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NATO Watch Essay:

NATO's new Strategic Concept:

Finding Clues in Britain's Strategic Defence and Security Review

By Ian Davis

The long wait is nearly over. When the 28 member states of the Alliance meet at the Lisbon Summit on 19 November they will unveil a new Strategic Concept, which will guide NATO's activities over the next 10 years. The broad outlines of the Concept have been [well trailed in advance](#). It will reconfirm NATO's core mission—the territorial defence of all Allies—but also stress the need for the Alliance to modernise its defence concepts and capabilities in view of new security challenges.

There is widespread agreement that 9/11 and the economic crash are part of a profoundly changed global security environment. In an increasingly multi-polar world, weak states are posing as much danger as strong ones and non-state actors are now significant players, either for good or ill. New commons are opening up, such as cyber-space, and governance arrangements have struggled to keep pace. Will NATO be sufficiently reconfigured after Lisbon to reflect this changed strategic landscape?

If, like me, you are struggling to understand the plot in this NATO review process, six clues as to what to expect (and what may be missing) in the Strategic Concept can be found in Britain's recently published [National Security Strategy](#) (NSS) and [Strategic Defence and Security Review](#) (SDSR).

Clue 1: Greater emphasis on conflict prevention

The new British strategy gives conflict prevention a high priority and commits more resources to addressing instability in fragile states as far upstream as possible to save both lives and money down the line. This is a welcome move away from what the NSS describes as an "over-reliance on military intervention". Britain's overseas aid budget is slated to rise to £11.5 billion over the next four years, enabling the UK to reach the United Nations goal of giving 0.7% of national income in aid by 2013. But while a major source of Britain's "soft power" in the world is being kept intact, the stronger focus on fragile states such as Afghanistan has raised concerns among some aid agencies that the military will increasingly dictate where the money is spent.



However, Andrew Mitchell, the UK's international development secretary, rightly believes that a larger share of Britain's aid effort should be used to improve governance, policing and justice in nations scarred by conflict to ensure they do not become failed states and havens for terrorism.

NATO's new Strategic Concept will also emphasise conflict prevention and reaffirm the Alliance's commitment to further develop its much trumpeted [Comprehensive Approach to crisis management](#). However, both the UK government and the Alliance must back up their rhetoric with a set of clear policies that ensure that they become more strategic in their response to conflict. It is difficult to see, for example, how a 24% cut in the UK Foreign Office over the four-year review period adds to Britain's preventive diplomacy capacity, despite the claim that the cuts are being targeted at London-based diplomats and "back-office functions".

Within NATO there is only a very limited common vocabulary on conflict prevention, crisis management and peacebuilding. NATO officials claim that important steps are being taken towards reaching a common understanding of concepts and to define doctrines and implementing procedures. But there has been very little publicly available information on these developments and further outreach by NATO and government officials in member states is necessary to map out and establish the efficacy of these initiatives.

Clue 2: New security threats, but still too many "heavy metal, Cold War, museum arms"

Britain's new NSS identifies four tiers of threat, with four so-called 'tier one risks': "attacks on cyberspace and cybercrime"; "international terrorism"; a foreign crisis "drawing in Britain" (this refers, among other possibilities, to the risk of being drawn into conflict between Israel and Iran over Tehran's nuclear programme); and natural hazards "such as severe coastal flooding or an influenza pandemic". Lesser threats listed include attacks from chemical, biological or radiological weapons, "organised crime" and "severe disruption to information collected by satellites". The risk of a "large-scale conventional military attack on Britain" is to be found in the lowest tier category, alongside illegal immigration, and "disruption to fuel supplies or price instability".

(HMS Ark Royal, which has been in service for 25 years, is being axed as part of the SDSR – photo credit: [brian aitkenhead/flickr](#))

However, there is a serious mismatch in the list of "threats" facing modern Britain, as set out in the NSS, and the list of responses detailed in the SDSR. The higher-tier risks identified are increasingly "asymmetric" threats where there is no obvious enemy for the UK to attack or deter. Instead of missiles and carriers these threats demand regulation, intelligence, policing and civil contingency by largely non-military agencies of government. As David Cameron and Nick Clegg say in the foreword to the NSS, "twenty years after the Berlin Wall came down, the equipment we have is still too-rooted in a Cold War mindset". Yet, despite some limited new investment to deal with emerging unconventional threats—such as £500 million for a new national cyber security programme—the shape of Britain's armed forces will continue to be dominated by expensive "heavy metal" kit, most of which is devoted to fighting or deterring one of the least probable threats: a concerted attack on British soil.

This is partly due to Cameron and Clegg falling back on tired patriotic mantras: "to uphold our values and win respect in the world we need to project power abroad". And so Britain continues to pretend it is capable of providing the full spectrum of military roles. Only one of the top 15 largest equipment projects—the Nimrod MRA4 maritime reconnaissance aircraft—has been cancelled altogether (despite spending £3.5 billion on developing it), while programmes such as the Astute submarine, the A400M transport plane, the Type-45 destroyer and Trident replacement are all going ahead. The Royal Air Force was the worst hit of the three services: the Harrier force, in existence for 40 years, will be scrapped, in exchange for maintaining two jets – the Tornado and the future Joint Strike Fighter.

Meanwhile, the biggest White Elephant of all: two 65,000-tonne aircraft carriers are heralded as the answer to protecting the long-term needs of a maritime trading nation, even though one of the new carriers will have no aircraft on it for at least three years, while costing £1 billion a year, and will then be mothballed or sold. The second carrier will be adapted to take French and US planes. To pay for the carriers, there will be deep cuts in the Royal Navy's frigate capacity and in the size of the army – precisely the bits of the armed forces that are most in demand. (The Navy, for example, is set to lose 5,000 personnel by 2015, with the number of frigates and destroyers reduced from 23 to 19. Yet it is claimed that the fleet would be "better able to take on today's tasks", such as anti-piracy and counter-narcotics operations).

There were some doses of realism, however. It was important, for example, that a British prime minister recognised that the country is no longer capable or willing to fight another war like Iraq. Hence, Britain's new commitment is to a maximum overseas deployment force of 30,000 troops, which is two-thirds of the number which took part in the invasion of Iraq. Another key assumption is that Britain will be able to deploy no more than 6,500 troops with maritime and air support in a long-term stabilisation force. This is well below the figure of 10,000 troops which are currently deployed on long-term stabilisation in Afghanistan, mainly in Helmand province. While it is hard for Britain to admit (indeed, the NSS says strikingly little about Afghanistan) but in military terms even a force of 10,000 (among 120,000 foreign troops, 30,000 contractors and another 200,000 Afghan forces) is unlikely to make much difference to the final outcome in Afghanistan.



(HRH Prince Charles, The Prince of Wales talking to Afghan and British soldier while visiting Camp Shorabak, Afghanistan, March 2010 – photo credit: Helmandblog/flickr)

Similarly, NATO's new Strategic Concept will set out how best to respond to modern threats to NATO populations, including identifying the most effective measures for cyber and missile defence. Again the emphasis will be on how threats to the territorial integrity of the Alliance have been largely replaced by challenges to its way of life. For many, but not all, member states, weapons of mass-disorder in the hands of non-state adversaries are now the greatest concern. But the Strategic Concept will only make sense if the Alliance has the capabilities to back up the new commitments being made. And decisions on defence spending remain national judgments (the British SDSR x 28) with little coherence or agreement on Alliance-wide capabilities. The two new UK aircraft carriers, for example, add little to the 13 already deployed by the United States.

NATO, like the UK, will probably struggle to operationalise much of its new conceptual thinking, particularly as several member states remain wedded to heavy metal responses to the risk of Russian intransigence or military incursions (for alternative ways of providing reassurance to those states, see [here](#)), while others continue to promote military-led 'out of area' counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency for tackling international terrorism. Rather than being used as a basis for real transformation, therefore, the new security challenges could well end up being exploited simply to justify NATO's continued reliance on classical military strategy.

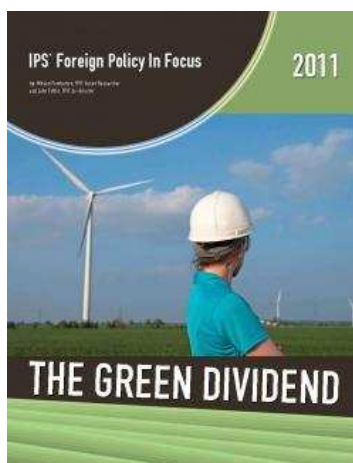
Clue 3: Money troubles

According to the National Audit Office, the UK Defence Ministry is £500 million over budget for the current financial year. There is already a £9 billion black hole in its budget, with a projected shortfall of at least £36 billion over the next decade. But the SDSR avoids or defers many of the tough spending choices. Expensive projects that are totems of big-power status continue to be funded, while the real substance continues to be chipped away.

In the light of the financial crunch cost issues will also figure prominently in Lisbon, especially in relation to proposed missile defences. Secretary General Rasmussen's cost estimate of less than Euro 200 million over ten years for linking the various systems is ridiculously low and even NATO officials admit that there is no real basis for this number. Thus, while there is likely to be a general endorsement of the [phased adaptive approach](#) to missile defences in the Strategic Concept, the details may be deferred to a post-Lisbon review.

This will no doubt produce further [US commentary](#) that Europeans are failing to pull their weight. British ministers, however, will at least be breathing a little easier since UK defence spending is expected to continue to meet the NATO minimum of 2% of GDP. But just as there is a grain of truth in the US line that "our NATO allies aren't spending enough to be credible security partners anymore", Europeans need to display similar grit in counter-arguing that the US spends too much on weapons to be a credible security partner. Classic military strategy is failing to provide security. In Afghanistan and elsewhere the US and NATO should be prioritising soft power and human security. But excessive defence spending and military solutions produce opportunity costs which often crowd out such options.

Since the Millennium Development Goals were first articulated a decade ago, for example, world military expenditure has risen 50% to more than \$1.5 trillion per year. Much of this can be attributed to a gargantuan US defence budget, which has seen a \$2 trillion increase since 9/11 and now stands at 4.7% of GDP. Meaningful change might be brought about by promoting both a NATO minimum and a NATO maximum level of defence spending, with the latter set at, say, 3% of GDP. A freeze in US defence spending could be introduced until the Pentagon reaches this milestone.



And with the US economy in a rut and the planet heating up, Pentagon funds could be shifted to domestic needs through a [Green Dividend](#). Such 'radical' options will not be discussed at Lisbon, of course, but there will be the usual gnashing of teeth over budget cuts and burden sharing.

Clue 4: Contentious decisions left hanging – especially the future of nuclear weapons

Britain's first defence review for 13 years still leaves many questions over kit and personnel unanswered, with some contentious decisions (including the number of Joint Strike Fighters to be ordered, base closures and the future of reserve forces) put off to a subsequent review. Hence, this SDSR is not the final word. Instead, it is a work in progress, the first in a series of reviews and reassessments that will define where Britain is in 2020.

On Trident, Britain's nuclear weapon system, the Prime Minister said that the 'main gate' decision on the successor programme will be delayed until 2016, with the lifespan of the Vanguard submarines extended and the first successor submarine to be delivered in 2028. A reduction in the UK's 160-warhead stockpile to fewer than 120 was also announced. However, the belief that Trident replacement is being deferred long enough to consider means of replacing the nuclear deterrent at a lower level (or not at all) and smaller cost is badly misplaced. (Watch this space for further analysis on this issue).

Similarly, within NATO a number of thorny issues are likely to be debated right to the wire, with several being pushed back either for future review or as part of a Comprehensive Political Guidance document for the military. This much more detailed and highly classified document, usually numbering several hundred pages, traditionally sets out in detail how NATO would react and assign units and forces to respond to a range of terrorist, cyber, conventional, nuclear or other attacks. While it is usually 'attached' to the final Strategic Concept (although unlike the latter, it is never published), this time it could well be delayed for at least another 18 months or so.

While Trident was excluded from the UK SDSR (and was instead subject to a secret "value for money" review), within NATO the nuclear weapons issue has taken centre stage. In short, it has boiled down to this: is NATO going to retain the status quo by keeping the forward basing of US nuclear weapons in Europe, or will the Alliance finally give arms control and disarmament precedence? After a recent [parliamentary hearing in Germany](#) on the Strategic Concept (alarmingly,

the only one to take place anywhere in the Alliance), [Der Spiegel](#), citing a leaked copy of the document, indicated that there would be no change in US nuclear weapons based in Germany.

France, in particular, has been strongly resisting this proposed language on arms control (and also on missile defence, which the French Defence Minister called a new "Maginot line") because it fears having its own nuclear 'deterrent' dragged into disarmament discussions. The likely outcome, therefore, is that the Strategic Concept will echo President Obama's domestic commitment to reduce the role of nuclear weapons and work toward their ultimate elimination, but stop short of announcing any significant moves like concrete reductions. Instead, the Alliance is likely to announce a wide-ranging nuclear or WMD posture review, thereby kicking the issue into the long grass. And if NATO's Nuclear Planning Group is assigned the lead in formulating the review, it may stay there for many years to come.

The NSS recognises that Britain cannot go it alone in the world. British troops have only operated independently twice in the past 30 years - in Sierra Leone (2000) and in the Falklands (1982). The bulk of UK military activity has been undertaken in co-operation with allies. There is much talk in the NSS of partnership, therefore, both within NATO and the EU, as well as a new emphasis on stronger bilateral relations with India, China and other emerging powers. But one thing is abundantly clear: the 'special relationship' with the United States remains fundamental. As the NSS document says, "our strong defence, security and intelligence relationship with the US is exceptionally close and central to our national interest". Critics may argue that it was subservience to Pentagon paranoia that got Britain into the quagmires of Iraq and Afghanistan (and may yet again draw Britain into a future foreign crisis). Many were hoping for UK leaders to end their 'slavish' devotion to Washington – the [words](#) of the current Deputy Prime Minister during the general election (although now he [praises a 'built to last' relationship](#) with the United States).

Earlier in the year, the UK House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee [reported](#) that "the perception that the British government was a subservient 'poodle' to the US administration leading up to the period of the invasion of Iraq and its aftermath is widespread both among the British public and overseas". And the Committee concluded that "this perception, whatever its relation to reality, is deeply damaging to the

reputation and interests of the UK". The sight of British Ministers scrambling to provide [reassurance to Washington](#) that the defence cuts were less deep or wide-ranging than the Pentagon and White House initially feared only reinforces that perception.



(A new chapter in an old rivalry – photo credit: Mike_fleming/flickr)

It is also unlikely that the landmark Anglo-French [defence cooperation treaties](#) announced on 2 November represent a strategic realignment away from Washington towards Paris (and certainly not to the EU-side of Brussels). Rather, as the Prime

Minister pointed out, this represents a "practical, hard-headed agreement between two sovereign countries". It is also interesting to note that David Cameron needed to stress that the treaties would not weaken British sovereignty and did not amount to a sharing of the UK's 'independent nuclear deterrent' (which, ironically, would have required permission from Washington). In essence, behind the preamble about shared strategic perspectives and common adversaries, the pressing reality is that both countries want to retain their global reach, but neither can afford to do so in isolation.

Similarly, NATO has been talking at length about refashioning existing partnerships and making new ones. Discussions of NATO's new global orientation often focus on military missions in Afghanistan, Iraq, Darfur, the Mediterranean and latterly Pakistan. However, evidence of a less Eurocentric approach can also be found in the creation of NATO's other partnerships, including [Partnership for Peace](#), [Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council](#), [NATO-Russian Council](#), [NATO-Ukraine Commission](#), [NATO-Georgia Commission](#), [Mediterranean Dialogue](#) and [Istanbul Cooperation Initiative](#), along with less formal relationships with global partners, or 'Contact Countries' (currently Australia, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea). The new Strategic Concept will have plenty to say about developing these partnerships further as a means to improve its capacity to address a variety of increasingly global threats.

Improving the Alliance's relationships with the EU—which gets tangled up in the complications of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey—and its former foe, Russia, are arguably the two key goals (and potentially the most divisive). But as NATO's partnerships have multiplied and diversified, the debate over the future structure of all its myriad relationships has in turn become a conversation over NATO's very purpose and identity. Internal NATO tensions over the form and function of partnerships are no less severe than those within

Britain. As with the latter's partnerships with France and the United States, expect NATO to come up with hard-headed and pragmatic solutions.

The NSS and SDSR might have been a moment for a protracted and radical look at Britain's place in the world and its real defence and security needs. Instead, the documents reveal that Britain is unwilling to either surrender global aspirations or pay for them. The outcome is a defence and security posture that pretends it can meet all the threats – old and new – and simultaneously slice an effective 15% from the military budget. The result? A hollowed out force structure that benefits no one: not the British people, nor the Americans or Europeans and certainly not NATO. Britain's national interest depends on collective security, above all within NATO. The thread that links the myriad threats in the NSS is interdependence. Few of the threats can be

countered without the close assistance of friends and allies. The SDSR should have set out Britain's contribution to this collective effort. Instead, it will largely be remembered for bequeathing two aircraft carriers without planes to fly from them.

Even large parts of the [British military establishment](#) consider the SDSR a missed opportunity. Will NATO do any better? On present form the portents are not promising. There is unlikely to be any grand new vision for NATO. Instead, the new Strategic Concept will amount to a complex set of deals between different member state interests. Another classic example of muddling through.



(A cheaper strategic option? Lego aircraft carrier – photo credit: [pauliepaul/ flickr](#))

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

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

News

[Karzai condemns Russian involvement in Afghan drug bust](#), *Washington Post*, 30 October

[Minister: French troops may withdraw from Afghanistan in 2011](#), *CNN*, 28 October

[Gorbachev: Nato victory in Afghanistan impossible](#), *BBC News*, 27 October - the former leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, has warned NATO that victory in Afghanistan is "impossible"

[Russian military could be drawn back into Afghanistan](#) - Nato officials explore joint initiatives ahead of landmark alliance summit, which is to include President Medvedev, *The Guardian*, 26 October

NATO Watch editor: victims of the US drone war in Pakistan are routinely reported as 'militants'. In this not untypical example, all six fatalities are described as 'militants', despite acknowledging almost in the same breath that their identities are unknown:

US drones fired missiles at a compound and vehicle in a village in Pakistan's North Waziristan region on Monday, killing at least six militants, a senior security official told AFP. "The identities of those killed in the strike is not yet known," the official said on condition of anonymity.

[Six militants killed in US Pakistan drone strike: official](#), *AFP*, 18 October

[Taliban peace talks with Hamid Karzai are 'mostly hype'](#) -

Observers say encounters exaggerated to reinforce impression that Nato and Afghan forces are making strategic gains, *The Observer*, 24 October

[Who can broker a deal with the Taliban?](#) When the time is right, a number of groups could help the west negotiate, Julian Borger, *The Guardian*, 24 October

[Afghanistan rules 1.3m parliamentary votes are invalid](#) - Turnout was 40% amid widespread fraud and voter intimidation; Afghanistan's election authorities have cancelled 1.3 million votes in last month's parliamentary election because of fraud or other irregularities, *BBC News*, 20 October

[Coalition Routs Taliban in Southern Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 20 October

[Taliban's Elite, Aided by NATO, Join Talks for Afghan Peace](#), *New York Times*, 19 October



[Iran Sends Delegate to International Meeting on Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 18 October

[Taliban Influence Grows in North](#) - Insurgents Attack, Recruit, Adjudicate, Countering NATO's Advance in South, *Wall Street Journal*, 18 October

[Brigade linked to Afghan civilian deaths had aggressive, divergent war strategy](#), *Washington Post*, 14 October



[NATO Senior Civilian Representative provides script for transition in Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 13 October - the NATO Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) provided the media with a script of the transition process to Afghan lead

(Ambassador Sedwill NATO SCR – photo credit: NATO)

[Presentation to the media](#) of a script for transition in Afghanistan by NATO's SCR in Afghanistan, Ambassador Mark Sedwill, 13 October; [Background Note](#) on Transition, NATO PDD, October 2010

[U.S. Aids Taliban to Attend Talks on Making Peace](#), *New York Times*, 13 October

[Italy to withdraw troops from Afghanistan](#) - Italy has become the latest Nato country to say it will begin withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan next summer, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 October

[Gains in Afghan Training, but Struggles in War](#), *New York Times*, 12 October - describes the contrast between Afghan security forces' performances in the field -- where troops and journalists have documented concerns about drug use, corruption, lack of fighting skills, and Taliban infiltration -- and at training bases, where the "newly formed forces are clearly improving"

[Pakistan 'to reopen key Nato Afghanistan supply route'](#), *BBC News*, 9 October - Pakistan will reopen a crucial overland supply route for Nato forces in Afghanistan with immediate effect, the country's foreign ministry has said

[Afghanistan's Reservoir Dogs: security firms criticised over 'warlord payments'](#) - British private security company referred to Afghan warlords as 'Mr White' and 'Mr Pink', according to report by US Senate, *The Guardian*, 8 October

[US and Afghan governments make contact with Haqqani insurgents](#) - US dealing with Haqqani clan – which has close ties to al-Qaida – through Western intermediary, *The Guardian*, 7 October

[Key players in the Afghan peace process](#) - Five men likely to have an important input into negotiations between insurgents and western countries: Mullah Omar; Hamid Karzai; Lieut-Gen Ahmad Shuja Pasha; Sirajuddin Haqqani; and General David Petraeus, *The Guardian*, 6 October

[Eight Nato tankers torched in Pakistan](#) - One driver killed in attack, the latest in a string of assaults by Taliban on Nato supply routes for the war in Afghanistan, *The Guardian*, 6 October

[Afghan, U.S. forces face growing insecurity in key province](#), *McClatchy*, 4 October

[Oil tankers destroyed in attack on Nato supply route in Pakistan](#) - Three people dead after 'terrorists' set fire to 20 tankers bound for troops in Afghanistan, say Pakistani officials, *The Guardian*, 3 October

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[Pakistan's deadly robots in the sky](#), Graeme Smith, *Globe and Mail*, 1 October

(Afghanistan Women's Soccer vs ISAF – photo credit: [jsafmedia/flickr](#))



Commentary and Reports

[Navigating the Future of NATO](#) – Q & A with Admiral James G. Stavridis, Naveed Bandali, *Journal of International Peace Operations*, Volume 6 – No.3, November-December 2010, p24

[Special Briefing on Trip to Afghanistan](#), Richard Holbrooke, Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 29 October

[Taliban peace talks sound airy-fairy](#), Daud Khattak, *Foreign Policy*, 28 October

[Big Men, Big Money, Big Voting Scam - The American Midterm Election -- in Afghanistan](#), Ann Jones, *TomDispatch.com*, 28 October

[More airstrikes won't help in Afghanistan](#), Erica Gaston, *Foreign Policy*, 26 October

[Smoke and Mirrors in Kabul](#) - Don't believe the hype about reconciliation talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban -- this war isn't even close to over, Andrew Exum, *Foreign Policy*, 22 October

♠♠ [Digging in for the Long Haul in Afghanistan](#) - How Permanent Are America's Afghan Bases? Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 October

[Q&A with Ambassador Mark Sedwill: Part II](#) - NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan Mark Sedwill responds to questions and comments from Atlantic Community's members regarding the outcomes of the International Conference on Afghanistan and related issues, *atlantic-community.org*, 18 October

Counterinsurgency is *in*. War-fighting handbooks are *in*. Gimmick covers designed for the warzone are *in*. Analysis about whether to fight such wars, investigation of the true costs of war to those most affected, plans to end bloody costly wars: all definitely *out*

[Publish or Perish - Getting a Read on American War](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 14 October (Reviewing David Kilcullen's new book, *Counterinsurgency*)

[Another militia creation gone wrong](#), Thomas Ruttig, *Foreign Policy*, 18 October

[Inside Talibanistan](#) - From the Haqqani network to the Afghan Taliban, a look at a splintered enemy, Peter Bergen, Brian Fishman and Katherine Tiedman, *Foreign Policy*, November 2010

♠♠ [War's Hidden Death Toll: After Service, Veteran Deaths & Suicides Surge](#), *Democracy Now*, 18 October

♠♠ [Confronting civilian casualties in Pakistan](#), Chris Rogers, *Foreign Policy*, 14 October – new report: [Civilian Harm and Conflict in Northwest Pakistan](#), the Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict (CIVIC), October 2010

[General Petraeus's ambitions](#), Imtiaz Gul, *Foreign Policy*, 13 October

[NATO civilian sees steady progress in Helmand](#), NATO News, 12 October - Returning from her second Afghanistan tour,

where she most recently served as Head of the Helmand Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) and NATO Senior Civilian for Regional Command Southwest, Lindy Cameron highlighted improved governance and its positive impacts on the Afghan population at a media roundtable at NATO Headquarters; [Introductory remarks](#) at press briefing by Lindy Cameron, outgoing head of Helmand Provincial Reconstruction Team and NATO Senior Civilian for Regional Command Southwest

[The real question about Pakistan's border closure](#), Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, 8 October

["Operation Recovery": On 9th Anniversary of Afghan War, Veteran-Led Campaign Seeks to End Deployment of Traumatized Soldiers](#), *Democracy Now*, 7 October - To mark the ninth anniversary of the Afghanistan war, Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans Against the War marched in Washington, DC to launch the first veteran-led campaign to stop the deployment of soldiers traumatized by multiple tours of duty

[The Long War: Year Ten](#) - Lost in the Desert with the GPS on the Fritz, Andrew J. Bacevich, *TomDispatch.com*, 7 October

[War enters 10th year and spreads to Pakistan: British defence secretary calls for 'patience'](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 7 October

[Think Again: The Afghan Surge](#) - Ignore the hype: There's no panacea for the deteriorating US-led war effort in Afghanistan, Gilles Dorronsoro, *Foreign Policy*, 7 October.

The US Senate Armed Services Committee issued a scathing report ([Inquiry into the role and oversight of private security contractors in Afghanistan](#)) after a year of investigation into Pentagon security contracts in Afghanistan, 7 October

[A Hundred Billion Dollars Up in Smoke](#), David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 7 October – more on the contracting fiasco in Iraq and Afghanistan

♠♠ [U.S. Slams Pakistani Efforts on Militants](#), Adam Entous and Siobhan Gorman, *Wall Street Journal*, 6 October – first disclosure of a White House [report to Congress](#) dated 30

September 2010, which assesses "both positive and negative trends" in the implementation of strategy in

Why should NATO only acknowledge its mistake in the killing Frontier Corps personnel? Does the state of Pakistan not value the lives of its civilians? Surely the Pakistan government should have responded to this half-baked apology with a demand for a proper apology for all the NATO intrusions into FATA which have killed Pakistani citizens?

[An unacceptable apology](#), *The Nation* (Pakistan), 8 October

Afghanistan and Pakistan. The report described the progress — or lack thereof — made this year towards achieving eight specified objectives, including enhancing stability and civilian control in Pakistan, improving Pakistan's counterinsurgency capabilities, and reversing the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan. (The disruption of terrorist networks in Afghanistan and Pakistan was addressed in an undisclosed classified annex.)

♣♣ [America's image problem in Pakistan](#), Kalsoom Lakhani, *Foreign Policy*, 5 October

[Warzone Pakistan](#) - Washington's impatience with Islamabad's approach to counter-terrorism has led to US operations straying deeper into Pakistan, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian*, 5 October

[The Uncounted Contractors](#), David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 5 October – how many US contractors are there in Afghanistan? No-one really knows.

[Operation Dragon Strike](#), *natochannel.tv*, 4 October - Afghan and US troops are involved in a major operation to drive the Taliban out of districts surrounding Kandahar. NATO TV gets a close look on the frontline in Zahri, north of Kandahar city, where soldiers are clearing the area of insurgents

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#) on the incident in Pakistan, 4 October

♣♣ [Scoring own goals in Pakistan](#), Amil Khan, *Foreign Policy*, 1 October

[Taliban to PSC: How May We Serve You?](#) David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 1 October - millions of dollars in American taxpayer funds may have been paid to Taliban fighters in southern Afghanistan to provide security for a US development project

♣♣ [Ann Jones on "War Is Not Over When It's Over: Women and the Unseen Consequences of Conflict"](#), *Democracy Now*, 30 September

♣♣ The New America Foundation and Terror Free Tomorrow released a [unique public opinion poll](#) surveying residents of Pakistan's tribal regions, and found intense opposition to the US military operating in the region. More than three-quarters of those surveyed are opposed to the ongoing campaign of drone strikes, 28 September

♣♣ [Security Sector Reform Monitor: Afghanistan](#), September 2010 No.4 – The Centre for International Governance Innovation - Justice reform in Afghanistan is progressing at an accelerated rate due to creative new thinking on engagement with the traditional justice sector, a new sense of urgency in building institutions to combat corruption and the centrality of ensuring access to justice in areas newly cleared of insurgents. The fourth edition of the *Security Sector Reform Monitor: Afghanistan* examines the nexus of security and justice in a context of acute instability, with an emphasis on the provision of justice in areas designated as “key terrain” by the Afghan government

[Newly Disclosed Documents Shed More Light on Early Taliban Offers](#), Pakistan Role, Jeremy R. Hammond, *Foreign Policy Journal*, 20 September

Arms Control:

[Weapon of choice in the 21st century](#), *Financial Times*, 21 October – letter from Ian Davis, NATO Watch director on the need to regulate armed drones

(A General Atomics MQ-1L Predator A hangs in an Air & Space Museum exhibit on Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Washington DC – photo credit: Rob Shenk/flickr)

Civil Emergency Planning:

[NATO helps integrate human and social dynamics into natural disaster response](#), NATO News, 7 October - Forty-three experts from NATO and Partner countries met from 5 to 8 October in Yerevan, Armenia, to discuss ways of forecasting and preventing natural and man-made catastrophes. They brought a range of theoretical experience in social policies, the sociology of catastrophe, international relations, economics and forecasting to a workshop funded by NATO's Science for Peace and Security programme

Iraq & Afghanistan Wars Are
"Immoral, Unconscionable and
Unwinnable"

*The President's decision to
escalate the war in that region
alone costs the nation \$33 billion.
That sum of money could not
only create 600,000 jobs here in
America but would even leave us
a few billion to start rebuilding
our schools, our roads, our
hospitals and affordable housing.
It could also help to rebuild the
lives of the thousands of our
returning wounded veterans.*

The legendary musician, actor
and activist Harry Belafonte
[speaking](#) at "One Nation Working
Together", Washington DC, 2
October



[NATO parliamentarians observe disaster response exercise in Armenia](#), NATO PA News Release, 6 October - A delegation from the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA) participated as observers in NATO's disaster response exercise ARMENIA 2010 on the outskirts of Yerevan, Armenia, on 16-17 September 2010. The scenario of the exercise comprised an earthquake measuring 7.2 on the Richter scale causing damage to the local infrastructure as well as various incidents, including collapsed buildings, land-slides, a chemical spill and a car accident involving radiological materials

Climate Change and Environmental Security:



(photo credit: NATO)

[NATO Science Programme addresses environmental security in the Arctic Ocean](#), NATO News, 14 October - From 13 to 15 October 2010, a NATO-funded workshop at the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge (UK) analysed the changing environment of the Arctic Ocean and its potential economic, political and cultural impact both regionally and globally. It brought together more than 80 experts from NATO and partner countries including Russia, and China.

[Climate change could lead to Arctic conflict, warns senior Nato commander](#) - Global warming and a race for resources could spark a new 'cold war' in the Arctic, US naval admiral warns ahead of key talks on environmental security, *The Guardian*, 11 October

Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Humanitarian Relief:

[NATO and Pakistan discuss relief efforts for flood victims](#), NATO News, 15 October - NATO has organized 22 flights delivering 900.03 metric tons of relief items or around 10 percent of the overall international assistance

Counter-Terrorism:

[NATO looks at chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear aspects in combating terrorism](#), NATO News, 14 October - From 12 to 14 October, some 50 experts met in Brno, the Czech Republic, to discuss chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) aspects in defending against terrorism. One of the central aims was to share information and experiences in CBRN resources used by terrorists and technological developments in protecting against CBR substances

[Al-Qaeda is a bigger threat today than 10 years ago, says terrorism expert](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 7 October

Cyber Security:

♣♣ [The Online Threat - Should we be worried about a cyber war?](#)
Seymour M. Hersh, *The New Yorker*, 1 November

[Inside the Pentagon's cyber war games](#), Tom Patterson, *Federal Computer Week*, 12 October

[SDA Report](#), 'A Conversation on Cybersecurity with William J. Lynn, III, US Deputy Secretary of Defense', October 2010 - a debate focused on the threat of cyber attack, the importance of transnational cooperation and the role of NATO in this evolving field

[Former Stasi Cryptographers Now Develop Technology for NATO](#), *Der Spiegel*, 27 September



(Cyber security – photo credit: PNNL - Pacific Northwest National Laboratory/flickr)

Defence Budgets and Procurement:

[NATO demonstrates convoy protection technology](#), NATO News, 26 October

[Europe must cut deeper still to get defence value](#), Scott Harris, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2010 - Needlessly high fixed personnel costs and Cold War era infrastructures have wasted EU countries' military muscle – the author echoes the slogan "never waste a good crisis"

[A plan to blunt the impact on NATO of European defence cuts](#), Hans Binnendijk / Richard Kugler, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2010

♣♣ [What is the Burden? The Future of European and American Defense Budgets](#), Gordon Adams, *The Will and the Wallet*, 21 October

[Defense Cuts: How do We Get More Bang for Our Buck?](#) Editorial Team, *atlantic-community.org*, 20 October - Across Europe, governments are being forced to rationalize spending on their militaries in what is fast becoming an age of austerity. Aside from changing the fundamental make-up of Europe's armed forces, this will have wider implications for the transatlantic security agenda

[Keeping the Spirit of the Game: NATO Standardisation Agency Ensures Fair Play](#), *Defence IQ*, podcast, 19 October - Cesare Balducci, Deputy Director of the NATO Standardisation Agency, is interviewed on the challenges of maintaining interoperability among component air forces

[Show Me the Money: Burden Sharing Troubles NATO](#), Lidija Levkovska, *atlantic-community.org*, 14 October - Unless burden sharing is adequately addressed in NATO, countries that contribute more may well demand greater influence. If this becomes the case, the primary security challenge for the Alliance will come from NATO's own backyard

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'More security for your money', 13 October

[Enhancing NATO's Financial Performance](#), Marios Efthymiopoulos, *Europe's World*, 20 October

[Industry Days help NATO improve capabilities to face new security challenges](#), NATO News, 8 October - From 5 to 7 October, Allied Command Transformation (ACT) and the NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency (NC3A) held their annual "Industry Days" in Prague, the Czech Republic. The aim is to inform industry representatives about NATO's capability development processes as well as upcoming business opportunities and major procurements.

[The Demilitarization of Europe](#) - Our NATO allies aren't spending enough to be credible security partners anymore, Gary Schmitt, *Wall Street Journal*, 6 October

Enlargement and Partnerships:

[To Save NATO we should merge it with Europe's CSDP](#), Sarwar Kashmeri, *Europe's World*, October 2010 – the author advocates a US, Canadian and EU joint project that would "bridge" the Atlantic alliance with Europe's fledgling defence and security framework

We should reach out to new and important partners – including China and India. We should encourage consultations between interested Allies and partners around the globe on security issues of common concern – with NATO as the hub for those discussions

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Reaching out to new partners', 7 October

[Parliamentarians Debate New Balkan Strategies](#), NATO Parliamentary Assembly Press Release, 26 October - Despite the remarkable progress achieved in the Western Balkans, a number of unresolved issues and persistent challenges remain on the path to a full normalisation of the region. Faced with these challenges, international strategies in the region have sometimes seemed unable to provide the necessary traction to help resolve remaining issues. Adjusting these strategies and building on a positive trend in the area of regional cooperation can help create new momentum in the region

[President of Kazakhstan meets with NATO Secretary General](#), NATO News, 25 October

[A Future NATO Core Task: Enhancing the Scope and Management of Partnerships](#), Birgit Hütten, *atlantic-community.org*, 22 October - A group of NATO experts has listed Asia as a potential future threat zone with problems such as WMD, terrorist attacks, cyber assaults and illegal disruption of energy and maritime supply links. These challenges can be

dealt with by enhancing existing partnerships

[The United States and Europe: An Agenda for Engagement](#), Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Remarks at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, 18 October

[Italy, Luxembourg and United States launch NATO Trust Fund with Mauritania](#), NATO News, 7 October - the Trust Fund totaling EUR 2,250,000 for an 18-month period will help the Government of Mauritania to destroy obsolete and unserviceable munitions, build adequate storage sites for remaining munitions, provide ammunition depot management training, enhance specialised personnel skills and provide training for the reintegration of military personnel returning to civilian life

[Secretary General encourages new Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina to work together towards reform](#), NATO News, 6 October

[Australian Prime Minister and Secretary General discuss Afghanistan mission, NATO's new Strategic Concept](#), NATO News, 4 October; [Joint press point](#) with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the Prime Minister of Australia, Ms Julia Eileen Gillard, 4 October

[NATO Secretary General confirms Alliance support for Georgia](#), NATO News, 1 October

[Trust Fund contributes to meeting the economic and social challenges of continuing defence reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina](#), NATO News, 1 October

Foreign Affairs and Defence Ministerial Meeting:

[France and Germany at odds as NATO eyes missile shield](#), *monstersandcritics.com*, 14 October

[NATO Ministers start the sprint to the Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 14 October

[Opening statement](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the North Atlantic Council meeting in Defence Ministers session, 14 October

[Remarks with Secretary of Defense Robert Gates](#) - Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State, NATO HQ, Brussels, 14 October



(North Atlantic Council in Defence Ministers Session – photo credit: NATO)

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the press conference following the meetings of Foreign and Defence Ministers, 14 October

[Cautiously Optimistic Petraeus Briefs NATO](#) - Says readiness for transition varies, Slobodan Lekic, *Associated Press*, 13 October

[New Strategic Concept, missile defence and reform on NATO ministerials' agenda](#), NATO News, 11 October - At his monthly press briefing, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen presented the agenda of the upcoming Foreign and Defense Ministers' informal meetings in Brussels on 14 October. It will mainly focus on NATO's new Strategic Concept, missile defence and reform; [transcript](#) of monthly press briefing by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 11 October

[What Issues Should Top the Agenda at the NATO Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministerial?](#) *DipNote*, US Department of State Official Blog, 8 October

Gender:

[Women must be part of peace building, NATO Secretary General says](#), NATO News, 29 October - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen gave a keynote [speech](#) at the opening of the conference "The Role of Women in Global Security" in Copenhagen, Denmark. He stressed that women, who are disproportionately affected by conflict, must be part of peace building and reconciliation

[The Key to Sustainable Peace: Women](#), Hillary Rodham Clinton and Jonas Gahr Store, *Aftenposten* (Norway) and *Berlingske Tidende* (Denmark), 28 October



NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Women, Peace and Security', 27 October

[Advancing women's issues in eastern Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 24 October - In Asadabad, a city near the Pakistan border in eastern Afghanistan's Kunar province, some 50 local women conducted a shura with a patrol from the NATO-led International Assistance Force (ISAF) made up mainly of female engagement team members. At the meeting, the participants discussed key issues – such as the lack of women-run businesses, training opportunities

(photo credit – NATO)

Maritime Security and Piracy:

[NATO warship rescues German boat from pirates](#), NATO News, 25 October - On October 25, the British warship HMS Montrose came to the aid of a German-owned ship, MV Beluga Fortune, when it was attacked by armed pirates in the Indian Ocean.

[The law of the sea and Mediterranean security](#), Natalino Ronzitti, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI - Italy) and German Marshall Fund, *Mediterranean Paper Series* 2010

Missile Defence:

[Turkey Says It Won't Block NATO Plan - But Foreign Minister Says Missile Shield Should Cover Entire Country, Avoid 'Cold War' Mentality](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 1 November

[Turkey in Dilemma Over NATO Shield](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 27 October

[Airborne Laser Fails 2nd Shootdown Test in Row](#), *ABC News*, 21 October

[Analysis: Turkey hesitates on missile defense](#), Desmond Butler, *Associated Press*, 21 October

[The Dogs of War: Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence Awaits NATO Countdown](#), Brig. Gen. Michel Billard, *Defence IQ*, 20 October



(Patriot missile battery – photo credit: NATO)

(The invitation to cooperate on missile defense) was a political invitation, formulated by the NATO secretary general in relation to Russia. But when we ask, time and again, what the technical parameters of this system are, what the zone of its deployment is, who the enemy will be and why missile threats have not been assessed before deploying anything, we never get an answer

Russian Ambassador to NATO Dmitry Rogozin, cited in [Russia Demands Details on NATO Antimissile Plan](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 18 October

[Missile diplomacy latest test to US-NATO-Turkey ties](#), Sevil Küçükkoşum, *Hürriyet Daily News*, 20 October

[Senators seek data on secret U.S.-Russia missile talks](#), *Washington Times*, 19 October

[US missile defence plans could spark EU-Nato tensions](#) - With the US overstretched, the EU may turn to Turkey and Russia for a security agenda closer to its 21st-century needs, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian*, 19 October

[US not pressing Turkey over NATO missile shield: Gates](#), *AFP*, 18 October

[France backs European missile shield](#), *Associated Press*, 15 October

[NATO Allies Close to Agreeing on Missile Defense, Diplomat Says](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 13 October

[Transatlantic Missile Defense: Looking to the NATO Lisbon Summit](#), Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, Remarks at the Atlantic Council, Washington, DC, 12 October

[NATO Needs a Missile Defense](#), Anders Fogh Rasmussen,

International Herald Tribune, 12 October

[Missile Project Under Pressure](#) - Pentagon Reviews Investment in Patriot Successor Amid Calls for Belt-Tightening, *Wall Street Journal*, 8 October

♣♣ [Beyond Missile Defense: Alternative Means to Address Iran's Ballistic Missile Threat](#), Miles A. Pomper and Cole J. Harvey, *Arms Control Today*, October 2010 - Many policymakers have focused on missile defence as a response to Iran's ballistic missile program, but export controls, international sanctions, legal interdiction, and regional norms all can form part of a broader solution

[NATO Seeks To Boost Its Missile Defense](#), Robert Wall, *Aviation Week*, 5 October

NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

[NATO Parliamentarians meet Turkish PM Erdogan](#), NATO PA Press Release, 30 October

[The NATO PA strengthens its ties with Japan](#), NATO PA Press Release, 29 October

[NATO Parliamentary Assembly members visit Afghanistan: signs of progress but more trainers needed for Afghan national security forces](#), NATO PA Press Release, 29 October

[International legislators to debate alliance security issues at NATO PA annual session in Warsaw](#), NATO PA Press Release, 28 October - The NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Annual Session, hosted by the Polish Parliament, will begin on Friday 12 November. Over 320 legislators from NATO member and partner countries - ranging from the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Georgia, to Afghanistan, will meet in Warsaw for five days of discussion of key security issues on the threshold of NATO's Lisbon Summit

NATO-Russia Relations:

♠♠ [Towards a NATO-Russia Strategic Concept: Ending Cold War Legacies; Facing New Threats Together](#), Institute of Contemporary Development and The International Institute for Strategic Studies, November 2010 - this report provides key recommendations for how the forthcoming NATO summit and NATO–Russia Council Summit can contribute to the transformation of NATO–Russia relations

[SPIEGEL Interview With Russia's Defense Minister](#), Moscow Wants to 'Participate as an Equal Partner', *Der Spiegel*, 27 October

[Report: Russia seeks to limit new NATO members](#), *Associated Press*, 27 October

[Nato hopes to rebuild ties with Moscow](#), *Financial Times*, 26 October

[NATO's budding partnership with Russia has global implications](#), Anders Fogh Rasmussen, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2010

♠♠ [Why NATO and Russia need each other](#), Adam Daniel Rotfeld, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2010; Commentary: [Sure they need each other, but the focus should be Eurasia not Europe](#), Thomas Gomart, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2010

[Russia to attend Nato summit](#), *Financial Times*, 19 October

[Russia seeks answers on NATO from French and Germans](#), *Reuters*, 19 October



Nuclear Weapons:

(photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

New Resource: IFAR² Project on **reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe**

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²), part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security at the University of Hamburg, is running a joint project with the Arms Control Association (ACA) and British American Security Information Council (BASIC) which aims to reduce the role of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Their [website](#) contains a compilation of publications and events related to the project and tactical nuclear weapons more generally, as well as a list of German Parliamentary activities related to the discussion on NATO's nuclear weapons.

[NATO Seen Likely to Delay Nuke Pullback Decision](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 28 October

[Why NATO Is on the Right Track](#), Detlef Waechter, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace *Policy Outlook*, 28 October - The Alliance will start a rethink of its nuclear posture—but not jump to conclusions on tactical nuclear weapons. The author argues that this modest but realistic approach deserves support

[More Activist Intrusions at Belgian Nuclear Base Stoke Worries](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 22 October

[Nuclear sharing and alliances](#), Ray Acheson (Reaching Critical Will of WILPF) and Susi Snyder (IKV Pax Christi), *First Committee Monitor*, 18 October

[NATO Strategy Paper - Nuclear Weapons Likely to Stay in Germany](#), *Der Spiegel*, 11 October

[Peace activists claim to have filmed inside NATO nuclear base in Belgium](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 8 October - Movie 'Nuclear Terrorism: proof of concept' available on YouTube

[Experts Urge NATO Ministers to Rethink Alliance Nuclear Policy](#) - 'Nuclear Posture Review' Needed Break Impasse On Deployment of US Tactical Nukes in Europe, *Arms Control Association Media Advisory*, 8 October

I am running out of things to say each time activists in Belgium get inside the wire at Kleine Brogel Air Base. You can't say keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of terrorists is your top priority, then let stuff like this happen.

Jeffrey Lewis of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, *Arms Control Wonk* [blog](#), 8 October

♣♣ [A Nuclear Posture Review for NATO](#), Oliver Meier and Paul Ingram, *Arms Control Today*, October 2010 - When it approves its new Strategic Concept in November, NATO should launch a full review of its nuclear posture. Such a review could help alliance cohesion while establishing NATO as an institution that bolsters the international nonproliferation regime

[Why the NATO Nuclear Debate Is Relevant to Japan and Vice Versa](#), Michito Tsuruoka, *The German Marshall Fund Policy Brief*, 8 October

[Germany to do away with U.S. nukes?](#) *UPI*, 7 October

♣♣ [NATO: fiddling with nuclear bombs while the planet burns](#), Rebecca Johnson, *OpenSociety*, 6 October

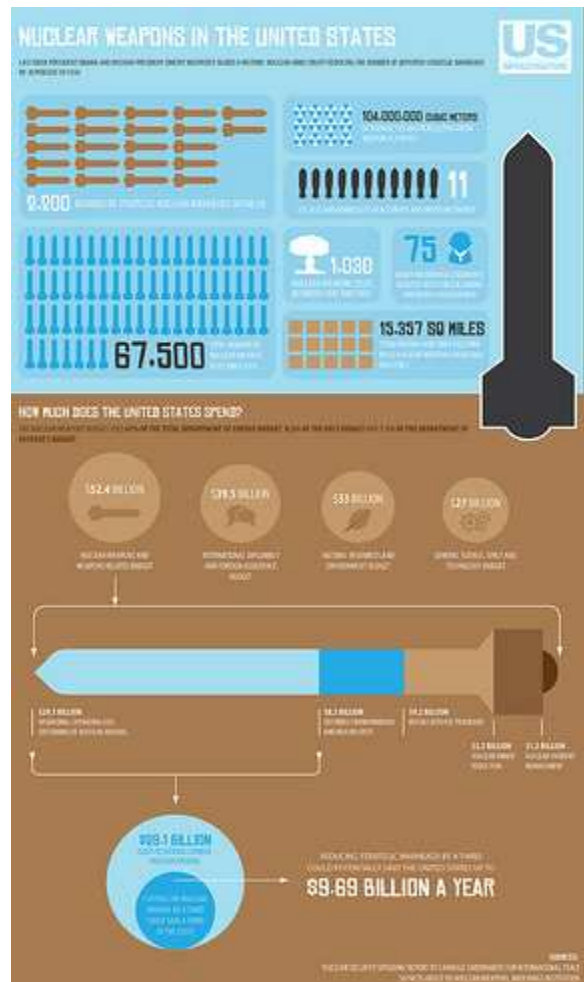
[‘NATO’s Deterrence Posture & Turkish Security’ Seminar Held at USAK](#), *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 5 October

Credible Deterrence for NATO in the XXI Century, The Polish Institute of International Affairs, September 2010 - Report from the experts roundtable, Warsaw, 5.6 July 2010, organised by Arms Control Association (ACA), British American Security Information Council (BASIC), Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy Hamburg (IFSH) and Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) with support of William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

[European churches call for NATO to end nuclear reliance](#), *Ekklesia*, 30 September – Conference of European Churches (CEC) Church and Society Commission statement

[Role of Nuclear Weapons in NATO Security](#), CSIS, 28 September

(Nuclear Weapons in the United States – photo credit: GDS Infographics/flickr)



Reform:

[Secretary General counts on France to support NATO reform](#), NATO News, 15 October; [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI), 15 October

Strategic Concept:

The time has now come for NATO 3.0. An Alliance which can defend the 900 million citizens of NATO countries against the threats they face today, and will face in the coming decade. The Strategic Concept is the blueprint for that new NATO

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), Brussels, 8 October

[NATO Sees Threats, but Is Reluctant to Say Just Who the Enemy Might Be](#), Steven Erlanger, *New York Times*, 2 November

[Get ready for NATO 3.0](#), Josh Rogin, *Foreign Policy*, 29 October

[Berlin Press Roundtable](#), Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Berlin, Germany, 27 October

[Secretary General discusses Strategic Concept, Afghanistan and NATO-EU relations in Greece](#), NATO News, 21 October

[NATO's Lack of a Strategic Concept](#), Marko Papić, *STRATFOR*, 12 October: "The problem with NATO today, and for NATO in the next decade, is that different member states view different threats through different prisms of national interest"

[NATO Secretary General focuses on Strategic Concept end-game](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 11 October

[NATO Responds to atlantic-community.org's Memo](#), *atlantic-community.org*, 11 October - Jiri Sedivy: NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning comments on our recommendations

for the Alliance's new Strategic Concept. He very much appreciates "not only the memorandum, but also — and at least as much as it — the process, the work behind the final paper. This has been a really open and participatory deliberation"

"Active engagement, modern defence": Secretary General charts NATO's future direction, NATO News, 8 October; The New Strategic Concept: Active Engagement, Modern Defence; [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), Brussels, 8 October

[NATO Document Addresses Nuclear Disarmament](#), Judy Dempsey, *New York Times*, 30 September

Upcoming Events:

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

[Next Steps in Arms Control: Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense and NATO](#), Arms Control Association and Heinrich Böll Stiftung North America, with Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance; and nine other speakers, Washington DC, 9 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

[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](#))

Czech Republic

[ČSSD wants to enable EU, NATO firms to trade in arms in ČR](#), *Prague Daily Monitor*, 1 October

France

[British Military Expands Links to French Allies](#), *New York Times*, 2 November

[Britain and France sign landmark 50-year defence deal](#) - Treaty envisages joint use of aircraft carriers, 10,000-strong joint expeditionary force and unprecedented new levels of co-operation over nuclear missiles, *The Guardian*, 2 November – see UK–France Summit 2010 Declaration on Defence and Security Co-operation



NATO is today the most effective peacekeeper in the world

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the German Bundestag, at the invitation of the Green Parliamentary Group, 22 October

[RAF fast jets could fly from French carrier](#), *Financial Times*, 27 October

[UK and France in talks over warheads](#), *Financial Times*, 7 October

Germany

[Germany Elected into UN Security Council](#), Editorial Team, *atlantic-community.org*, 25 October - During the next two years, the Federal Republic will occupy a seat at the UN Security Council table. Berlin is very much aware of the responsibility that comes with this honour. Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle is particularly dedicated to promoting nuclear disarmament in this context. The Federal Chancellor, Angela Merkel, also stressed that Germany's new status in the United Nations would allow her country to

become even more effective in promoting international peace and security. On behalf of all UN member states, Germany would more actively pursue much-needed reforms of the UN Security Council

[Terror Alerts and German Involvement in Afghanistan](#), Editorial Team, *atlantic-community.org*, 25 October - Increasing violence in the northern part of Afghanistan where German troops are stationed, has kept the war on the minds of most Germans. One German soldier and the governor of the Kunduz province were among this month's fatalities. Reports on the activities of German terror suspects and travel alerts to US citizens in Europe further underlined how interlinked events along the Hindu Kush and Germany remain. In the meantime, many Germans are beginning to wonder if part of all this is media hype or whether it represents a real threat to their national and personal security

[NATO Secretary General meets German Chancellor in Berlin](#), NATO News, 22 October;

Poland

[Poland Repatriates 1,000 Pounds of HEU](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 12 October

Romania

[Secretary General discusses Lisbon Summit with Romanian President](#), NATO News, 28 October; Joint [press point](#) with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the President of Romania, Traian Basescu, 28 October

Turkey

[Chinese Airforce in Turkey: US chagrined](#), *Daily Mail Post*, 10 October

[Turkey & Israel: What the United Nations' flotilla report means](#), Hugh Pope, *Haaretz*, 8 October

[Turkey Renews Commitment](#), *natochannel.tv*, 5 October – The Turkish forces in Afghanistan have recently extended their command of the central region of Afghanistan

United Kingdom



[RUSI SURVEY](#): 28 October - The Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) was a lost opportunity for a radical reassessment of the UK's position in the world, according to 68% of the defence and security community surveyed by the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI).

[Humiliate, strip, threaten: UK military interrogation manuals discovered](#) - Methods devised in secret in recent years may breach international law, *The Guardian*, 25 October

[Defence review: So, the RAF is going to target cyber-nerds with drones?](#) Years of capitulation to the defence industry has led to this absurd review, where 'threats' and solutions do not match, Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 19 October

♠♠ [UK Strategic Defence and Security Review](#): Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty, Cm7948, October 2010

[Terrorism and cyber attacks are main threats to UK, national security strategy finds](#), *The Guardian*, 18 October

[Biggest UK defence cuts since cold war](#), *Financial Times*, 18 October

[How the carriers sank a defence strategy](#), Philip Stephens, *Financial Times*, 18 October

♠♠ [A strong Britain in an age of uncertainty: The National Security Strategy](#), Presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister, Cm7953, October 2010

[Fox calls for UK 'patience' in Afghanistan](#), *Financial Times*, 6 October

[Aircraft carrier orders likely to survive](#), *Financial Times*, 6 October

♠♠ [British Nukes vs. British Troops](#), *New York Times Editorial*, 2 October



(Future Protected Vehicle – Drone – photo credit: UK Defence Images/flickr)

United States

Intelligence spending at record \$80.1 billion overall, *Washington Post*, 29 October

♣♣ [The Iraq War in Context](#), Paul Rogers, Oxford Research Group, *International Security Monthly Briefing* – October 2010 - examines whether a disregard for the lives of Iraqi civilians was an unforeseen consequence of the US-led operation in Iraq. The author also challenges the widely-held view that there was no planning by the United States in the run-up to the invasion



[Should We Be Selling Tons of Bombs and Helicopters to Saudi Arabia?](#) John Hudson, *The Atlantic Wire*, 21 October

US ready to sell \$60bn of weapons to Saudis, *Financial Times*, 19 October

(photo credit: O Mick/flickr)

[Telling Secrets](#) - WikiLeaks isn't the problem. It's reams of unnecessarily classified documents that remain hidden from the public eye by overzealous intelligence officials. And the Obama administration's fixes don't go far enough, Steven Aftergood, *Foreign Policy*, 18 October

♣♣ [The Growing Challenges in Defense Spending and the Defense Budget: An Overview](#), Anthony H. Cordesman with the assistance of Jordan D'Amato, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 17 October – this report argues that the Pentagon is probably underestimating the future cost of fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq and is not yet getting to grips with military spending

♣♣ [The Green Dividend](#), John Feffer and Miriam Pemberton, Institute for Policy Studies, October 2010 - The United States failed to capitalize on a Peace Dividend. Now, with the economy in a rut and the globe heating up, the authors of this report argue that there is a second chance to shift Pentagon funds to domestic needs with a Green Dividend

[US drone 'kills eight Germans' in Pakistan amid terror plot fears](#) - Strikes on region known to be base for training terrorists follow fresh warnings by the US and UK of terror attacks, *The Guardian*, 4 October

♣♣ [Addicted to Drones](#) - Is the allure of war by remote control the root cause of America's dangerously unbalanced foreign policy? Micah Zenko, *Foreign Policy*, 1 October

let me try to conjure up a map of what "defense," as imagined by the Pentagon and the U.S. military, actually looks like. You can find [such a map](#) at Wikipedia, but for a second just imagine a world map laid flat before you. Now divide it, the whole globe, like so many ill-shaped pieces of cobbler, into six servings -- you can be as messy as you want, it's not an exact science -- and label them the U.S. European Command or EUCOM (for Europe and Russia), the U.S. Pacific Command or PACOM (Asia), CENTCOM (the Greater Middle East and a touch of North Africa), NORTHCOM (North America), SOUTHCOM (South America and most of the Caribbean), and AFRICOM (almost all of Africa). Those are the "areas of responsibility" of six U.S. military commands.

In case you hadn't noticed, on our map that takes care of just about every inch of the planet, but -- I hasten to add -- not every bit of imaginable space. For that, if you were a clever cartographer, you would somehow need to include STRATCOM, the U.S. Strategic Command charged with, among other things, ensuring that we dominate the heavens, and the newest of all the "geographic" commands, CYBERCOM, expected to be [fully operational](#) later this fall with "1,000 elite military hackers and spies under one four-star general" prepared to engage in preemptive war in cyberspace.

[A World Made by War](#) - How Old Will You Be When the American War State Goes Down? Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 17 October

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.

NATO Watch | 17 Strath | Gairloch | Scotland | IV21 2BX