



Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

No.17 – January 2011

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:

A snow storm of white oversight vows for lawmakers in 2011

It's the start of a new year, a time when we remember the year that's past, make resolutions and plan for the year ahead. Or as the 19th century American writer and public speaker, [George William Curtis](#), so eloquently put it: "the New Year begins in a snow storm of white vows". In his day, Curtis was involved in the founding of the Republican Party, and was recognized as one of the ablest, most high-minded, and trustworthy leaders of US public opinion. Much of his time was spent as an independent political and social reformer, in pursuit of (among other things) civil rights, the regulation of the civil service and the destruction of political patronage. Here are three prospective white vows for lawmakers in the year ahead which are likely to have met with Curtis' approval. The first two apply equally to parliamentarians across the NATO alliance and not just politicians in Congress.

Hold governments accountable when playing away from home

Many aspects of statecraft form part of wider, bilateral, regional or global geo-political systems and have significant cross-border dynamics. NATO is one of several such systems. But policy responses traditionally rely on the executive branch of government as the central or sometimes sole unit of diplomacy and intervention. There is often a 'parliamentary gap' across borders and in borderlands, where transparency and accountability frequently struggle to reach. This is particularly true when it comes to the negotiation of international treaties and agreements, and in the deployment of armed force abroad. In both of these areas, the oversight role of parliamentarians requires strengthening. And this applies across all the NATO member states without exception.

The Vienna Convention regarding the [Law of Treaties](#) draws a distinction between an "ordinary agreement" and a treaty: an ordinary agreement (such as NATO's new [Strategic Concept](#)) goes into effect by force of the signature by the representatives of the states that are party to the agreement, while a treaty (such as the recent [UK-French defence cooperation treaty](#)) goes into force only after being ratified. This distinction is intended to facilitate the task of the executive branch in its international contacts, and depending

on the specific constitutional arrangements within each state, usually frees it from the requirement to ask for the approval of parliament for every agreement.

Indeed, across the NATO alliance, foreign policy and the signing of international treaties and agreements are almost exclusively the responsibility of the executive branch. The role of parliaments in the approval of international agreements and treaties is negligible: in some NATO states (such as the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany and Italy) there is an obligation of approval by the parliament of some treaties and agreements, although this may often be no more than a rubber-stamping exercise; in a minority of cases (such as the Netherlands and the United States) the approval of parliament is required for every treaty or agreement, with only a few exceptions; and in others (such as the UK) the treaty or agreement is only required to be laid on the parliament's table, by force of law or custom.



(washington dc snow storm begins - photo credit: woodleywonderworks/ flickr)

The ratification process for the UK-French defence cooperation treaty is illustrative of this parliamentary gap. In the UK, ratification is by [Royal Prerogative](#), exercised by the government, although by a convention called the [Ponsonby Rule](#), the treaty will be placed before parliament for 21 days before ratification. In France, President Sarkozy negotiated and will ratify the treaty, although a few parts (mainly the ones implying money) will have to pass by the Commission on International Affairs. In both countries, therefore, the ratification process is a mere formality with little significant parliamentary involvement. For multilateral agreements, such as last November's new NATO Strategic Concept, the [parliamentary gap becomes a chasm](#), with only the German parliament having scheduled a prior committee hearing and no formal parliamentary debate or vote on the Concept in any member state.

This situation of executive exclusivity is fast becoming untenable, given that in the contemporary world many public matters are settled by means of international law and the status of international security bodies such as NATO is becoming progressively stronger. These processes create the need for parliaments to be

more involved in foreign policy and the ratification of treaties. This would not be without its downsides, of course, especially in politically divided polities. In the US, for example, the requirement for Senate advice and consent to treaty ratification makes it considerably more difficult in Washington than in many other democratic capitals to rally enough political support for international treaties – as witnessed by the recent agonised Senate ratification process for the [New START treaty](#). But without such visible public support such treaties have very little legitimacy and may simply be revoked or renegotiated by the next administration.

In the second decade of the 21st Century, surely it should be a NATO-wide norm for any significant international treaty or agreement—i.e. one that impinges on human rights and fundamental freedoms, transfers sovereignty, requires the passing of a law or carries the possibility of the deployment of armed force abroad—to always require consent from parliament, thereby giving the people a direct say in the external activities of the state? Parliaments should have a role in examining all decisions about the negotiation of treaties and multilateral accords, including determination of objectives, negotiating positions, the parameters within which the national delegation can operate, and the final decision as to whether to sign and ratify. This certainty of process would enable governments to negotiate with their overseas counterparts with authority and credibility. At a minimum, this should involve a parliamentary mechanism for considering tabled treaties or international instruments, such as the [Joint Standing Committee on Treaties](#) established by the Australian parliament in September 2010.

(North by East West - photo credit: mindgutter/flickr)

Arguably, such parliamentary oversight and transparency is even more essential for 'secret' counter-terrorism wars. In dealing with al Qaeda, the new NATO strategy seems most likely to be the one currently being used by the US administration in Yemen and Pakistan: the employment of a comparatively small number of Special Forces supplemented by strikes by unmanned aircraft or

drones. US military officials are reportedly seeking to [expand such ground raids in Pakistan](#), where an escalated air campaign has already seen the total number of [reported air drone strikes double](#) (to 118) in 2010, compared with the previous year. The questionable efficacy and legitimacy of these counter-terrorism tactics should be subject to vigorous NATO-wide parliamentary scrutiny, although lamentably this has not been the case to date. The latest reported 'blow back' is an [increase in assassinations](#) of alleged American spies in Pakistan. Oh, and while they are at it, Washington lawmakers may also want to clarify the number of [US military bases in foreign countries](#) and perhaps even consider closing a few down as part of the deficit reduction process (see below).

Learn the right lessons from Wikileaks disclosures

What should be the response of lawmakers to the release of hundreds of thousands of classified records by Wikileaks in recent months? The knee-jerk reaction among several governments has been to seek to tighten the secrecy system and crackdown on leakers and the media. In the US this overreaction has included calls to broaden the Espionage Act and rabid-dog demands to assassinate Wikileaks leader, Julian Assange (no idle threat given [the shooting of Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords in Arizona](#)).

Thankfully, there are still plenty of more reasoned voices at large in America. Thomas Blanton, executive director of the US National Security Archive, at a congressional hearing called on [lawmakers to protect the First Amendment](#), rather than adopt a "Chinese model of state control" of information, while Steven Aftergood, at the Federation of American Scientists' Project on Government Secrecy, has urged for a [shrinking of the classification system](#). Political activist and four-time candidate for President of the United States, [Ralph Nader](#), strikes at the heart of the matter:

What is remarkable about all the official hullabaloo by government officials, who leak plenty themselves, is that there never is any indictment or prosecution of government big wigs



who continually suppress facts and knowledge in order to carry out very devastating actions like invading Iraq under false pretences and covering up corporate contractors abuses. The morbid and corporate-indentured secrecy of government over the years has cost many American lives, sent Americans to illegal wars, bilked consumers of billions of dollars and harmed the safety and economic well-being of workers.

NATO Watch supports the call for a wholesale reduction in classified records across the Alliance and will continue to lobby NATO to adopt an [information openness policy](#) in 2011. Such a policy should include guidelines for proactive publication of core information, a mechanism by which the public can file requests for information, and an independent review body for hearing appeals against refusals or failures to make information public within a short time-frame.

Skewer that Pentagon Pork

In December, the *New York Times*, one of the main media outlets for the Wikileaks' "US cables", published a timely article on the [evolution of Eisenhower's 'military-industrial complex' speech](#). Documents released by the US National Archives shed new light on the genesis of the phrase in the televised address, which Eisenhower delivered in January 1961. On the fiftieth anniversary of this presidential warning of "overgrown military establishments" there are at last a few signs of serious intent to tame the ever burgeoning beast.



The deficit commission appointed by President Obama has suggested reducing projected levels of defence spending by almost \$1 trillion over the next decade. Amongst the predictable howls of anguish within the Pentagon and military contractors, a few seasoned voices are beginning to lend their weight to this call. Lawrence Korb, a former assistant secretary of defence in the Reagan administration has set out [five ways](#) in which this could be done - and still leave US defence spending 6% higher in real terms than it was in 2001-2010 and higher than all of the nation's 'enemies' combined.

NATO: a dedicated follower of fashion?

*One week he's in polka-dots, the next week he is in stripes.
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion.*

Ray Davies, The Kinks

Fashionistas have often dipped into the military world for [clothing and accessories inspired by the armed forces](#). Brass buttons, shaggy fur hats, military caps, insignia and uniforms have all made it onto the catwalk. Perhaps it was only a matter of time, therefore, before the military embraced the world of fashion. Is NATO fashionable? Apparently so, with the NATO headquarters [hosting a Ukrainian fashion exhibition](#) in December. Should we be concerned about an emerging military-fashion complex? Probably not, and we have no plans as yet to recruit a fashion editor at NATO Watch, but we will be keeping the situation under review in 2011. Happy New Year!

(Photo credit: NATO)

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

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

News

[NATO To Deploy Radar Planes To Afghanistan](#), *AFP*, 7 January

[Afghans, U.S. to Boost Local Security](#) - Alongside New Allied Surge, Coalition and Kabul Officials Seek to Raise Army, Police Ranks by 30% up to 400,000. As of October, there were 145,000 Afghan troops and 116,000 police, *Wall Street Journal*, 6 January

[U.S. Boosts Afghan Surge](#) - Pentagon Plans to Send 1,400 Extra Marines to Supplement Spring Campaign, *Washington Post*, 4 January



[Taliban Leader Was Killed, Afghans Say](#), *New York Times*, 31

December - Coalition forces killed the top-ranking Taliban official in restive Kunduz Province during an overnight raid, according to the Afghan police and a local governor

[Taliban Fighters Appear Blunted in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 26 December

[NATO denies US military pushing for Pakistan raids](#), *Associated Press*, 21 December

[No plan for ground raids into Pakistan: ISAF](#), *Pajhwok Afghan News*, 21 December



(After completing a two day course on beehive training graduates receive their beehive and supplies in hopes of making honey and splitting their hives in the spring for extra income, Kapisa province, Afghanistan, 6 January 2011 – photo credit: isafmedia/flickr)

[U.S. Military Seeks to Expand Raids in Pakistan](#), *New York Times*, 20 December

[Germany Will Begin Afghan Exit Next Year](#), *New York Times*, 16 December

[CIA names 30 terrorists to be targeted in drone attacks](#), Rezaul H Laskar, *MSN News*, 16 December

[U.S. Revises Rules for Raids Touted in Review](#) - Guidelines on Afghan Nighttime Operations Add Safeguards for Civilians to Ease Tensions With Karzai, Officials Say, *Wall Street Journal*, 16 December

[Drone attack 'kills two Britons' in Pakistan](#), *The Guardian*, 16 December - White British al-Qaida members said to have died in Hellfire missile strike by US drone near town of Datta Khel

[Barack Obama to report enough progress for Afghan pullout](#), *The Guardian*, 16 December - Pentagon Afghanistan troops review will back modest withdrawal in July as Liam Fox agrees to move British troops to Kandahar

[Taliban Extend Reach to North, Where Armed Groups Reign](#), *New York Times*, 15 December - although the numbers of American and German troops in the north have more than doubled since last year, insecurity has spread, the Taliban are expanding their reach, and armed groups that purportedly support the government are terrorizing local people and hampering aid organizations

[Intelligence Reports Offer Dim Views of Afghan War](#), *New York Times*, 14 December

[Afghan women still suffer horrendous abuse, says United Nations report](#), *The Guardian*, 9 December - Report shows that forced marriages, 'honour' killings and women resorting to self-immolation still prevalent

[David Cameron signals Afghan withdrawal](#), *The Guardian*, 7 December - Prime minister has said British troops could start coming home from Afghanistan as early as next year

[US Battle Tanks Roll Into Afghanistan – And Out of Russia](#), Richard de Silva, *DefenceIQ*, 6 December

[Afghanistan sees new breed of dangerous young Taliban leader](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 3 December - The Nato campaign to assassinate militant leaders has bred a new generation of radical commanders more violent than those they replace, a Taliban envoy-turned negotiator has said

[US deploys 'game-changer' weapon to Afghanistan](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 3 December - It looks and acts like something best left in the hands of Sylvester Stallone's "Rambo," but this latest dream weapon is real – and the US Army sees it becoming the Taliban's worst nightmare

[Afghan Panel Certifies Final, Controversial Poll Count](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 2 December

Commentary and Reports

♠♠ [The Urge to Surge - Washington's 30-Year High](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 4 January

[How Afghanistan Became a War for NATO](#), Gareth Porter, *IPS*, 3 January

Sixty percent of Americans now say the war is not worth fighting, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll

[Administration's next big Afghan battle: How many troops to withdraw](#), *Washington Post*, 16 December

[Insecurity and Policy Choices](#), Paul Rogers, *International Security Monthly Briefing*, Oxford Research Group, December 2010 - Paul Rogers predicts that the international security agenda in 2011 will continue to be dominated by four countries across the Middle East and South Asia. He warns that, while there is some chance of progress, there are also already indications - based on the trends in 2010 - of four potential crises that would collectively require major changes in direction by the international community

[US Afghan war review: On track, down a cul-de-sac](#), *The Guardian* editorial, 17 December - the essential ingredients for a successful counterinsurgency campaign are missing



(An Afghan Commando conducts marksmanship training at Camp Morehead, Afghanistan 8 January 2010
— photo credit: isafmedia/flickr)

Afghanistan in review, *Foreign Policy*, 16 December:

- [One year later: tactical success without strategic progress](#) - Caroline Wadhams
- [The good, the bad, and the ugly in Afghanistan](#) - Norine MacDonald
- [A future strategy should place political objectives first](#) - Scott Worden
- [Can economics help bring peace to Afghanistan?](#) - Gerard Russell

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on the United States Review on Afghanistan and Pakistan](#), NATO News, 16 December – "I welcome the release today of the United States' annual review on Afghanistan and Pakistan. It builds on the decisions on Afghanistan that NATO Allies and Partners took at our summit in Lisbon"

♠♠ [Overview of the Afghanistan and Pakistan Annual Review](#), White House unclassified summary of the administration's review of the war in Afghanistan, December 2010 - assesses that the strategy is "showing progress" and "al-Qaeda's senior leadership in Pakistan is weaker and under more sustained pressure than at any other point since it fled Afghanistan in 2001," but gains made against the Taliban in Afghanistan "remain fragile and reversible" and notes that "consolidating those gains will require that we make more progress with Pakistan to eliminate sanctuaries for violent extremist networks". The document also anticipates that US troops can begin withdrawing and handing over responsibility for security to Afghan forces in some areas of the country in July 2011, as planned

[Failure in Afghanistan not an option](#) - NATO credibility and American lives at stake, Shaida Abdali, *Washington Times*, 14 December

[A Flood of Drone Strikes - What the Wikileaks Revelations Tell Us About How Washington Runs Pakistan](#), Fatima Bhutto, *TomDispatch.com*, 9 December

[The Pakistani backlash you haven't heard about](#), Imtiaz Gul, *Foreign Policy*, 2 December

[This Year, Contractor Deaths Exceed Military Ones in Iraq and Afghanistan](#), ProPublica, *DefenceIQ*, 1 December - More private contractors than soldiers were killed in Iraq and Afghanistan in recent months, the first time in history that corporate casualties have outweighed military losses on America's battlefields

[Afghanistan: In a Time of Conflict](#), Refugees International *Field Report*, 1 December - One year after President Obama's announcement of the Afghanistan strategy, the country continues to slide into crisis. The US-led military surge in the south is driving insecurity north, causing thousands to flee. Internal displacement has increased by 50 percent and natural disasters and chronic food shortages continue to erode Afghans' ability to survive, leading to rapid urbanization and the rise of slums. Aid used as a tool in the counterinsurgency strategy continues to endanger aid workers and undermine sustainable development. Given the Afghan government's endemic corruption and inability to protect the population, NGOs, donor governments and UN agencies must strengthen humanitarian programs and regain access to insecure communities



♠♠ [Afghanistan at the Breaking Point](#), Gilles Dorronsoro, *Carnegie Report*, November 2010 - The current strategy of defeating the Taliban militarily is unrealistic. The coalition is on the defensive across much of Afghanistan and, with current troop levels, can at most only contain the insurgency. On present course, the coalition is swiftly heading toward an impasse. A new strategy is required. Rather than committing more troops, the United States should instead pursue a political solution to the conflict, including a cease-fire and negotiations with the insurgents.

[Risking NATO - Testing the Limits of the Alliance in Afghanistan](#), Andrew R. Hoehn, Sarah Harting, RAND, November 2010 - The "Americanization" of NATO's mission in Afghanistan may prove crucial to the future of Afghanistan, but the alliance could suffer long-term harm by being relegated to the position of junior partner to the United States

Afghanistan today would be less dangerous for almost all involved -- civilians, government officials, nongovernment organizations, journalists, Afghan military and police forces, and Western troops -- if the refuse of former empires and the handouts of current governments were not so widely present in the field. More than two decades after the end of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, there has never been a successful, comprehensive military small-arms disarmament program in the country; instead, more guns keep flowing in.

♣♣ [Small Arms, Big Problems - The Fallout of the Global Gun Trade](#), C. J. Chivers, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011

Arms Control:

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, [video blog](#), New Start treaty will enhance our security, 8 December

[Wikileaks cables: US fights flow of arms from eastern Europe to its enemies](#), *The Guardian*, 6 December - US warning to former Soviet states fails to stem flow of weapons to Middle East regimes and Islamist groups

Climate Change and Environmental Security:

[Arctic security in a changing climate](#), *Strategic Insights*, Fall/Winter 2010

Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Humanitarian Relief:

[Killings of Afghan Relief Workers Stir Strategy Debate](#), *New York Times*, 13 December - At least 100 relief workers in Afghanistan have been killed so far this year, far more than in any previous year, prompting a debate within humanitarian organizations about whether American military strategy is putting them and the Afghans they serve at unnecessary risk

♣♣ [Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and The Shrinking Costs of War](#), Human Security Report Project (HSRP), 2 December - Part I of the new *Report* examines the forces and political developments that have driven down the number of international conflicts and war deaths since the 1950s, and the number of civil wars since the early 1990s. It argues that the fact that these forces persist, or have strengthened, provides grounds for cautious optimism about the future of global security; Part II examines the paradox of mortality rates that decline during the overwhelming majority of today's wars, as well as the challenges and controversies involved in measuring *indirect* war deaths—those caused by war-exacerbated disease and malnutrition; Part III, "Trends in Human Insecurity," reviews recent trends in conflict numbers and death tolls around the world, and updates the conflict and other trend data in previous HSRP publications



[Built on shaky ground: the Comprehensive Approach in practice](#), Philipp Rotmann, NATO Defense College, *Research Paper* No.63, December 2010 – one of the catchwords in current NATO debates is the "Comprehensive Approach", which describes the need to combine military and non-military efforts in order to achieve success in crisis management operation or in nation-building efforts. However, the coordination of civil and military action proves to be extremely difficult on the ground, be it in Afghanistan or elsewhere. Thus, the Comprehensive Approach - albeit necessary - is still built on shaky ground. This paper addresses the issue and makes concrete proposals on how to overcome existing hurdles



(Photo credit: 1v0/Flickr)

Counter-Terrorism:

[Is killing our only option for terrorists?](#) David Ignatius, *Washington Post*, 2 December

[Germans Query Terror Warning](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 2 December

[NATO Counter-terrorism Mission 'Active Endeavour' Gets Vital Boost from Albanian Navy](#), *DefenceIQ*, 2 December

♣♣ [Open Secret: Mounting Evidence of Europe's Complicity in Rendition and Secret Detention](#), Amnesty International, November 2010 - The report documents the situation in eight European countries, including six NATO Member States, with respect to accountability for complicity in human rights violations in the context of the CIA-led programmes, including abduction, unlawful transfer, enforced disappearance, secret detention, and torture. It

provides a unique and updated analysis of the progress underway and the obstacles that remain to achieve

Cyber Security:

Science of Cyber-Security, JASON (US defence advisory panel), November 2010

Resource: New blog on private military and security contracting: [The PMSC Observer](#). The role of PMSCs and their impact on security policy-making within NATO and member states is at an all time high. This blog, written by NATO Watch Associate, David Isenberg, who has been following the issue closely for nearly two decades, dissects the activities of PMSCs, the friction that exists between contractors and military commanders, problems of protocol and accountability, as well as the efforts to regulate and control such companies.

[Work starts on new NATO Headquarters](#), NATO News, 16 December - The NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen joined the Belgian Prime Minister Yves Leterme and the Belgian Defense Minister Pieter de Crem on the site of the new NATO Headquarters in Brussels to attend a ground-

[Norwegian Firm Wins NATO Intel Contract](#), Tim Mahon, *Defense News*, 3 December

Energy Security:

[illegible]

Enlargement and Partnerships:

- Part I: Building Peace tells of NATO's gradual engagement in support of United Nations' efforts to end the Bosnian War (1992-1995) and the deployment of its first peacekeeping force in December 1995. NATO's mission continued for nine years until responsibility for security was handed over to the EU in December 2004.
- Part II: Reforming the Military shows how NATO's support for essential defence reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina has helped downsize the armed forces and turn them into a single military force under state-level control. Progress made allowed the country to join NATO's Partnership for Peace in 2006.

- Part III: The Road to Integration highlights the country's deepening partnership with NATO and provides an insight into the challenges ahead on the road to the country's possible membership of the Alliance.

♠♠ [Toward a New Strategic Vision for the Euro-Atlantic](#), Hall Gardner, *NATO Watch Briefing Paper* No.15, 13 December

[NATO Headquarters hosts Ukrainian fashion exhibition](#), NATO News, 7 December - Is Euroatlanticism fashionable? Apparently so. At 61, NATO and its symbol are still inspiring a young generation of talent

[Serbian parliamentarians visit NATO Headquarters](#), NATO News, 6 December

Wikileaks US cable: [Old guard Tajik Minister of Defense obsesses on NATO](#)



Maritime Security and Piracy:

[Somalia's pirates take to the high seas](#), *UPI*, 9 December

[NATO Chronicles episode 1 - Horn of Africa: The Pirate Menace](#), video, 7 December (photo credit: NATO)

Missile Defence:

[Defense Firm Expects U.S. to Keep Funding Antimissile Program](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 6 January

♠♠ [Report raises doubts about Obama missile defense plan](#), Jonathan S. Landay, *McClatchy Newspapers*, 21 December - The missile defence system that President Barack Obama plans to deploy in Europe starting next year may not function properly and could face significant cost overruns, a nonpartisan congressional watchdog agency warned - [Read the GAO report here](#)

[Missile defense program failed second test in a row, U.S. says](#), *Reuters*, 16 December

Investments in Ballistic Missile Defense, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, [Fact Sheet](#), 13 December

[NATO Approves Expanded Missile Defense](#), Robert Golan-Vilella, *Arms Control Today*, December 2010

[WikiLeaks cables: Poland wants missile shield to protect against Russia](#), *The Guardian*, 6 December - US says Patriot missiles could defend Poland from anyone, as cables show Warsaw feared Moscow more than Iran or Syria

[US embassy cables: Poland wanted operational Patriot missiles, not 'potted plants'](#), *The Guardian*, 6 December

[Re-examining the conceptual basis of strategic missile defense](#), Yousaf Butt, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 3 December

[Experts cast doubt on Iran missile cache](#), *Washington Post*, 1 December



[The Obama Administration's Efforts To Implement the European Phased Adaptive Approach](#), Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Strategic Forces, Washington, DC, 1 December

[Missile Defense Cooperation with the Russian Federation](#), US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance - Fact Sheet, 1 December

(photo credit: Thristian/flickr)

NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

[NATO PA Mediterranean and Middle East special group visits Oman](#), NATO PA Press Release, 20 December - Members of the NATO PA met with Omani officials, NATO country ambassadors and

representatives of Omani civil society on 13-14 December 2010. Led by GSM Chair Vahit Erdem, the delegation learned about Oman's distinctive role in a strategic region

[Ukrainian members of parliament scathing in criticism of the Yanukovich administration at Ukraine-NATO interparliamentary council \(UNIC\) meeting](#), NATO PA Press Release, 20 December - Ukrainian members of parliament from opposition parties were highly critical of the government of President Yanukovich, which they described as seeking to reverse Ukraine's progress towards Euro-Atlantic integration during last UNIC meeting held at NATO headquarters on 16 December 2010

NATO-Russia Relations:

[Wikileaks: U.S. ambassador to Russia: We can't arm Georgia due to the "reset"](#), Josh Rogin, *Foreign Policy*, 7 December

[Russia objects to NATO plan to defend Baltics](#), Slobodan Lekic, *Associated Press*, 7 December

[WikiLeaks' Nato revelations cause 'bewilderment' in Russia](#), *The Guardian*, 7 December - US embassy cables show Nato had drawn up plans to defend Poland and Baltic states against Russian attack

[NATO Balanced Baltic and Russian Anxieties](#), *New York Times*, 6 December

♣♣ [Turning a Happy Hour Into a Happy Alliance](#), Dmitri Trenin, *The Moscow Times*, 22 November

Nuclear Weapons:

[The UK-France Defence Pact and Nuclear Modernization](#), Ian Davis, *NATO Watch Briefing Paper No.16*, 6 January (UK-France Summit; French President Nicolas Sarkozy and British Prime Minister David Cameron address the media after signing treaties during the UK-France summit at Lancaster House, in London – The Prime Minister's Office/flickr)

[The Next Treaties](#), *New York Times Editorial*, 31 December

[START has passed, but tactical arms remain an issue](#), *Washington Post*, 28 December

[Arms Talks Now Turn to Short-Range Weapons](#), *New York Times*, 24 December

[NATO Secretary General welcomes New START Treaty](#), NATO Press Release, 22 December

[Political Divide Undermines Obama's Nuclear Goals](#), David Sanger, *New York Times*, 21 December

Tac Nuke Numbers Confirmed? Hans Kristensen, *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, 7 December

♣♣ [NATO Revises Nuclear Policy](#), Oliver Meier, *Arms Control Today*, December 2010



Strategic Concept:

[Implementing NATO's Strategic Concept](#), Felix F. Seidler, *Atlantic-Community.org*, 9 December - after its recent summit, NATO needs a plan for the implementation of its new strategic concept. The alliance cannot afford the achievements of the summit to fizzle out. Tax payers should demand that the pretensions of "active engagement" and "modern defence" be underlined by concrete actions

[Briefing on European and Eurasian Summits](#), Remarks - Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Via Teleconference, Washington, DC, 7 December

[Turkish policy-makers and international experts discuss NATO's Lisbon Summit in Antalya](#), NATO News, 3 December - On 3-4 December, around 250 experts gathered in Antalya, Turkey, at a major international security conference "The New Strategic Concept and NATO towards Year 2020". Participants included high level officials, international security experts, opinion formers and diplomats from Turkey and other NATO member and partner countries, as well as representatives from the media and Atlantic Treaty Associations

[Experts discuss key challenges facing NATO after Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 2 December - On 29 November, experts gathered at a conference entitled, "NATO Beyond the Lisbon Summit" at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, DC to examine the key issues facing the Alliance in the wake of the Lisbon Summit; [CSIS website – NATO conference and video of speech by Admiral James Stavridis, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe \(SACEUR\)](#)

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Keeping the spirit of Lisbon', 1 December



Transparency and Accountability - Wikileaks:

Resource: Wikileaks is releasing classified United States diplomatic cables sent to and from US embassies in countries throughout the world. These cables include orders sent out from the Department of State, embassy

reporting about the local governments and details of US government activities in each country. All the US embassy cables that have been released with a 'NATO' tag can be found [here](#) and [here](#)

Tightening security in the "post-wikileaks" era, Steven Aftergood, *FAS Secrecy News*, 4 January; also see The White House Office of Management and Budget's [detailed memorandum](#) elaborating on the requirement to conduct an initial assessment of agency information policies and to initiate remedial steps to tighten security; and the US Air Force's updated [guidance](#) concerning its highly classified special access programs, including new language prohibiting unauthorized communications with Congress

Pentagon revamps security in wake of Wikileaks, *Homeland Security Newswire*, 29 December

CIA launches task force to assess impact of U.S. cables' exposure by WikiLeaks, Greg Miller, *The Washington Post*, 22 December

Wikileaks and the First Amendment, Ralph Nader, *Counterpunch*, 21 December

♣♣ **Congress and Wikimania**, *The National Security Archive*, 16 December - Archive Director Tom Blanton decries "Wikimania"; Congressional testimony calls for overhaul of secrecy system and restraint on prosecutions

Taking Stock of WikiLeaks, George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 14 December

WikiLeaks: The man who kicked the hornet's nest, *The Guardian* – Editorial, 8 December - As the disclosures continue, a number of questions about the way the world has changed are becoming more clearly framed

Faced with release of hundreds of *thousands* of classified records by Wikileaks in recent months, what should the government do? The best answer might be to release hundreds of *millions* of such records! By stripping away the accretions of decades of overclassification, a wholesale reduction in classified records would restore some integrity to the classification system, bolster public confidence in its legitimacy, and strengthen the security of residual classified secrets

Steven Aftergood, [Shrink the Classification System](#), *FAS Secrecy News*, 16 December

The WikiLeaks affair has twofold value. On the one hand, it turns out to be a bogus scandal, a scandal that only appears to be a scandal against the backdrop of the hypocrisy governing relations between the state, the citizenry and the press. On the other hand, it heralds a sea change in international communication – and prefigures a regressive future of “crabwise” progress

♣♣ **Not such wicked leaks**, Umberto Eco, *Libération* Paris, 2 December

Wikileaks: True Drama and Trying Times for Diplomats, Editorial Team, *Atlantic-community.org*, 7 December - The real dilemma faced by diplomacy in the digital age is how to maintain the secrecy of sensitive data and protect the trust essential to the successful conduct of daily business

US diplomatic cables relating to NATO published by *New York Times*, 6 December:

- [State Department Discourages Public Comment on Baltic Defense](#), 15 December 2009
- [Baltic Pressure for NATO Defense Plan](#), 20 October 2009
- [Russia-Georgia Clash Worries Baltic States](#), 15 August 2008

WikiLeaks cables reveal secret Nato plans to defend Baltics from Russia, *The Guardian*, 6 December

US embassy cables: Baltic blueprint just the beginning of Nato rethink, *The Guardian*, 6 December

♣♣ **Live with the WikiLeakable world or shut down the net**. It's your choice, John Naughton, *The Guardian*, 6 December - Western political elites obfuscate, lie and bluster – and when the veil of secrecy is lifted, they try to kill the messenger

Transparency Fundamentalists, John Feffer, *World Beat*, 30 November

(photocredit: smemon87/flickr)



Upcoming Events:

(photo credit: ex.libris/flickr)

European Defence and Security 2011 – Collaboration, Coordination and Competition in Defence Acquisition, 24-25 January 2011, Chatham House, London; this conference will examine the role of research, technology and acquisition within European defence and security relationships. It will explore and suggest how R&D and R&T can be used more effectively by European governments and industry to deliver equipment projects and military effect at a time when national investment in defence spending and new acquisitions is likely to decrease.

Cyber Warfare 2011, Defence IQ, 27-28 January 2011, American Square Conference Centre, London - *Stuxnet* marks the moment when Cyber Warfare became a reality - an attack originating in cyberspace targeting a part of a nation's critical national infrastructure. The complexity of *Stuxnet* suggests that a nation state was heavily involved in its development. If true, there are massive implications for how future wars will be fought, with conflict set to be characterised by a dual campaign in cyberspace and the physical realm.

15th Annual Graduate Student Conference: **A Changing Europe: Looking Back and Moving Forward**, 4-5 February 2011, Georgetown University, Washington, DC - Today's Europe requires thoughtful investigation into both the subtle and sweeping changes that have brought the continent into its modern context. The BMW Center for German and European Studies is calling for papers and inviting scholars to look back over the causes and consequences of change in Europe and join the debate over the continent's future.

A new partnership for European security - International Conference, Security and Defence Agenda, 10 February 2011, Bibliothèque Solvay, Brussels - Europe's patchwork of internal security forces and the fragmented deployment of security solutions exacerbate the security issues created by the rise of organised crime, international terrorism, and natural disasters. Are new European policies effectively reducing this fragmentation? What is the best way forward in terms of organisation and funding in light of the financial crisis?

2011 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference, 28-29 March 2011, Washington DC, USA

Security News from NATO Member States:

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

Canada

Canada's little-known spy agency comes out into the open, *The Globe and Mail*, 22 December

More oversight needed for secret military unit: MPs, *The Star*, 2 December

Estonia

Secretary General and Estonian President pledge to keep momentum after Lisbon, NATO News, 9 December - On 9 December, Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves visited NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to discuss the way forward on the results of the successful Lisbon Summit last November. Mr Rasmussen expressed his gratitude for the important contribution Estonia makes to NATO's operation in Afghanistan in the challenging Helmand province, which stands proof of Estonia's contribution to NATO solidarity and shared security

US embassy cables: Estonians welcome Nato plan for eastern Europe, *The Guardian*, 6 December

France

Threat to Open Data withdrawn by French Parliament, Access Info Europe and Regards Citoyens, 20 December - a proposed amendment to France's security and access to information laws which would have required background behaviour checks on users of government information was withdrawn on 16 December

Letter to the French Government and Members of the Parliament against "behaviour" controls on public data reuse, 14 December – letter from 35 civil society organizations and many FOI international experts from 25



countries to the French Minister of Interior Brice Hortefeux and members of the French parliament calling for the withdrawal of a proposed law allowing the authorities to carry out “behaviour checks” on members of the public and organisations wanting to reuse information obtained from public bodies

[NATO's Strategic Communications concept and its relevance for France](#), Anaïs Reding, Kristin Weed and Jeremy J. Ghez, RAND, 2010

Germany

[US embassy cables: Germany behind Nato proposal for Baltic states, says US](#), *The Guardian*, 6 December

German Debates: [NATO's Lisbon Summit - Getting the Russians on Board](#), *Atlantic Community* Editorial Team, 24 November - NATO's Holy Grail remains the elusive vision of – and a workable strategy for – a future alliance that will succeed in uniting the strategic interests of the Americans, the Europeans, and increasingly the Russians. This quest is rendered more difficult by the recent US mid-term elections, which returned a Republican majority to the House. Conservative preference for NATO enlargement does not bode well for deeper cooperation with the Kremlin. Nevertheless, policymakers in NATO countries hope that the outcome of the Lisbon Summit will strengthen the Alliance's new relationship with Moscow in the long run.

Hungary

[Hungarian media law further endangers media freedom, says OSCE media freedom representative](#), OSCE Press Release, 22 December

Iceland

[Structural, Environmental, and Political Conditions for Security Policy in the High North Atlantic: The Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland](#), Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, *Strategic Insights*, Fall/Winter 2010 (The lonely fishing hut - photo credit: Stuck in Customs/Flickr)



Italy

[Plug-and-Play Armour: Italy Revises its Tactical Formula for Non-traditional Combat](#), *DefenceIQ*, 1 December

Netherlands

[Dutch arrest 12 on suspicion of terrorism](#), *CNN*, 25 December

[US embassy cables: Why Holland is so important to US](#), *The Guardian*, 15 December

Poland

[Polish president urges START ratification](#), Laura Rozen, *Politico*, 8 December



[Poland 'Stripped of Illusions' About Ties With U.S.](#), Marcin Sobczyk, *Wall Street Journal*, 7 December

[Poland and Russia Vow to Open New Chapter of Cooperation in Relations](#), *New York Times*, 6 December

[US embassy cables: Poland sceptical over Baltic defence plan](#), *The Guardian*, 6 December

[Geopolitical Journey, Part 7: Poland](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 3 December

(Mourning the Polish Air Force Tu-154 crash on 10 April 2010, which killed all 96 people on board, including the Polish president Lech Kaczyński, while en route to an event marking the 70th anniversary of the Katyn massacre – photo credit: Piotr Pawłowski/flickr)

Portugal

[Portugal and Algeria: Still looking for greater strategic depth?](#) Diogo Noivo, Portuguese Institute of International Relations and Security (IPRIS), *IPRIS Viewpoints*, November 2010

Turkey

[Resurgent Turkey Flexes Its Muscles Around Iraq](#), *New York Times*, 4 January

[The United States and Turkey: Can They Agree to Disagree?](#) Joshua W. Walker, Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies, November 2010

[Turkey's Islamic adventure](#), Niklas Anzinger, *Europe's World*, 30 November

United Kingdom

[MPs attack waste of £42bn defence budget](#) - Public accounts committee accuses defence officials of indulging in a 'dangerous culture of optimism', *The Guardian*, 14 December; Public Accounts Committee - Tenth Report: [Managing the defence budget and estate](#), HC 503, 14 December

[UK, France Sign Nuclear Collaboration Treaty](#), Robert Golan-Vilella, *Arms Control Today*, December 2010

[WikiLeaks cables: Secret deal let Americans sidestep cluster bomb ban](#), Rob Evans and David Leigh, *The Guardian*, 1 December - Officials concealed from parliament how US is allowed to bring weapons on to British soil in defiance of treaty

[An indefensible defence strategy](#), *Financial Times* Editorial, 1 December

United States

♣♣ [Empire of Bases 2.0](#) - Does the Pentagon Really Have 1,180 Foreign Bases? Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 9 January

♣♣ [Atrocity Prevention and US National Security: Implementing the Responsibility to Protect](#), 51st Strategy for Peace Conference, *Policy Dialogue Brief*, The Stanley Foundation, January 2011

[Pentagon Seeks Biggest Military Cuts Since Before 9/11](#), *New York Times*, 6 January

[Freedom Fighters for a Fading Empire](#) - What It Means When We Say We Have the World's Finest Fighting Force, William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 6 January

Briefing on New START With the Russian Federation Via Teleconference, [Special Briefing](#) - Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, Washington, DC, 23 December



U.S. defense spending, in inflation adjusted terms, is higher than at any time since the end of World War II. Over the past decade, the U.S. share of global military spending has risen from one third to one half. The United States now spends six times as much as China, the country with the next biggest budget.

Lawrence Korb, former assistant secretary of defense in the Reagan administration

♣♣ [How to cut \\$1 trillion from the Pentagon](#), *CNN Money*, 5 January

Senate Approval of New START, [Remarks](#) - Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State, Washington, DC, 22 December

[The Great Islamophobic Crusade](#) - Inside the Bizarre Cabal of Secretive Donors, Demagogic Bloggers, Pseudo-Scholars, European Neo-Fascists, Violent Israeli Settlers, and Republican Presidential Hopefuls Behind the Crusade, Max Blumenthal, *TomDispatch.com*, 19 December

[U.S. Rethinks Strategy for the Unthinkable](#), *New York Times*, 15 December - Suppose the unthinkable happened, and terrorists struck New York or another big city with an atom bomb. What should people there do? The government has a surprising new message: Do not flee. Get inside any stable building and don't come out till officials say it's safe

[Terrorama - The Next Congress Will See Terror in Everything](#), Stephan Salisbury, *TomDispatch.com*, 14 December

(This sculpture in Battery Park New York York used to sit at the base of the World Trade Centre – photo credit: alanbenzie/flickr)

Investments in Conventional Prompt Global Strike, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, [Fact Sheet](#), 13 December

♠♠ [In Archive, New Light on Evolution of Eisenhower Speech](#), *New York Times*, 10 December

[Classified Information Policy and Executive Order 13526](#), Kevin R. Kosar, Congressional Research Service, 10 December

[One November's Dead - The American War Dead Disappear into the Darkness](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 7 December

[National Security Secrecy: How the Limits Change](#), Steven Aftergood, *Secrecy News*, 6 December
[Criminal Prohibitions on the Publication of Classified Defense Information](#), Jennifer K. Elsea, Legislative Attorney, Congressional Research Service, 6 December

♠♠ [National Security Secrecy: How the Limits Change](#), Steven Aftergood, *social research* Vol 77: No 3, Fall 2010

[Lockheed slams US defence cuts plans](#), *Financial Times*, 3 December

[WikiLeaks: War, Diplomacy & Ban ki-Moon's Toothbrush](#), Phyllis Bennis, Institute for Policy Studies, 1 December - The Wikileaks documents demonstrate that US diplomacy is not being used to find alternatives to war, but rather pursued in the interests of illegal wars

[WikiLeaks is holding US global power to account](#) - The WikiLeaks avalanche has exposed floundering imperial rule to scrutiny – and its reliance on dictatorship and deceit, Seumas Milne, *The Guardian*, 1 December

Winners of the John Roberts Student Essay Competition 2010

First place: Oliver Elliott (UK), [read essay](#)

Second place: Moritz Eckert (Germany), [read essay](#)

Third place: Soumitra Subinaya (India), [read essay](#)

About the competition:

NATO Watch launched its inaugural John Roberts Student Essay Competition in Spring 2010. We were looking for 2,000 words or a 2 minute video which addressed the question: To abolish war do we first need to abolish NATO?



About John Roberts:

ROBERTS John Charles de Villamar, world citizen, teacher, husband, father and grandfather died at home on 27 February 2010. John joined the Federal Union in 1948 and worked for 60 years in world citizen and federalist movements, including chairing the World Association of World Federalists. He was an active ex-chair of the Institute for Law and Peace and wrote more than a dozen pamphlets on world problems. Fluent in Esperanto, he attended congresses in Brighton (UK), Brazil, China, France, Germany, Hungary, Japan and the USA. He taught in schools, colleges, then at the Universite Laval in Quebec for eight years, and finally an

American college in England for 15 years (Professor of International Studies). John was a critic of the NATO military alliance and of the intervention in Afghanistan, but agreed to become one of the founding NATO Watch Associates in June 2009. He believed that an alliance based on the use of armed force is a denial of where we should be in the 21st century and that only by supporting and developing global legal structures could NATO be made non-aggressive and peaceful. You can read more about John's work at:

<http://jrmundialist.org/>

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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