

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

No.18 – February 2011

Welcome to NATO Watch's monthly *Observatory*: the only online publication dedicated entirely to news and independent commentary on NATO policy-making and operational activities. 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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conducts independent monitoring and analysis of NATO and aims to increase transparency, stimulate parliamentary engagement and broaden public awareness and participation in a progressive reform agenda within NATO. **NATO Watch website** www.natowatch.org

NATO's embarrassing silence on Egypt

Following the successful uprising in Tunisia, the political crisis in Egypt has escalated and hundreds of people have been injured as supporters of Hosni Mubarak, the embattled president, fight running battles with demonstrators. During this crisis, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen has been invisible. The Alliance's embarrassing silence was broken on 2 February during a routine weekly [press briefing](#) at NATO headquarters when spokesperson Oana Lungescu called for a "peaceful democratic" transition and expressed the hope that Egypt would continue to play a constructive role in the region. "Egypt is a valuable partner in the Mediterranean Dialogue, it's a country that played a very important role in developing that partnership, and we hope and expect that it will continue to play a constructive role in the future," Lungescu said.

The Alliance discusses security issues and purports to support reforms in Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia through its [Mediterranean Dialogue](#) program, established in 1994. NATO clearly sees Egypt as a key stabilizing factor in the Middle East and an ally in the fight against terrorism. Yet, NATO cannot continue to fight 'Islamic extremism' by supporting Arab despotism. Its own basic values include democracy and human rights, leaving it treading a difficult line between advocating reform and calling for stability. As Nouri Gana, a Tunisian writer [says](#), "Real and lasting democracy emerges from within the singular context of each Arab country and cannot be imposed by outside intervention or manipulation. It is not a Euro-American speciality".

These issues will be further explored in a forthcoming NATO Watch briefing:

- NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: partnership for peace or succour for despots?

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NATO Watch Editorial:

Failure to tax US contractors in Afghanistan hinders "irreversible transition"

The Pentagon has yet another plan for Afghanistan. This latest one involves [boosting Afghan security forces to 378,000 by October 2012](#), up from this year's goal of 305,000. This would cost an extra \$2 billion a year on top of the \$11.6 billion requested by President Obama for Afghan security training in the fiscal 2011 budget. The Senate Armed Services Committee chair Sen. Carl Levin has urged the Obama administration to approve the build-up, which NATO partners would also be expected to support. Allies contribute by sending trainers, supplying equipment, and paying into the UN fund that finances Afghan police salaries. Currently, there are some 150,000 soldiers in the Afghan army, and 120,000 members of the police force.

For those with short memories, Obama vowed to begin drawing down troops in mid-2011 and currently stands astride a \$14.3 trillion domestic debt. However, the US military are concerned that Afghan forces will not be ready to assume greater responsibilities and the catch-phrase being used to justify the request is "irreversible transition". In other words, the idea is that a larger Afghan security force is needed now to avoid setbacks that could send US and NATO troops back into the country after 2014. However, the head of NATO's Military Committee, Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, has [said](#) that the Afghan army will not collapse (like South Vietnam's did in the 1970s) when international troops end their combat role. It is not clear whether the Admiral was basing this prediction on Afghan forces at 305,000 or 378,000 but I think we should be told.

Even more daunting than the problems of high desertion rates, poor marksmanship and entrenched illiteracy and drug abuse in Afghan forces, is the question of how to fund them. In the short-term, the bill will predominantly fall to US and NATO taxpayers, but in the longer term diplomats in Kabul are worried that the plan to increase Afghan forces by 24 percent could be unsustainable – in other words, this could be a very reversible transition.

The Afghan government's total revenue is currently only some \$1.8 billion annually (of which about \$450 million goes towards security costs) – about a tenth of the current cost of raising Afghan

security forces. The most optimistic long-term prognosis, therefore, is for a costly Afghan security apparatus financed almost entirely by international donors. There appear to be only two ways to mitigate this outcome: reduce the size of the Afghan security forces (while simultaneously improving the quality) and increase Afghan revenue flows. One way in which the Afghan government is trying to do the latter is through [taxing foreign contractors](#) operating in the country, although the US government claims that its own contractors are tax exempt according to US law and bilateral agreements.

The US and NATO allies spend up to \$10 billion a year on private contractors in Afghanistan and the tax question is an issue of growing resentment on all sides. The Afghan government has started to send out what it says are overdue tax bills and has threatened some US companies with arrests, loss of licenses and confiscation of goods. Ahmad Shah Zamanzai, director general of revenue for the Finance Ministry said "companies profit, why don't they pay tax for the profit they make?", whereas US officials are concerned about setting a precedent in Afghanistan (Congress having mandated in 2008 that no new aid agreement be signed with any country without unambiguous tax exemption language). But if the US and NATO allies want the Afghan government to collect more revenue so it can finance its own reforms, including in the security sector, then it is going to need to build a stronger tax base. Taxing the inflated profits of foreign contractors would be a good place to start.



(US Army Corps of Engineers training range complex opens in Afghanistan,

8 January 2011 – photo credit: [USACEpublicaffairs/flickr](#))

Ban on offensive cyber operations needed

Russia's [call for NATO to launch an investigation](#) into the computer worm that targeted a Russian-built Iranian nuclear power plant deserves a response. Claims that the [incident could have triggered a new Chernobyl](#) are probably exaggerated, but an investigation is certainly warranted. Indeed, a joint Russia-NATO investigation might be beneficial, especially if it were also to review the 2007 cyber attacks against Estonia (2007) and Georgia (2008).

The *New York Times* has reported that US and Israeli intelligence services collaborated to develop the destructive computer worm in a bid to sabotage Iran's efforts to make a nuclear bomb.

No smoking Russian state gun has ever been found in relation to the attacks on Estonia, although evidence points to coordination among Russian professional computer specialists and chat sites that were exhorted on the blogosphere to attack Estonian sites. [The question of who masterminded the attack](#) itself has been reverberating for several years, with many fingers pointing at the Kremlin, but without any evidence to substantiate these claims.



(computer screen - photo credit: Anna Carlson/flickr)

It is also clear that the US is making most of the running in [developing cyber security partnerships with NATO and the EU](#). Hungary's Gabor Iklody is the point person on emerging security challenges for NATO, including cyber security, heading up a new office opened last August. The Lisbon Summit in

November and NATO's new Strategic Concept also identified cyber security as a priority and commit the Alliance to bringing a NATO cyber-incident response organization fully online by 2012 and to centralize NATO cyber security. The declaration also included commitments to develop an in-depth cyber defence policy by June 2011 and prepare an action plan for its implementation.

One of Ambassador Iklody's first tasks should be to clearly define the parameters of offensive and defensive cyber operations and explore how NATO might contribute towards an international ban on offensive cyber attacks, or at minimum, a ['no-first use policy'](#) akin to that adopted by some nuclear weapon states (but not NATO). He will first be required to remove the blinkers and address a significant obstacle to international cooperation in this area: that a major source of cyber attacks and a major spur to the cyber arms race resides within NATO itself.

Missile defence capabilities: science fact or fiction?

NATO claims to have made a [breakthrough in its theatre-missile defence capability](#). It said so in two press statements backed up by two short promotional videos on its own TV channel (see below). These claims were dutifully reported as fact by the handful of press agencies that could be bothered to cover the story. In short, after EUR 800 million of taxpayers' investment, a mobile (i.e. in the back of a truck) theatre missile defence command and control system has been tested and found to work.



A joint NATO-Russian analysis of both the Stuxnet and Estonia/Georgia cyber attacks would be an exemplary case of cooperative security in action. But don't expect it to happen any time soon. The rattling of cyber skeletons inside both the Kremlin and Pentagon will see to that. In addition, the opinion pages in America have been full of praise for the ["bloodless cyber warfare attack"](#) on Iran, which is hardly surprising given the domestic support for other remote technological fixes in the US arsenal, such as armed drones. But just as those have blowback consequences, the moving of malware from the domain of civilian black-hats to full-bore military weaponry also has the potential to threaten us in return. As the *Los Angeles Times* [points out](#) "it's hard to ignore the signs that a new kind of arms race has started". This is troubling for at least two reasons: we don't know how existing international laws and treaties that govern conventional conflicts would apply to cyber war, if at all, and second, our crucial infrastructure is highly vulnerable to attacks from cyberspace.

In an increasingly interconnected world, it's hard to tell where the cyber battlefield begins and ends. It is clear, however, that the US Defence Department is carrying out [clandestine cyber activities with very little oversight by lawmakers](#), a situation that is almost certainly mirrored across several other NATO member states as well as other major powers, like Russia, India and China. The US military's use of offensive cyber warfare has only rarely been disclosed, the most well-known instance being the electronic jamming of Iraqi military and communications networks in advance of the 'shock and awe' attack in 2003. It seems highly likely that the US military is also involved in offensive military cyber activities in Afghanistan, Yemen and several other countries where it is supporting counterinsurgency or counterterrorism operations. The Pentagon has also centralized its cyberspace operations within a [Cyber Command](#) that became fully operational in October last year.

The test results are secret. Neither you nor I (nor more qualified independent experts) are allowed to review them. Nobody outside of the NATO missile defence programme can know what was tested, what the results were like or how closely they mirrored a real world situation. Does any of this matter? In a big world filled with technological wizardry we all rely on heuristics or shortcut explanations. But this requires either trust in the authoritative source or transparency: the ability to check the claims being made. Neither applies in this case. The industrial and military interests that

promote missile defence have a history of [cherry-picking the results](#) that suit them. This may or may not be what NATO has done here, but until an independent scientific appraisal has been made of the test results the claims should be treated with the same degree of healthy scepticism as those from the Raelian cult. And that is no basis on which to embark on expanded missile defence architecture in Europe, with potentially huge future consequences, both fiscal and strategic.

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

News

[2010 deadliest year for Afghan civilians: watchdog](#), *AFP*, 1 February - according to the Afghanistan Rights Monitor, 2010 was the worst year yet for Afghan civilians, with more than 2,400 killed and 3,200 injured; US-led forces were blamed for 21% of the casualties

[U.S. Said to Reduce Civilian Deaths After Increasing CIA Pakistan Strikes](#), *Bloomberg*, 31 January

[Pakistan doubles its nuclear arsenal](#), *Washington Post*, 31 January

[Taliban 'killing their own' in bid to wrest back control in Sangin](#), Julius Cavendish, *The Independent*, 31 January

[Nato chief faces tough questions from Afghans](#), *BBC News*, 31 January - What would you like to ask the secretary general of NATO? That was the question the BBC's Afghan and Persian services put to their audiences ahead of a special BBC interview with Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the start of the New Year. The response from viewers and listeners all across Afghanistan offers an insight into the hopes and fears of ordinary Afghans as the international intervention in their country enters its 10th year

[Afghanistan faces governance deficit](#), *Gulf News*, 30 January - President Karzai's standoff with parliament puts paid to any military gains by stalling government functioning and the fight against corruption

[Afghan troop proposal may cost \\$2 bn more - U.S. aide](#), *Reuters*, 27 January - a plan to boost Afghan security forces to 378,000 by October 2012, up from this year's goal of 305,000, would cost up to an extra \$2 billion a year.

[NATO's top officer says Afghan army won't collapse like South Vietnamese military](#), *The Canadian Press*, 27 January

[U.S. Finishing Afghan Casualty Review](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 26 January - The Pentagon's Civilian Casualties Working Group, tasked with "refining training and setting common procedures to reduce civilian harm" to Afghans, is reportedly almost done with its review and will brief military leaders in the spring

[White House, NATO Hold Up Afghan Force Size Increase](#), *Bloomberg*, 26 January

[NATO not to leave Afghanistan after 2014 transition: official](#), *Xinhua*, 25 January

♠♠ [U.S. Is Gaining in Afghanistan, General Writes](#), *New York Times*, 25 January - General Petraeus offered an upbeat "state of the war" assessment in the form of a [letter](#) to troops posted on the NATO Web site. He outlines a fight in which troops and the military had gained the edge or was on the cusp of doing so on every front, although his optimism is not widely shared

(Afghan National Police break ground on police district 16, 8 December 2010 - photo credit: [isafmedia/flickr](#))



[Afghans Purge Hundreds of Top Cops as NATO Cheers](#), Spencer Ackerman, *Wired News*, 25 January

[Millions in Afghan base construction funding at risk](#), *Washington Post*, 24 January - more than \$11 billion in US funding to construct and maintain bases for rapidly expanding Afghan security forces is at "risk of being wasted" because the military has no comprehensive plan for the program

[Afghan security transfer needs parliament: NATO](#), *Reuters*, 24 January - NATO said it aimed to start transferring responsibility for security in Afghanistan to Afghan forces by March, but stressed the need for an Afghan parliament to be in place for the process to succeed

[Karzai to open Afghan parliament after standoff](#), *Reuters*, 24 January

(Cash for Work - An Afghan boy hands US Army Sgt. Robert Smith, 2-502, 101st Airborne Division an Unexploded ordnance during the Cash for Work Program outside Stronghold Dog, Afghanistan, 29 January 2011. The program provides partnership with the local community by providing income for day labour and the turning in of unexploded ordnance – photo credit: DVIDSHUB/flickr)



[Thousands protest US drone attacks in Peshawar](#), *AFP*, 23 January

[Pakistani tribesmen rally against US drone strikes](#), *Associated Press*, 21 January – around two thousand people demonstrated in Miram Shah against US drone strikes in North Waziristan, where nearly all of 2010's strikes were reported

[Afghan underworld shows challenges for stability](#), *Associated Press*, 17 January - describes the "dizzying and increasing array of armed groups, including criminal gangs, drug traffickers and freelance militias" that operate in Afghanistan, in addition to the Taliban

[Pakistan's Failure to Hit Militant Sanctuary Has Positive Side for U.S.](#), *New York Times*, 17 January - Pakistan's refusal to attack militants in an area on its northwest border has made it easier for American drones to strike them

[Costly coalition plan to recruit thousands more Afghan forces draws concerns](#), *Washington Post*, 17 January

[Afghanistan's push to tax U.S. contractors could renew tensions](#), *Washington Post*, 17 January

[Gunmen torch 14 NATO oil tankers in south Pakistan](#), *Associated Press*, 15 January

[As opium prices soar and allies focus on Taliban, Afghan drug war stumbles](#), *Washington Post*, 14 January

[Germany Flags Afghan Drawdown](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 13 January

Ten years into the war and with an increase in US and NATO manpower, there has not been any perceptible improvement in the situation in Afghanistan. The Taliban still stands invincible, their sanctuaries remain intact, and there is an increase in the presence of foreign militants in the country. At the same time, the differences between the Afghan government and the coalition forces continue to increase which is undermining the overall efforts to stabilize the country. It is unclear if in the next four years the US and NATO will be able to make up for all that they have lost in the last nine years or whether it will continue to worsen further and claim thousands of combatant and civilian lives.

'Afghanistan' Country Assessment for 2011 in [CTTA: Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis Year End Report 2010](#), International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, January 2011

[Army strategy in Helmand under fire from former top diplomat](#), *The Guardian*, 13 January - Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles reveals helicopter jaunts for 'military tourists from London' in Afghanistan

[Taliban ready to lift ban on girls' schools, says minister](#), *The Guardian*, 13 January - Afghanistan minister claims leadership has undergone 'cultural change' and no longer opposes female education

[U.S. keeps funneling money to troubled Afghan projects](#), *McClatchy*, 12 January - US government funding for at least 15 large-scale programs and projects grew from just over \$1 billion to nearly \$3 billion despite questions about their effectiveness

[US military chief sees more 2011 Afghan struggles](#), *AFP*, 12 January - Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs Adm. Mike Mullen told reporters, "The violence will be worse in 2011 than it was in 2010 in many parts of Afghanistan," calling 2010's security gains "tenuous and fragile"

[Shadow over Pakistan security grows](#), *Associated Press*, 12 January - Pakistan's police force is seen as being especially at risk for extremist infiltration

[Troops caused \\$100 million damage: Afghan officials](#), *AFP*, 11 January

Commentary and Reports

[Al Qaeda loses bridge to the West](#), Christopher Anzalone, *Foreign Policy*, 28 January - Bekkay Harrach, the German spokesman for Al Qaeda Central (AQC), was confirmed dead in an attack on the US air base at Bagram in a statement released last week by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)

♣♣ [Obama's War, One Year Later: 195 Million Say No to War](#), Robert Greenwald, *Huffington Post*, 20 January

[Pakistan's political crisis: The limits of U.S. leverage](#), Nancy Birdsall, Wren Elhai and Molly Kinder, *Foreign Policy*, 20 January

[Training the Afghan army](#) – one man's story, NATO News, 20 January - As the man in charge of training the Afghan army, General Amlaullah Patyani is under a considerable amount of pressure. His military career began more than thirty years ago, so many would argue that there's no better man for the job

[How the Power of Myth Keeps Us Mired in War - Why Are We Still in Afghanistan?](#) Ira Chernus, *TomDispatch.com*, 20 January

[The problems that need fixing in Obama's Pakistan plan](#), Brian Katulis, *Foreign Policy*, 12 January

[Afghanistan: Killing Peace](#), Conn Hallinan, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 12 January

[Counterinsurgency Strategy Not Working in Afghanistan, Critics Say](#), David Wood, *Politics Daily*, 12 January

♣♣ [Dangerous aid in Afghanistan](#), Michiel Hofman, *Foreign Policy*, 12 January

[AfPak's Strategic Blinders](#) T.X. Hammes, *Foreign Policy*, 11 January - one month after the Obama administration's strategic review of the Afghan war, it's become clear that there's little willingness to change what increasingly looks like a failure in the making

[False choices in Afghanistan](#), C. Christine Fair, *Foreign Policy*, 11 January – argues for abandoning the current aggressive COIN effort in favor of an approach targeting terrorists rather than Taliban insurgents

[Skepticism Dogs War Policies](#), Paul McLeary, *Aviation Week*, 11 January

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

[Sarajevo: Norway hands over NATO Contact Point Embassy role to Turkey](#), *BH Daily News*, 24 January

Climate Change and Environmental Security:

[The Year of Living Dangerously](#) - Rising Commodity Prices and Extreme Weather Events Threaten Global Stability, Michael T. Klare, *TomDispatch.com*, 23 January



Hungry for climate action?

The beginning of 2011 has been marked by concern about what the day to day effects of climate change will be. Possibly the most important is how it will affect food. The global population will rise from 7 billion this year to 9 billion by 2050. Yet, at the same time as having more mouths to feed, the world will have less water and cultivable land. What will this mean for our security?

Click [here](#) to read it. Also:

[Cooking for the planet](#) The further rise in the Earth's temperature - and how it materialises - will severely impact on food. NATO Review asks experts how food and water supplies will evolve and if current approaches are enough.

[Dying to eat](#) What could food shortages mean for security? How would they affect the role of the military? And which areas are look at how food, climate and security may overlap.

[Optimism - or realism?](#) Are there any realistic solutions to the climate/food threat? Is there enough time to avoid its worst consequences? And what are the possible answers being considered?

[Uniforms are getting greener](#) Green issues are no longer the preserve of hippies and tree huggers. The military knows just how important they are. The BBC's environment correspondent, David Shukman, recounts how climate has become part of defence planning.

What we're up against is not just the intractable misogyny of President Karzai and other powerful mullahs and mujahideen, but the misogyny of power brokers in Washington as well..... these days every so-called Afghanistan expert in Washington has a plan for the future of the country. Some seem relatively reasonable while others are certifiably delusional, but what almost all of these documents have in common is the absence of the word "women"

♣♣ [Why Peace Is the Business of Men \(But Shouldn't Be\)](#) - A Modest Proposal for the Immodest Brotherhood of Big Men, Ann Jones, *TomDispatch.com*, 13 January

Counter-Terrorism:

Cyber Security:

[Russia Demands NATO Investigation of Stuxnet Worm](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 27 January

We are in this fight together. This is why in the NATO-Russia Council we have to strengthen our cooperation in the fight against terrorism

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on the Moscow airport terrorist attack](#), NATO News, 24 January

[Russia calls for NATO probe into Iran cyber strike](#), *AFP*, 26 January

[NATO networks vulnerable to cyber threat: US](#), *AFP*, 25 January

[Developing NATO's cyber defence policy](#), NATO News, 25 January - Senior National Policy Advisors of NATO nations gathered in Brussels for an exchange of views on how to further develop the Alliance's cyber defence policy. They discussed how NATO can provide added value for the Alliance's common defence against cyber threats and how to make use of NATO assets and capabilities in the field of cyber defence

[DoD, NATO Huddle On Cybersecurity](#), Nicholas Hoover, *Information Week*, 24 January - Deputy secretary of defense William Lynn builds a partnership on cyber defence with NATO and the EU in meetings in Brussels

[Cyber war has become a tool between political and military options](#), Ari Rusila, *Europe's World*, 19 January

[Iran's nuclear program and a new era of cyber war](#), Ken Dilanian, *Los Angeles Times*, 17 January - Stuxnet, the game-changing computer worm that is believed to have significantly set back Tehran's progress in nuclear enrichment, may herald a new era of shadowy digital combat

[Did the US and Israel use Stuxnet to create a new cyberwar era?](#) Spencer Ackerman, *Wired*, 17 January

[Risks of cyber war 'over-hyped' says OECD study](#), *BBC News*, 17 January

[Israeli Test on Worm Called Crucial in Iran Nuclear Delay](#), *New York Times*, 15 January - Operations at Israel's Dimona complex are among the strongest clues that the Stuxnet computer worm was an American-Israeli project to sabotage the Iranian nuclear program

[Senators say Pentagon did not disclose some military cyber operations in secret report](#), Lolita C. Baldor, *Canadian Press*, 13 January

Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

[Siemens Turkey develops air control systems for NATO](#), *Hurriyet Daily News*, 1 February

[CWC on PMC in Afghanistan](#), David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 31 January – commentary on Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan [hearing](#) on the "Recurring problems in Afghan construction"

[Marshall Aerospace to provide maintenance support services to NAMSAs over a three year contract](#), *Cambridge Network*, 31 January

Energy Security:

(photo credit: MikeAncient/flickr)

[NATO High-Level Officials attend the opening ceremony of the Energy Security Centre in Vilnius](#), Lithuania, NATO News, 14 January - Under the leadership of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs the centre will contribute to international initiatives with a special emphasis on cooperation with NATO

Enlargement and Partnerships:

[NATO and EU accession are two key priorities of Montenegrin foreign policy](#), *Balkans.com Business News*, 2 February

[China, NATO have potential to develop partnership: Ischinger](#), *Xinhua*, 2 February

[NATO: Azerbaijan-NATO cooperation is fruitful](#), *Trend News Agency*, 31 January

[Azerbaijan, NATO to consider alliance's new concept](#), *Trend News Agency*, 28 January

[Belarus to partake in NATO's Strategic Concept debates](#), **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**, Minsk, 26 January



NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), "Partners increase our security", 26 January
[NATO Deputy Secretary General exchanges views with Korean Parliamentarians](#), NATO News, 25 January - The Deputy Secretary General, Ambassador Claudio Bisogniero, met with a group of Parliamentarians from Korea for an exchange of views about the NATO-Korea relationship and other issues of common interest. Parliamentarians of the two main political parties, the Grand National Party and the Democratic Party were represented in the delegation

[NATO sets priorities for 2011, eyeing dialogue with China](#), **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**, 25 January

[An Uzbek Visit to Europe at NATO's Behest](#), *STRATFOR*, 25 January
[Uzbek's 'brutal dictator' in NATO and EU talks](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 24 January

[Framing NATO's Engagement with China](#), Walter L. Christman, *atlantic-community.org*, 20 January - A military relationship between NATO and China is unthinkable. Or is it? Albert Einstein once said, "If at first the idea is not absurd, then there is no hope for it." It is time to examine possible modalities for transatlantic engagement with China in response to emerging global threats



[From soldiers to entrepreneurs: NATO-Ukraine resettlement programmes bear fruit](#), NATO News, 18 January - Two important initiatives supported by NATO and NATO countries are underway to help Ukraine retrain and resettle former military personnel made redundant as a result of the progressive downsizing of the Ukrainian armed forces and plans to move towards an all-volunteer service. By the end of 2010, NATO-Ukraine programmes had retrained 4,673 former Ukrainian military servicemen with an average re-employment rate within six months of up to 70 per cent (photo credit: NATO)

[How to revitalize the dialogue between NATO and the Maghreb countries](#), Pierre Razoux, *Research Paper 64*, NATO Defense College, 17 January - reflects the findings of a September 2010 roundtable in Rome. NATO and the Maghreb countries face common challenges: providing for the stability of the region, preventing the spread of political and religious extremism, combating terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, fostering energy security between the two sides and the two ends of the Mediterranean, and reinforcing security in the Sahel region. The importance and far-reaching implications of such issues should convince leaders in NATO and their opposite numbers in the Maghreb countries of the need to give fresh impetus to the Mediterranean Dialogue.

[Bosnia: Europe's Time to Act](#), International Crisis Group Briefing, 11 January – argues that the EU should make 2011 the year when it finally takes the lead international role in helping Bosnia on its journey from a war-ravaged ward to a stable member state

[Global Governance 2025: at a critical juncture](#), joint study by the US National Intelligence Council (NIC) and the EU's Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), December 2010 - the report says global governance is not becoming 'world government'. However, more effective cooperation among a growing assortment of international, regional and national actors (including NATO), in addition to non-state actors, is needed to grapple with the growing interconnectedness of future challenges. But while interdependence should be driving demand for more collective action, domestic politics are pulling in the other direction; the US remained the world's most powerful country in 2010, accounting for nearly 22 per cent of 'global power'

Iraq

[Lt. Gen. Michael Ferriter assumes command of NATO Training Mission – Iraq](#), NATO News, 5 January (photo credit: NATO)

Kosovo

[NATO starts KFOR leak inquiry](#), *Voice of Russia*, 26 January

[Report identifies Hashim Thaci as 'big fish' in organised crime](#), *The Guardian*, 24 January - Kosovo's prime minister accused of criminal connections in secret NATO documents

[NATO hands over Macedonia border control](#), *AFP*, 24 January



Maritime Security and Piracy:

[NATO says Danish warship rescues 2 from pirates](#), *The Herald*, 28 January

Missile Defence:

[NATO theatre missile defence makes progress: Russian disquiet on territorial version continues](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 31 January

[NATO BMD programme takes leap forward](#), *Jane's* 31 January

[Ball is in NATO's court in European missile defense talks – Medvedev](#), *Russia Today*, 28 January

[NATO Has "Interim Capability" on Battlefield Missile Defense](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 28 January

[NATO achieves theatre missile defence capability](#), *NATO News*, 28 January

[Russia, NATO Remain at Odds Over Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 27 January

[Russia's new warheads "invulnerable" to missile defense shields](#), *Russia Today*, 27 January

[GAO Urges Revisions to Obama Missile Shield Plan](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 27 January

[NATO achieves first step on theatre ballistic missile defence capability](#), *NATO News*, 27 January (photo credit: NATO)



♣♣ [Ballistic Missile Defense: DOD Needs to Address Planning and Implementation Challenges for Future Capabilities in Europe](#), US Government Accountability Office, GAO-11-220, 26 January – see Appendix IV: 'U.S. Progress in Achieving NATO Support for BMD in Europe', pp46-49: "NATO's adoption of the territorial BMD mission at the Lisbon Summit in November 2010 fulfilled a major US goal". NATO allies must now overcome the difficult task of reaching consensus on how to carry out this new BMD mission, including prioritizing what areas to defend and establishing command and control relationships. Poland and Romania have agreed to host US BMD assets although the US has not yet found a host nation for a critical sensor planned for deployment in 2011. NATO members may later provide BMD assets to assist in the defence of Europe. However, the US currently is the only NATO member with BMD assets designed to provide territorial defence.

Building a new missile defence system in cooperation with Russia raises many important aspects. The vision of the Alliance is for two independent, but coordinated systems. Then we avoid outsourcing our security to one another. I assume, that Russia, as a strong and independent nation, still wants to be fully in control of its own defence systems

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Missile Defence: Two independent systems', 19 January

♣♣ [Strategic Missile Defense: A Threat to Future Nuclear Arms Reductions?](#) Greg Thielmann, Arms Control Association *Threat Assessment Brief*, 26 January

[NATO-Russia Council seeks to bridge differences on Missile Defences](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 26 January

[Missile Defense: Game-Changer in NATO-Russia Relations](#), Simon Saradzhyan, *ISN Insights*, 25 January

[Russia Demands Clear Answer on Role in NATO Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 25 January

[NATO to computer-test battlefield missile defences in Germany](#), *Monstersandcritics.com*, 24 January

[Romania Hopes to Conclude Missile Shield Negotiations This Year](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 21 January

[NATO Chief Sees Two Separate Systems in European Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 20 January

[Team overcomes major challenges to upgrade key radar site](#), Hanscom Air Force Base, 18 January - The US Air Force announced it has augmented the hardware of a missile defence radar facility in Greenland, enabling the system to spot smaller enemy weapons from a greater distance

[Russia launches arms race with new intercontinental ballistic missile](#), Andrew Osborn, *Daily Telegraph*, 14 January - Russia is developing a replacement for the world's most devastating intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in a move that risks reviving a global nuclear arms race

[NATO, Russia Plan Meeting on Missile Defense Collaboration](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 12 January

[Military Postpones Missile-Zapping Test](#), Washington Wire, *Wall Street Journal*, 11 January

[Flying Laser to Attempt Another Missile Shoot-Down](#), Washington Wire, *Wall Street Journal*, 10 January

NATO Military Committee:

[NATO Military Committee meets in follow-up of Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 24 January - The first meeting of NATO's Military Committee (MC) in Chiefs of Defence Staff (CHODs) session after the Lisbon Summit took place on 26-27 January. Under the chairmanship of Adm. Giampaolo Di Paola (CMC), top level military representatives of 66 countries discussed in various formats the implementation of the New Strategic Concept,



its military consequences and the evolution of NATO and NATO led operations. Apart from the [opening remarks](#) by Admiral Di Paola and his concluding press conference, the meeting was closed to the press and public. Media and other commentary:

- [NATO's Military Committee meets in follow-up to Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 27 January
- [Top NATO officer sees echoes of WWII in Afghanistan](#), *AFP*, 17 January
- [IDF chief in Brussels on last trip overseas](#), *Jerusalem Post*, 26 January - Ashkenazi commends NATO on "achievements against terrorism"; warns against spread of unconventional weapons
- [Security Challenges to be Addressed by Lt. Gen. Ashekanzi in NATO Conference](#), Israel Defence Forces Press Release, 25 January;

(Adm. Giampaolo Di Paola, Chairman of the Military Committee – photo credit: NATO)

NATO-Russia Relations:

["NATO expansion creates divisions"](#), *B92*, 30 January – Russian Ambassador to Serbia Aleksandr Konuzin has stated that there is no reason for NATO's further expansion because it will create further divisions

[Why Moscow Says No - A Question of Russian Interests, Not Psychology](#), Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011

[Russia-NATO Council approves 2011 military cooperation plan](#), *RiaNovosti*, 27 January

[NATO-Russia Council Chiefs of Defence approve the Work Plan for 2011](#), NATO Press Release, 26 January; also see 'expanding cooperation', *NATOchannel.tv*, 26 January

[NATO, Russia vow unity on terrorism, disagree on shield](#), *AFP*, 26 January

[NATO-Russia Cooperation at Sea](#), NATO News, 26 January - Commodore Michiel Hijmans, commander of the NATO counter piracy mission, Operation Ocean Shield, met at sea with Commander Pyotr Podkopailo of the Russian task group off the Horn of Africa

[An iron fist to keep NATO expansion at bay](#), **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**, 25 January - Chairman of the Valdai Club, Sergei Karaganov, speaks with Valdai discussion club moderator, Yevgeny Shestakov, about what NATO ought to avoid if it wants to maintain partner-like relations with Russia



[Airspace security: United We Stand](#), *The NATO Chronicles* – Episode 5, The Cooperative Airspace Initiative (CAI), one of the first concrete projects launched under the NATO-Russia Council, which was established by the NATO member countries and Russia in Rome in 2002. The CAI project embodies a joint determination to meet a common challenge: fighting terrorist air threats.

(photo credit: NATO)

Nuclear Weapons:

[Moving Beyond New START](#), Paul Ingram, *NATO Watch Comment*, 31 January

[Statement by the Secretary General on the Russian ratification of the new START Treaty](#), NATO News, 26 January

NATO's Nuclear Policy after Lisbon - The Summit Documents and the Way Ahead, *ELN Background Brief*, Report Prepared for the Meeting of the European Leadership Network, London, 25 January by Simon Lunn, Associate Fellow, RUSI and Dr Ian Kearns, Senior Fellow, RUSI

[Russian Arms Control Proposals Worth Considering](#), Ivan Eland, *Independent Institute*, 19 January

[Tactical Nukes in Europe a "Tiny Fraction" of Cold War Arsenal](#), Report Says, *Global Security Newswire*, 18 January

♣♣ [US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, 2011](#), Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January/February 2011 vol. 67 no. 1 pp64-73

[U.S.-Russia Nuclear Cooperation](#), Remarks, Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary, US Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC, 13 January
[Russia lukewarm about further nuclear arms cuts](#), *Associated Press*, 13 January

[A Post-Nuclear Euro-Atlantic Security Order](#), Sam Nunn, Igor Ivanov and Wolfgang Ischinger, *Project Syndicate*, December 2010

a Euro-Atlantic security community that includes the United States, Europe, and Russia and which really deserves its name needs to be a post-nuclear community. "Post-nuclear" is not – yet – going to mean that nuclear weapons will completely disappear from the Euro-Atlantic region. This process on the path to Global Zero has still a long way to go. Rather, post-nuclear means that in the Euro-Atlantic region the relations between nations are de-militarized and de-nuclearized in such a way that a community will emerge in which fear and deterrence are replaced by trust and mutual understanding. Only like that will we be able to jointly promote our vision of a European security community

♣♣ Wolfgang Ischinger, former State Secretary (Deputy Foreign Minister) at the German Foreign Office and German Ambassador in Washington and London; Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, [Towards a Post-nuclear, Comprehensive Euro-Atlantic Security Community](#), 25 January

Reform:

[NATO Reform High On 2011 Agenda](#), Julian Hale, *Defense News*, 24 January

Strategic Concept:

[NATO Secretary General determined to turn Lisbon agenda into action](#), *defpro news*, 25 January

Transatlantic Cooperation:

[Priorities For the Transatlantic Agenda in 2011](#), Editorial Team, *atlantic-community.org*, 26 January – According a recent survey three key issues which Atlantic Community members would like to focus on in the year ahead are China, the debt threat and climate change

Transparency and Accountability - Wikileaks:

[The War on WikiLeaks](#), John Pilger, *Truthout*, 14 January

[More American journalists back away from WikiLeaks and Assange](#), Roy Greenslade, *The Guardian*, 11 January

[Why Journalists Aren't Standing Up for WikiLeaks](#), Ben Adler, *Newsweek*, 4 January - Three reasons that efforts to prosecute Julian Assange aren't drawing more of an outcry about the First Amendment: Refusal to engage in advocacy; Opposition to Assange's purpose; and Opposition to Assange's methods



Upcoming Events:

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.



(photo credit: ex.libris/flickr)

[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?

[Global Challenges: UN, EU, and NATO in the New Security Environment](#), 2nd Strategy International Conference, MET Hotel, Thessaloniki, Greece, 10-11 February – key themes: Electronic network centric operations & Cyber-Defence; Maritime security and extension of sea power; Regional security problems in South-East Europe and the Middle East; Crisis management operations in the periphery of South-East Europe and the Mediterranean; and The role of international organizations, in providing new initiatives for countering new and emerging threats and challenges

[Getting in step: Coordinating national responses to changing security threats](#), Evening Debate with Gábor Iklódy, Assistant Secretary General, Emerging Security Challenges Division, NATO, 24 February 2011, Security & Defence Agenda, Bibliothèque Solvay, Brussels (18:00-19:30)

[2011 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference](#), 28-29 March 2011, Washington DC, USA



Security News from NATO Member States:

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

Bulgaria

[The Development of International Terrorism, as Assessed by the Former Communist Bulgarian Secret Services: Interview with Professor Jordan Baev](#), *Balkananalysis.com*, 7 January

Canada

[Canadian military wants new F-35 fighter jets](#), *Toronto Sun*, 31 January

[Can Access to Information be fixed?](#) Steven Chase, *Globe and Mail*, 14 January - as it nears its 30th anniversary, the Access to Information regime that was designed to furnish Canadians with government records on everything from the military to health has grown sluggish, unresponsive and obstructionist

[Canada ranks last in freedom of information: study](#), Dean Beeby, *The Canadian Press*, 9 January

Denmark

[Soldiering on in Gereshk](#), *Natochannel.tv*, 7 January – Out of all the ISAF nations in Afghanistan, Denmark have the highest ratio of casualties to soldiers deployed – is their sacrifice yielding any progress in Gereshk?

Estonia

[Remarks](#) With Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet After Their Meeting, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Treaty Room, Washington, DC, 20 January

France

[France Sells Assault Ships to Russia](#), *New York Times*, 25 January

[France signs contested Russia warship deal](#), *AFP*, 25 January

[France top at stealing secrets](#), *Agence France Presse*, 4 January - France is the country that conducts the most industrial espionage on other European countries, even ahead of China and Russia, leaked US diplomatic cables say

[French spy service bulks up](#) - Receives increase in spending to battle terrorism, nuke threats, *Associated Press*, 2 January

[The Successful Secret Service You Never Hear About](#), *Strategy Page*, 31 December - France is expanding its intelligence operations, with its main intel agency getting a budget boost while many government agencies are being cut. Recruiting has been increased, and the emphasis is getting people who can help maintain the French edge over the many Islamic terrorists who have settled down in France. This expansion will leave DGSE (the French CIA/MI6/ Mossad/SVR equivalent) with about ten percent more personnel (and a total strength of a bit over 5,000)

Germany

[Germany scales back anti-terrorism measures](#), *BBC News*, 1 February

[Germany denies it plans secret spy project with US](#), *Washington Times*, 3 January

[US, Germany developing secret spy satellites: cables](#), *Agence France Presse*, 3 January

Hungary

[Hungary to Receive Radiation Sensors](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 20 January

[Remarks](#) at the Hungarian Institute for International Affairs - Philip H. Gordon, US Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Budapest, 13 January

Netherlands

[Dutch Parliament Approves New Afghan Police Training Mission](#), *RTT News*, 28 January - the new mission, which is expected to last until 2014, involves 225 police and military trainers, 125 soldiers, 120 Air Force personnel and support staff for four F-16 fighter planes already deployed in the country and 75 specialists for military command centres

[Afghan interior minister appeals for help training police ahead of Dutch vote on mission](#), *Canadian Press*, 24 January

Poland

[Polish special ops unit to lead NATO forces?](#) *thenews.pl*, 28 January

Portugal

[Violence and small arms – The Portuguese case](#), *P@x online bulletin*, Peace Studies Group, Centre for Social Studies, School of Economics, University of Coimbra, Number 15 December 2010

Slovakia

[Sliač Airport in Slovakia will be modernised with financing from NATO](#), *The Slovak Spectator*, 24 January

Turkey

[Turkey hosts nuclear talks for Iran, U.N. Security Council members, Germany](#), *Washington Post*, 21 January

[WikiLeaks cables: US feared Turkish military backlash in 'coup plot' arrests](#), *The Guardian*, 18 January - Turkish arrests of senior military officers last year could trigger 'unpredictable reaction', US embassy cable warned

[WikiLeaks cables: Turkey let US use airbase for rendition flights](#), *The Guardian*, 17 January - Turkey allowed use of Incirlik airbase as refuelling stop, US embassy cable reveals, after Turkish denials of involvement

Bundeswehr bullets

German defence reforms proposed in 2010 by an official commission include:

- Suspend conscription from midyear
- Reduce force numbers from 250,000 to 180,000
- Double deployable troops to 14,000
- Halve civilian staff to 50,000
- Move defence ministry HQ from Bonn to Berlin, cutting 1,500 jobs
- Focus all elements on "core tasks"
- Levels of command to be "drastically reduced"
- Streamline arms procurement and use more off-the-shelf technology
- Improve training and career structures
- Single personnel body for all forces

[Security: A German military overhaul](#), *Financial Times*, 31 January

[The Turkish Role in Negotiations with Iran](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 11 January

Gulnur Aybet podcast interview for the European Council on Foreign Relations on Turkey's relations with NATO and the EU after NATO's Lisbon summit - Click [here](#) for audio

United Kingdom

[Axed RAF Kinloss to play part in Exercise Joint Warrior](#), *BBC News*, 2 February

[UK military faces further £1bn in cuts](#), *Financial Times*, 19 January

[Attack of the drones](#) - Unmanned aircraft are now a vital tool in war zones, but our skies could soon be buzzing with spy planes that feed information back to the police – and even the paparazzi, *The Guardian*, 16 January

[UK sole NATO member state still recruiting 'child soldiers': British MPs unconcerned](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 14 January

[Nuclear weapons sites cuts put public at risk, says watchdog](#), Rob Edwards, *The Guardian*, 12 January - Eleven 'potentially significant risks' at bomb-making sites and N-submarine yards, according to 'restricted' MoD document

[U.K. To Examine Defense Spending Mismatch](#), Robert Wall, *Aviation Week*, 11 January

[Tough times](#), Jonathan Laurence and P.W. Singer, *Armed Forces Journal*, December 2010 – article reviews British National Security Strategy and draws some lessons for leaders on the other side of the transatlantic “special relationship”

United States

[Made in the U.S.A.: Tear Gas, Tanks, Helicopters, Rifles and Fighter Planes in Egypt Funded and Built Largely by U.S. Defense Department and American Corporations](#), *Democracy Now*, 31 January

♣♣ [Overkill - Future Weapons, Future Wars, and the New Arms Race](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 31 January

[Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations](#), Jeremy M. Sharp, Congressional Research Service, 28 January

♣♣ [Cow Most Sacred - Why Military Spending Remains Untouchable](#), Andrew J. Bacevich, *TomDispatch.com*, 27 January

....the company receives one of every 14 dollars doled out by the Pentagon. In fact, its government contracts, thought about another way, amount to a “Lockheed Martin tax” of \$260 per taxpaying household in the United States, and no weapons contractor has more power or money to wield to defend its turf

♣♣ [Is Lockheed Martin Shadowing You? How a Giant Weapons Maker Became the New Big Brother](#), William D. Hartung, *TomDispatch.com*, 11 January

[Intelligence Issues for Congress](#), Richard A. Best Jr., Congressional Research Service, 20 January

Edinburgh discusses NATO Strategic Concept

120 people attended a one-day conference on ‘The New NATO Strategic Concept and Global Zero’ organised by Edinburgh United Nations Association in November 2010. Held at the Scottish Parliament, the conference discussed the future of NATO and global disarmament efforts. Click [here](#) for the conference report, together with responses from the UK MoD and FCO

[Republicans Split Over Plans to Cut Defense Budget](#), *New York Times*, 26 January

[The Corruption Game - What the Tunisian Revolution and WikiLeaks Tell Us about American Support for Corrupt Dictatorships in the Muslim World](#), Juan Cole, *TomDispatch.com*, 25 January

[Obama's State of the Union and U.S. Foreign Policy](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 25 January

(photo credit: watchingfrogsboil/flickr)



[Pentagon to Shift Focus of \\$1B Bioterror Research Program](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 18 January

[Tunisia: Recent Developments and Policy Issues](#), Alexis Arieff, Congressional Research Service, 18 January

[In New Military, Data Overload Can Be Deadly](#), *New York Times*, 16 January – For Predator drones, raw information helps determine what targets to hit and what to avoid, but sometimes the data is overwhelming

[Details of Pentagon 2012 budget decisions](#), *Reuters*, 13 January

[Digging Deeper at the Pentagon](#), *New York Times* Editorial, 8 January

[Congressional Oversight Manual](#), Frederick M. Kaiser, Walter J. Oleszek and Todd B. Tatelman, Congressional Research Service, 6 January

[F-35B On Probation, New Bomber To Go Forward](#), Bill Sweetman, *Aviation Week*, 6 January - Pentagon to develop a new nuclear-capable strategic bomber

[Covert action makes a comeback](#), Max Boot, *Wall Street Journal*, 5 January - Once in disrepute, secret warfare is now embraced even by the Obama administration to fight terrorism and weapons proliferation

♣♣ [The START Treaty and Disarmament: a Dilemma in Search of a Debate](#), Andrew Lichterman, Western States Legal Foundation, Commentary, December 2010

[What Should Be Classified?](#) A Framework with Application to the Global Force Management Data Initiative, Martin C. Libicki, et al, RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2010

Over the past year, the numbers of special operations forces and commando raids against militants have surged in Afghanistan. Two strike forces have grown to 12, according to an intelligence official who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss classified matters.

We've gone from 30-35 targeted operations a month in June 2009 now to about 1,000 a month," said NATO spokeswoman Maj. Sunset Belinsky.

[Special Ops Center to Streamline Secret U.S. war](#) - Obama Administration Opens Military Targeting Center for Increasing Covert Special Ops against Militants in Global Hot Spots, *CBS News*, 6 January



(U.S. Army Special Forces Soldier, from Special Operations Task Force-East, watches Afghan Commandos, from 2nd Commando Kandak, while patrolling a village in Dand Patan district during an operation. The three-day operation was conducted to reinforce the Afghanistan Government presence in remote villages along the Afghanistan and Pakistan border in Paktia province, Afghanistan, 30 November 2010 – photo credit: US Army/flickr)

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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