, 27 October - The long-term effects of the ongoing Afghan conflict on NATO and on the transatlantic relationship are yet to be fully understood. This roundtable will look at this relationship in light of the looming US mid-term elections and at the validity of the counterinsurgency strategy as an answer to asymmetric conflict

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

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

[NATO Watch Shadow Summit](#), Brussels, 15-16 November

[NATO Summit](#), Lisbon, Portugal, 19-21 November

[Going global: Europe's security policy challenge](#), Security and Defence Day 2010, SDA and CEIS, Palais d'Egmont, Brussels, 30 November 2010 - This annual high level conference gathers key actors from both civilian and military backgrounds to exchange ideas and discuss the future of the European Security and Defence Policy.

SIPRI Yearbook Issue Seminar: Nuclear weapons in Europe, London, LSE, 2 December - The future of nuclear weapons in Europe is once again up for debate. Who needs nuclear weapons? Should they be kept for deterrence? And what role can the UK play? SIPRI and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) will host a discussion on these key questions with representatives of the Top Level Group of UK Parliamentarians for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation.



## **Security News from NATO Member States:**

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

### **Canada**

[Reports of special forces probe troubling: opposition](#), *CBC News*, 14 September - Canada's Defence Department began a major inquiry in 2008 into the actions of its elite special forces in Afghanistan known as Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2)

[Commandos under the gun in secret Afghan probe](#), *CTV News*, 14 September

[Afghan intelligence officer bragged about torture, documents show](#), *The Globe and Mail*, 8 September

### **Czech Republic**

[NATO Secretary General discusses Afghanistan, Lisbon Summit with Czech Prime Minister](#), *NATO News*, 16 September; [Joint press point](#) with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Czech Prime Minister Petr Nečas, 16 September

### **France**

[Entente or Oblivion - Prospects and Pitfalls of Franco-British Co-operation on Defence](#), Etienne de Durand, *Future Defence Review Working Paper* No.8, RUSI, September 2010

[France at 'imminent' risk of terrorist attack, intelligence indicates](#), *France24*, 20 September



(entente cordiale – photo credit: OliBac/flickr)

### **Germany**

[Germany joins new international initiative for nuclear disarmament](#) - Ten countries, including Germany, have joined together to call for a world without nuclear weapons. The new initiative comes as Germany tries to boost its chances of being elected to a seat on the UN Security Council, *Deutsche Welle*, 23 September

[German Armed Forces: From Conscription to Volunteer Force?](#) Editorial Team, *AtlanticCommunity.org*, 22 September

## Iceland

[Reykjavik split on plans for Russian jets](#), *Financial Times*, 3 September

## Poland

[Poland Unlikely to Extradite Chechen Separatist to Russia](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 17 September

Joint [press point](#) with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the President of Poland, Bronislaw Komorowski, 1 September

## Slovak Republic

[Slovak Defense Minister Mr. Ľubomír Galko meets with NATO Secretary General](#), *ISRIA*, 23 September

## Turkey

[Turkey president defends discussions with Iran](#), *Reuters*, 24 September

[Turkey's president on its relations with Iran, Israel and the U.S.](#), *Washington Post*, 22 September

[Special report: Tracking Iran's nuclear money trail to Turkey](#), *Reuters*, 20 September

[Sunday's referendum and the future of the Turkish Kurds - more progress, less war?](#) Jonathan Power, *TFF*, 6 September

[Turkey's Crises over Israel and Iran](#), International Crisis Group, *Europe Report* N°208 – 8 September 2010

## United Kingdom

[Liam Fox could easily find £4bn cuts in the weapons black hole](#) -The defence secretary's letter to David Cameron is at odds with his own admission that the military needed to give up weapons, Richard Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, 29 September

[U.K. Strategic Review Process Criticized](#), Robert Wall, *Aviation Week*, 27 September

[Fox reassures on US defence ties](#), *Financial Times*, 23 September - Britain has stepped up its effort to reassure the US that a planned 10-20 per cent cut in defence spending will not endanger its standing as Washington's most valued ally, but has also clashed with the Pentagon over a key procurement project (Joint Strike Fighters)

Frankly this process is looking less and less defensible as a proper SDSR (Strategic Defence and Strategy Review) and more like a "super CSR" (Comprehensive Spending Review). If it continues on its current trajectory it is likely to have grave political consequences for us, destroying much of the reputation and capital you, and we, have built up in recent years

UK Defence Secretary Liam Fox's [leaked letter](#) to David Cameron, 29 September

[Trident delay set to propel next election](#), *Financial Times*, 22 September

♠♠ [UK defence: Up in the air](#), James Blitz, Alex Barker and Carola Hoyos, *Financial Times*, 20 September

♠♠ [Let's clear away the Trident delusion](#), Dan Plesch, *The Independent*, 19 September

♠♠ Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR), [Convenient Killing: Armed Drones and the 'Playstation Mentality'](#), 18 September

[PM should beware cost of taking risk with military](#), Philip Stephens, *Financial Times*, 15 September

[Ministers consider fewer nuclear patrols](#), *Financial Times*, 12 September; [Atomic question](#), *Financial Times*, 12 September - editorial calling for an end to Britain's "continuous-at-sea-deterrence"

[BAE to shed 1,000 jobs in UK](#), *Financial Times*, 9 September

[BAE voices carrier cancellation fears](#), *Financial Times*, 9 September

[Defence budget? I prefer to call it expensive showing off](#) - The armed forces chiefs don't like it up 'em – but at last a government is putting their gargantuan spending to the sword, Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 7 September

SDA Evening Debate Report, [The 2010 United Kingdom Strategic Defence and Security Review](#), September 2010



Report: UK, France closer to carrier sharing deal, *Associated Press*, 31 August

## United States

[British Cuts to Military Concern U.S. Officials](#), *New York Times*, 23 September

Statement for Record - Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee, [Nine Years after 9/11: Confronting the Terrorist Threat to the Homeland](#), Michael Leiter, Director of the National Counterterrorism Center, 22 September

[One and a Half Cheers for American Decline](#) - The Future's Not Ours -- and That's Good News, Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 September

[Implementing the National Space Policy: Opportunities and Challenges](#), Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of Verification, Compliance, and Implementation, Remarks at the Fifth Annual National Space Forum, Arlington, VA, 20 September

[American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat](#), Jerome P. Bjelopera and Mark A. Randol, Congressional Research Service, 20 September 20 - an apparent spike in Islamist terrorist plots by American citizens and residents is examined in this report

[Gulf states in \\$123bn US arms spree](#), *Financial Times*, 20 September



[The Surge in Defense Spending - What Did the Pentagon Do With That Extra Trillion Dollars?](#) Winslow Wheeler, *The Independent Institute*, 18 September

(F-35 JSF @ Air and Space Museum – photo credit: Sh4rp\_i/flickr)

[Senate panel passes New START](#), *Washington Post*, 17 September

[US military chief warns on spending](#), *Financial Times*, 15 September - The Pentagon needs to take prompt action to bring its spending under control

to stave off the kind of “drastic” defence cuts afflicting Britain and Germany, according to Mike Mullen, the most senior US military official

[The American Way of War Quiz - This Was the War Month That Was \(Believe It or Not\)](#), Tom Engelhardt and Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 14 September

[Pentagon Changes Rules to Cut Cost of Weapons](#), *New York Times*, 14 September

[The U.S. military prepares for the coming conflicts triggered by climate change](#), *Homeland Security Newswire*, 9 September

[U.S. Counterterrorism Strategy in Yemen](#), Daniel Benjamin, Coordinator, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, USIP, Washington, DC, 8 September

♠♠ [Will Our Generals Ever Shut Up? The Military's Media Megaphone and the U.S. Global Military Presence](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 7 September

[Sentencing terrorism suspects to death -- without trial](#), Anthony D. Romero and Vincent Warren, *Washington Post*, 3 September

**Photo credit cover page:** 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 –Kenny Holston [AfghanistanMatters/flickr](#)

*As President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, I condemn in the strongest terms the plans of the Dove World Outreach Center to burn the Koran on September 11, 2010. Such actions run counter to the traditions and values of the members of the NATO alliance and can only serve to deeply insult the very people with whom we must forge an enduring partnership to address the most urgent threats to our mutual security and our civilization.*

**Statement** by John Tanner, President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, NATO PA Press Release, 8 September

## 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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