



Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

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NATO Secretary General speaking to reporters in Downing Street, London, [NATO News](#), 15 June

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NATO Watch Editorial:

Adieu, Robert Gates, Master of War

*You that never done nothin'
But build to destroy
You play with my world
Like it's your little toy
- Bob Dylan*

Robert Gates used his [last policy speech](#) as US Defence Secretary on June 10 to launch a blistering attack on NATO allies about the state of play in the transatlantic security relationship. The Brussels audience of European, officers, diplomats and officials were subjected to a blunt, no holds barred criticism of a “two-tiered” alliance of those willing to wage war and those only interested in “soft” humanitarian, development, peacekeeping, and talking tasks”. He warned of “a dim if not dismal future” for an alliance at risk of becoming irrelevant in a dangerous and uncertain world (photo credit: SDA/flickr).

Secretary Gates' assessment echoed long-standing concerns of US policymakers about 'burden sharing' and declining European defence spending. It was also a reprise of his earlier [March 2010 speech](#) to a NATO conference in Washington, at which he said that "The demilitarization of Europe—where large swaths of the general public and political class are averse to military force and the risks that go with it—has gone from a blessing in the 20th century to an impediment to achieving real security and lasting peace in the 21st".

In his latest blistering attack Gates again criticised European NATO nations for failing to meet their commitments in Afghanistan—or for imposing sweeping “national ‘caveats’ that tied the hands of allied commanders in sometimes infuriating ways”. “Despite more than 2 million troops in uniform—not counting the US military--NATO has struggled, at times desperately, to sustain a deployment of 25,000 to 45,000 troops -- not just in boots on the ground, but in crucial support assets such as helicopters; transport aircraft; maintenance; intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and much more”, Gates added.

The outgoing US defence secretary was even harsher in his critique of NATO's command of the Libya operation. After an initial bombing campaign run by the Pentagon, the alliance took over the air campaign and Gates warned that NATO may not be up to the task. The alliance is running short of

bombs after just 11 weeks, he said, adding “We have the spectacle of an air operations centre designed to handle more than 300 sorties a day struggling to launch about 150”.

Perhaps most significantly, Gates warned that the United States, worn out by a decade of war and fearing its own escalating budget deficits, simply may not see NATO as worth supporting any longer. “The blunt reality is that there will be dwindling appetite and patience in the US Congress—and in the American body politic writ large—to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources or make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defence”, Gates said.

After decades at the heart of the US security establishment, including as a former CIA chief, Gates has been spending his final weeks before retirement speaking frankly on issues that ranged from preserving Pentagon spending to sustaining combat forces in Afghanistan. But his Brussels speech was his most valedictory and one that the US armchair generals and newspaper bombardiers were quick to echo. “[His ordnance landed directly on target](#)”, thundered the *Wall Street Journal*, while even the ‘liberal’ *New York Times* opined that in ‘[Talking truth to NATO](#)’ Gates delivered a message that the alliance “needed to hear”. [Dana Milbank](#) in the *Washington Post* is illustrative of the eulogies on offer in the US mainstream media and body politic for a defence secretary who served two presidents: “Gates, who remained on the job at Obama's request, took on sacred weapons programs at the Pentagon, fired ineffective generals, won the surge in Iraq, revived a crumbling war effort in Afghanistan and got Osama bin Laden”. Even one of the most [astute critics](#) of the ‘war on terror’ has a soft spot for the outgoing secretary of state for defence, suggesting that he “may well be the one senior US official of the past decade to leave office with his reputation not only intact, but actually enhanced”. (For a comprehensive list of commentary on Gates' remarks, see ‘[Defence Budgets and Gates Brussels Speech](#)’ in this edition of the *Observatory*).

However, this rose-tinted view of Gates' record deserves closer scrutiny. Yes, he has tried to take on a few sacred weapons programmes at the



Pentagon (as did his predecessor), but overall he has overseen a defence budget that continues to spiral out of control. He has fired ineffective generals, when forced to do so by circumstances and Rolling Stone magazine, while the surges in Iraq and Afghanistan have been far less successful than his supporters are willing to acknowledge. And he eventually “got Osama bin Laden” but at what cost? One [study](#) has concluded that US involvement in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan has cost up to \$4 trillion over the past decade and at least 225,000 people, including civilians, troops and insurgents have died as a result of the conflicts. And at the final cut, the 150,000 US troops deployed in neighbouring countries had very little to do with Bin Laden’s death, which was largely achieved by means that closely resembled a police SWAT action.

The Gates back-catalogue contains a few duff moments as well. In the 1980s, for example, while deputy director of the CIA, he advocated that the US initiate a bombing campaign against Nicaragua and do everything short of direct military invasion to remove the Sandinista government. And despite being a former Soviet specialist at the CIA he failed to accurately gauge the decline and disintegration of the Soviet Union. Indeed, when [confronted with the scenario](#) that the Soviet Union was quite likely to fall apart, particularly if some unknown called Gorbachev ascended to power, Gates flatly dismissed this scenario out of hand and insisted that it would not happen in his or his children’s lifetime.

Clearly, Gates’ speech was designed to make headlines across Europe, but it was not a new message and one that is unlikely to be heeded at a time of tight fiscal constraints. Few in Europe (outside [the usual, mainly British, suspects](#)) appear willing to endorse Gates’ prescription of member nations “examining new approaches to boosting combat capabilities—in procurement, in training, in logistics, in sustainment”—in other words increasing defence budgets. There is a small discernable shift towards ‘smart defence’ (as NATO Secretary General Rasmussen dubs it), but there are clearly major differences between how Europe and the US see ‘threats’ and how to respond to them, which are at the root of this ‘burden sharing’ debate (and have been since the end of the Cold War). When a terrorist train bomb killed 191 in Madrid in 2004, for example, the Spanish government did not want NATO to invoke

Article 5 of the Washington Treaty – instead it increased its Interior Ministry’s budget. Such human security and infrastructure development demonstrably contributes to greater security, but is not ‘defence’ spending.

Indeed, while intra-European debates more often than not also fail to reach agreement about what constitutes a security risk, and whether it requires the application of military force, the limited ability of European nations to independently or collectively project such military force is ultimately the result of rational political choices. Not just in favouring ‘welfare over warfare’, as many US critics argue, but because most European governments regard the much derided development and peacekeeping capabilities as being more effective tools for ‘crisis management’ and conflict prevention than ‘hard’ military power.

While considering Gates’ remarks I was reminded of the German Luftwaffe officer Wolfram Von Richthofen, as depicted in [Dave Bolling’s novel Guernica](#), who chides his fascist allies as “bumbling procrastinators who had old world

notions of warfare”. The bombing of the Basque town of Guernica in April 1937 was one of the first terror raids in the history of modern military aviation on a defenceless civilian population.



(UN Guernica tapestry, at the Whitechapel Gallery, London – photo credit: [chrisjohnbeckett/flickr](#))

Today, the mantle of aerial ‘shock and awe’ prowess has passed across the Atlantic, with an unprecedented array of technologies available to a US defence secretary from \$1 billion stealth bombers to missile-firing drones. Of course, the targets are no longer ‘defenceless civilian populations’, but usually suspected ‘militants, insurgents and terrorists’ or potential perpetrators of war crimes. Indeed, as regards the latter, there is a certain irony in German and Spanish abstention from the air campaign in Libya being mocked by the head of the Pentagon, especially since one of the three early goals of NATO, according to Lord Ismay, the first NATO Secretary General, was “to keep the Germans down”.

As a defensive alliance, one of NATO’s goals today ought to be to [strengthen the non-aggression norm](#) within the alliance. This would include reining-in the more excessive forms of US (and other allied) militarism. As William Astor, a retired lieutenant colonel in the US Air Force and professor of history has [argued](#), the penetration of US civil society and politics to the point of dominance by military attitudes and values is an

“undeniable fact of life” in contemporary America. Nothing symbolises this more than Washington’s growing use of air strikes and the widespread acceptance of this among the American political classes (if not always the public). With the most recent [drone strikes in Somalia](#), the US Administration is now involved in bombing campaigns in five countries (the others are Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan and Yemen). The White House’s newly released [National Strategy for Counterterrorism](#) suggests that this number may rise, given the document’s focus on “surgical strikes”, drones and special operations raids.

And there are still those within the Washington Beltway for whom this is never enough. “I’ve argued for [military strikes against Iran] for about three and a half years,” President Bush’s controversial former Ambassador to the UN John Bolton, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on 24 June. Instead of being run out of town, [Bolton is said to have received a warm reception](#) from Republicans and many Democrats on the Committee. Meanwhile, incoming US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta has called for the President to be given the option of launching [conventional prompt global strike](#) weapons against “urgent targets” anywhere in the world at short notice. Von Richthofen must be salivating in his grave.

(Poster in Pearl, Portland, US, satirizing Senator John McCain who sang “Bomb, bomb, bomb... Bomb Iran” to the tune of the Beach Boys “Barbara Ann” in April 2007 – photo credit: [robot_zombie_monkey/ flickr](#))

Robert Gates has been known to [shed tears for fallen American soldiers](#), but until such time as a US Defence Secretary shows similar empathy for the victims of “collateral damage” then despite all the claims as to the accuracy of modern air munitions, [every bombing raid and drone strike](#) is a potential mini-Guernica.

Gates and NATO burden-sharing myths

The US has been the power behind NATO since its birth in 1949 and the disparity between what the allies and US spends on ‘defence’ has undisputedly grown wider. Today, the official US defence budget is nearly \$700 billion (although

Washington’s true [national security spend](#) is much higher), whereas the combined military spending of all 26 European members is just above \$220 billion. However, Gates and others (including the NATO Secretary General) use these bald statistics to perpetrate two burden-sharing myths.

Myth 1: The US contributes 75% of the cost of running NATO

The fact that the US spends at least four times as much on ‘defence’ as the whole of Europe combined does not mean that the US pays three-quarters of the cost of NATO. Indeed, the idea that United States is protecting Europe at American taxpayer expense is clearly misguided and is a misrepresentation of both the NATO budgeting process and the nature and scope of US defence spending.



The costs of running NATO and implementing its policies and activities are [officially met in two ways](#)—contributions to a common funding pool and participation in NATO-led operations—but a third way of looking at the issue is to assess the extent to which nationally procured military forces also contribute to NATO’s deterrence posture and Article 5 (collective defence) commitments. The latter is considered under myth two below, but let us begin with an assessment of the officially recognised budgetary process. *Direct contributions to the NATO common funding pool* are made by members in accordance with an

agreed cost-sharing formula based on relative Gross National Income. There are three budgets within the common funding arrangements: a civil budget, a military budget and the Security Investment Programme, which pays for NATO installations and facilities. In 2010, [the US financial contribution to these three budgets](#) was \$84.1 million, \$430 million and \$197 million respectively – or about 25% of the total common NATO budget. And it is salutary to note that this budget is less than [the amount the US military spends annually on air conditioning in Iraq and Afghanistan \(some \\$20.2 billion\)](#).

These direct contributions to NATO represent a very small percentage of each member’s overall defence budget. It is in *contributing to NATO-led operations* where the serious money begins to get

spent, since member countries incur all their own deployment costs whenever they volunteer forces for such operations. With a few exceptions, it is nationally procured military forces and military assets such as ships, submarines, aircraft, tanks, artillery or weapons systems that are or have been deployed in NATO missions in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Libya. To my knowledge, no one has provided a detailed breakdown of how the costs stack up for each of these missions, although the US is widely perceived as the largest contributor to the first two.

An [analysis](#) that seeks to track the major resource contributions to Afghanistan reveals the complexity of the supply puzzle, which includes private and domestic resource flows, as well as military and development spending. However, estimates of the costs of the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) show that the United States has probably shouldered at least 75% of the security spend in Afghanistan. But let us be in no doubt, despite the later addition of ISAF, Afghanistan started out as a US-led operation and will end on terms set out in Washington and not in Brussels. In his [speech on Afghanistan troop withdrawal](#), for example, President Obama never mentioned ISAF and referred to NATO only once and then simply to reference the next alliance Summit in Chicago. In short, Afghanistan is a very poor yardstick for measuring burden sharing within the alliance.

(US Secretary of Defence Robert Gates and President Obama salute during the March-in-Review at the Armed Forces Farewell Tribute in honour of the retiring Gates at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. on 30 June – photo credit: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff/flickr)



Myth 2: Every US defence dollar offers collateral protection to NATO/Europe

Implicit in Gates' argument is the view that every dollar spent by the Pentagon contributes to NATO's deterrence posture and gives substance to the alliance's Article 5 (collective defence) commitments. This takes the debate beyond the supply of capabilities for specific NATO-led missions and implies that without US military muscle, including a strong presence in Europe, NATO's security guarantees are worthless. While this may have been true during the Cold War, and continues to resonate with several NATO members on the alliance's eastern periphery, it fails to acknowledge three other contemporary realities. First, large parts of the US military budget—which is now stabilizing at levels significantly above Cold War peaks (adjusted for

inflation) and far above the Cold War average, in real terms—have nothing whatsoever to do with NATO or European Security. Within Europe, NATO is seen by most if not all of its member states as the cornerstone of their respective defence policies, whereas in the United States it is but one of several regional building blocks for a global military presence. Determining the proportion of the US defence budget, including capabilities and bases in the Persian Gulf, Western Pacific, East China Sea, South China Sea, Gulf of Oman, Pakistan, Horn of Africa, Yemen and Somalia, that are geared towards NATO and the defence of Europe is not easy, and a task beyond the scope of this editorial. However, it is unlikely to be anything near the 75% alleged by Gates, and at best, is probably closer to the 25% that the US contributes to the common NATO fund.

Second, and more controversially perhaps, some US defence spending either directly or indirectly contributes to activities that make Europeans less safe. The most obvious being 'blowback' from the US wars of choice in Iraq and, to a lesser extent, Afghanistan, and some of the other nefarious activities associated with the 'war on terror'. Gates warns of an emerging 'two-tier alliance': but such an alliance already exists on a number of levels. US commentators obsess over the 'military

capabilities gap', but a 'values gap' has grown even wider. As Gabor Rona, the International Legal Director for Human Rights First, has [said](#) one tier insists on broad authority to conduct drone strikes without articulating the legal criteria it uses to determine their legitimacy; continues to insist on broad powers to detain people without trial under

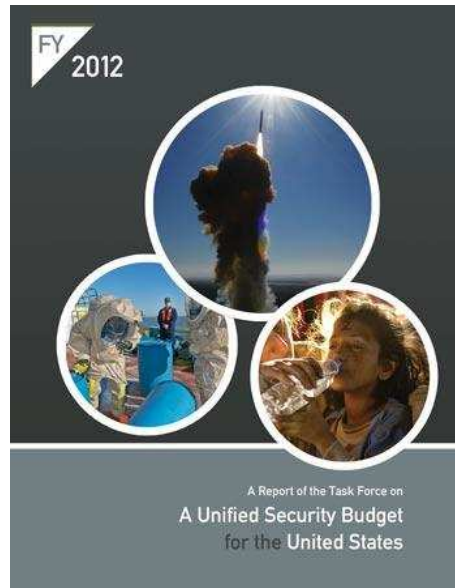
questionable interpretations of the laws of war; continues to insist on the right to transfer suspects to countries with records of detainee abuse under a veneer of "diplomatic assurances" that they will not be tortured, and without giving the detainee a right to challenge the decision; continues to subject terrorism suspects to military trials that fail to provide the minimum judicial guarantees required by either the Geneva Conventions or by human rights law; and continues to ignore its legal obligations to hold accountable the architects and perpetrators of torture and to provide remedies to their victims. The other tier rejects most or all of this on the grounds that it is both counter-productive (fuelling the radicalism that it is designed to address) and runs contrary to the laws, values and ideals on which the alliance is based.

Third, while NATO coherence requires a strong US presence in Europe, there remains scope for it to be further reduced and reconfigured to maintain existing (or even greater) levels of security and at lower cost. The withdrawal of one American combat brigade from Europe as part of a significant reduction of US troops in Europe has already taken place, and NATO's current deterrence and defence posture review (DDPR) offers further opportunities for creative thinking. The withdrawal of the small number of US 'tactical' nuclear weapons from Europe and a slow-down in the phased implementation of the planned NATO-wide network of missile defence interceptors and radars would be a good place to start. US 'boots on the ground' could also be diversified to meet specific missions, such as the recently [announced](#) stationing of US air personnel to train Polish pilots.

The bottom line is that Americans do pick up a disproportionate share of the NATO tab, but this is nowhere near the level that Gates and others bandy about. There is also a case for arguing that Europe's militaries are appropriately scaled for their actual needs, given that the biggest external threats to European interests are economic, not military - for example, dependence on Russian gas. On balance however, Europeans do probably need to spend smarter (and some countries may need to increase their defence/security spending), But the US also needs to spend much less and shift the focus to 'soft' security expenditure. The case for reducing and rebalancing US security

resources is overwhelming, but is often the 'elephant in the room' during transatlantic burden sharing discussions. Some senior US military and civilian national security leaders have expressed support for repairing the extreme imbalance in American security spending to strengthen US non-military security tools, and the debate on deficit reduction is providing a fresh impetus. But achieving it will not be easy.

If President Obama were truly seeking a bold vision about ending waste in the vast US military budget, as well as a road map on how to shift security resources more effectively, the latest edition of the '[Unified Security Budget for the United States](#)' is a good place to start. And NATO could assist this process by adopting a new political commitment, with a phased timeline for implementation, in which all member states would be expected to deliver unified national security budgets, geared towards a common NATO Strategic Concept, and that fall within both a 2% baseline and 3% ceiling of GDP.



The alternative is for the US to continue to seek to fund a national security budget equalling that of every other nation on the planet combined. This is unsustainable and without precedent in modern history. It would also undoubtedly lead to a "dim and dismal" future for American society and its wider relationships, both within NATO and beyond.

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

News

[Afghan civilians killed by RAF drone](#), *The Guardian*, 5 July - Airstrike in Helmand province is first confirmed UK operation in which Reaper aircraft has caused civilian deaths; also see [NATO Watch Comment](#), 6 July

[Pakistan shuts US out of drone base](#), *Financial Times*, 29 June

[Special Ops Nominee Defends Night Raids in Afghan War](#), *National Journal*, 28 June

[Refugee Group Finds 250,000-Plus Afghans Displaced](#), *Associated Press*, 27 June - More than 250,000 Afghans have fled their villages in the last two years, Refugees International said in a [report](#) blaming US counterinsurgency strategy for causing greater instability in Afghanistan and forcing more people from their homes



we have put al-Qaida on a path to defeat, and we will not relent until the job is done

Barack Obama's [address](#) on withdrawal from Afghanistan, 23 June

I have spoken with President Obama. I welcome his announcement to begin the drawdown of US forces in Afghanistan in July. And I look forward to further close cooperation as we prepare for the NATO Summit he will host in Chicago next spring

[NATO Secretary General Statement on US Afghan drawdown](#), NATO News, 23 June

[Belgium to cut in half its Afghan contingent](#), *Associated Press*, 26 June

[Story of a raid: Afghan anger grows as US troops storm homes at night in hunt for militants](#), *Washington Post*, 25 June

[Poll suggests public wants NATO to negotiate with Taliban](#), *Vancouver Sun*, 23 June

[NATO says Obama's Afghan plan shows progress alliance has made](#), *Washington Post*, 23 June

[Behind the scene of the Afghanistan troop withdrawal plan](#), Peter Bergen, *CNN*, 23 June

[France Says to Begin Gradual Afghan Withdrawal](#), *Reuters*, 23 June

[Afghanistan withdrawal: Barack Obama says 33,000 troops will leave next year](#), *The Guardian*, 23 June

[US pullout from Afghanistan signals new power struggle in fragile nation](#), *The Guardian*, 23 June - fears peace talks will see Taliban return to power; Pakistan, India, Russia and China jockey for position

[Military backs longer surge, but others demand rapid pullout](#), Nick Hopkins, *The Guardian*, 22 June - Barack Obama to decide between three options for how to manage military drawdown in Afghanistan

[Barack Obama and Pentagon split on Afghanistan pullout](#), *The Guardian*, 21 June - US president set to reject military advice by withdrawing more troops from Afghanistan

[Afghan army successes cannot mask fears of what happens when US goes](#), *The Guardian*, 21 June

[NATO campaign backfires as rabid youths replace dead Taliban leaders](#), *The Australian*, 20 June

[Headway in Taliban talks may be months off: Gates](#), *Reuters*, 19 June

[Few Taliban Leaders Take Afghan Offer to Switch Sides](#), *New York Times*, 19 June

[Pakistani delegation visits SHAPE, NATO headquarters](#), *Associated Press of Pakistan*, 17 June

[Attacks by Afghan troops on NATO soldiers rising, but motives complex](#), *CNN International*, 15 June

[Afghan army gives donated rifles back to Canada in favour of U.S. weapons](#), *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 June

[Pakistan: US drone strikes kill seven - officials say](#), *BBC News*, 15 June

[Obama to Mull Pulling Surge Force From Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 14 June

[Secret US and Afghanistan talks could see troops stay for decades](#), *The Guardian*, 13 June

[Outcry Over Afghan Civilian Deaths](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 13 June - a special coalition task force is calling for adding new safeguards to battlefield guidelines, in an effort to reduce civilian deaths

[After 10 years, no security unit is fit to take over from coalition in Afghanistan](#), *The Independent*, 12 June

[Afghanistan: UN says May deadliest month for civilians](#), *BBC News*, 11 June - May was the deadliest month for civilians in Afghanistan since 2007, when the UN started recording civilian casualties

[U.S. Sending Training Agents to Afghanistan to Stem Infiltration of Local Forces](#), *New York Times*, 10 June

[Afghan security forces still not so secure after NATO boost](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10 June

[U.S. Seeks Afghan Pledges by NATO](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 10 June

[Start of Afghan transition on track for July - NATO](#), *Euronews*, 9 June

[No Let Up for Afghan Air War, Despite Karzai's Threat](#), *Wired News*, 8 June

When Americans, who are serving in your country at great cost - in terms of life and treasure - hear themselves compared with occupiers...my people, in turn, are filled with confusion and grow weary of our effort here

[Remarks](#) by departing US Ambassador to Kabul, Karl Eikenberry, on the Future of US/Afghan Relations, 19 June

[NATO Commander: Afghan Forces Making Progress, But Still Not Ready](#), *PBS Newshour*, 8 June - Lt. Gen. William B. Caldwell IV, commander of the NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan, paints an optimistic picture of the progress of Afghan security forces, but cautioned that there is still a long road ahead

[Afghan nation-building programs not sustainable, report says](#), *Washington Post*, 8 June - the hugely expensive US attempt at nation-building in Afghanistan has had only limited success and may not survive an American withdrawal, according to the findings of a two-year congressional investigation



(Members of Provincial Reconstruction Team Farah arrive at Forward Operating Base Farah, 27 June – photo credit: ISAF media/ flickr)

[US missiles kill 20 in Pakistan: officials](#), *AFP*, 8 June

[Ominous signs for Afghanistan's north](#), *BBC News*, 8 June – the north was once the most peaceful part of Afghanistan. But as NATO prepares to transfer control of parts of the country to Afghan forces in July, riots, suicide bombings and high-profile killings point to an ominous decline in security

[Mood in Northern Afghanistan Shifts against German Troops](#), *Der Spiegel*, 7 June – the situation in northern Afghanistan is deteriorating. Bomb attacks against German soldiers are increasing in frequency and force, and local ambivalence has turned into hate

[Gates Says NATO Forces Ready for Decisive Blow in Afghanistan](#), *Voice of America*, 7 June

[Support for Afghan war rises, poll shows](#), *Washington Post*, 6 June - for the first time since President Obama announced a "surge" of troops in Afghanistan in 2009, American support for the war has increased, according to a *Washington Post-ABC News* poll - but a majority polled still say the war is not worth fighting

[Most Afghan security recruits illiterate: officer](#), *Reuters*, 6 June - only one in 10 Afghans who sign up for Afghanistan's police and army can read and write, a senior NATO commander said

[Petraeus vows end to night-time raids](#), *Pajhwok Afghan News*, 5 June

[Steeper Pullout Is Raised as Option for Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 5 June

♣♣ [Drone Attacks Split U.S. Officials](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 4 June - divisions have emerged at the senior levels of the Obama administration over the strategic utility of drone strikes in Pakistan

[Pakistani Militant Chief Is Reported Dead](#), *New York Times*, 4 June - Ilyas Kashmiri, considered the operational chief of al-Qaeda in Pakistan, was reported killed in a drone strike in South Waziristan

[Wedded to the warlords: NATO's unholy Afghan alliance](#), *The Globe and Mail*, 4 June

Commentary and Reports

[The growing danger in Kabul](#), Candace Rondeaux, *Foreign Policy*, 29 June

[What hope does the Afghan Army have of protecting its country?](#) Dean Nelson, *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June - If the Afghan National Army cannot protect a hotel, what hope does it have of taking over the whole country's security from Nato forces?

♣♣ [The Insurgency In Afghanistan's Heartland](#), *Asia Report* N°207, International Crisis Group, 27 June - collusion between insurgent elements and corrupt government officials in Kabul and the nearby provinces has increased, leading to a profusion of criminal networks in the Afghan heartland

[Obama Plan for Afghan War Withdrawal Will Leave Troop Size at Pre-Surge Levels](#), *Democracy Now*, 23 June

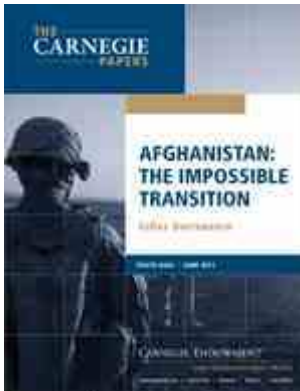
[Leaving Afghanistan](#), *Foreign Policy*, 23 June - Seven Afghanistan experts review the president's plans for ending the war

[Obama's Afghanistan Plan and the Realities of Withdrawal](#), Nathan Hughes, *STRATFOR*, 23 June

[Another New Strategy in Afghanistan](#), Jessica Mathews, *Carnegie Commentary*, 22 June

♣♣ [Afghanistan: Going through Withdrawal](#), Adam Cohen, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 21 June

[U.S. and Pakistan: Afghan Strategies](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 21 June



♣♣ [Afghanistan: The Impossible Transition](#), Gilles Dorronsoro, *Carnegie Paper*, June 2011 - argues that the drawdown of US troops in Afghanistan must be done strategically so as not to significantly weaken the coalition, or else it will create a security vacuum that will make successful negotiations with the Taliban less likely

[Afghanistan: why civilians are being killed](#), James Petras, *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, 16-22 June - only an army of occupation would be willing to sacrifice a multitude of Afghan civilians in killing a single combatant

♣♣ [Don't Let Taliban Negotiations Marginalize Democratic Forces](#), Heinrich Böll Foundation, *Atlantic-community.org*, 20 June - Afghan civil society leaders are appealing to parliamentarians demanding transparency in negotiations with the Taliban. They are concerned that these negotiations are leading to the marginalization of democratic forces in their country

[Training Afghanistan's Security Forces: NATO Has Made Solid Progress](#), Sally McNamara, *Heritage Foundation Web Memo*, 16 June

[Europe's Contributions Should be Recognized](#), Joerg Wolf & Elias Gladstone, *Atlantic-community.org*, 12 June - despite significant popular opposition to the Afghanistan war, most European NATO member states continue to send troops into harms way. The US media and strategic community, however, often downplays Europe's role in the country

[Obama has to reassess Afghanistan goals](#), Daniel Dombey, *Financial Times*, 12 June

[Slain Writer's Book Says US-NATO War Served Al-Qaeda Strategy](#), Gareth Porter, *IPS*, 7 June - Al-Qaeda strategists have been assisting the Taliban fight against US-NATO forces in Afghanistan because they believe that foreign occupation has been the biggest factor in generating Muslim support for uprisings against their governments, according to a book by Syed Saleem Shahzad, the Pakistani journalist whose body was found in a canal outside Islamabad last week with evidence of having been tortured

[Negotiating Afghanistan's future](#), Caroline Wadhams and Colin Cookman, *Foreign Policy*, 2 June

[Karzai's civilian casualties ultimatum](#), Erica Gaston, *Foreign Policy*, 2 June

Arab protests (and the implications for NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative):

♣♣ [NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue in the wake of the Arab Spring: partnership for peace or succour for despots?](#) Martin Smith and Ian Davis, *NATO Watch Briefing Paper No.19*, 27 June

[NATO unlikely to intervene in Syrian crisis for now](#), *Today's Zaman*, 22 June

[NATO to help Arab revolts 'blossom' – Rasmussen](#), *AFP*, 17 June

[Rasmussen stresses NATO's changing role in the Mediterranean](#), NATO News, 16 June - NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, delivered a [speech](#) at the Spanish Senate on NATO's changing role in the Mediterranean, particularly focusing on Operation Unified Protector and NATO's future role in the region
(Egypt's star – photo credit: A V V / V flickr)

[Tackling desertification and food security risks in Jordan](#), NATO News, 15 June - Jordan could face decreasing water supplies, viable farmland and food, if the arid and semi-arid lands of the country suffer from further degradation and become more desert-like. "If these arid areas desertify, we will have a problem with food security," says Dr Jawad Al-Bakri, Associate Professor at the University of Jordan's Department of Land, Water and Environment and co-director of a NATO-sponsored project aimed at addressing these challenges through remote-sensing technology

[Obama Hides Meeting with Top Bahraini Leader—And Mutes Criticism of Ongoing Crackdown](#), *Democracy Now*, 9 June

[NATO head lauds Saudi role in Yemen as Saleh vows to return home soon](#), *Al Arabiya News*, 6 June



NATO and the Arab Spring, [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Forum for New Diplomacy hosted by Carnegie Europe, Brussels, 1 June

♣♣ [NATO and Middle East and North Africa \(MENA\) Security: Prospects for Burden Sharing](#), Sally Khalifa ISAAC, *NDC Forum Paper No.16* - April 2011

Arms Control:

[NATO and partners examine non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament](#), NATO News, 22 June - The seventh annual NATO Conference on Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-proliferation was hosted this year by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bergen on 16 and 17 June. The event brought together senior officials from countries on four continents as well as from international organizations and academic institutions

[Small weapons, big impact](#) – *NATO Review*, Edition 4, 2011

What connects accidental explosions in cities and villages, a criminal underground racket and a source of potential terrorism? The answer is small arms and light weapons. In this edition, we look at how 200 million of them around the world affect people and societies - and how the international community is responding.



[Photostory: the struggle against small arms in pictures](#)

Why is action on small arms so important? In this photostory, the facts and figures about the spread, effects and dangers of small arms is set out

[Small arms: the real weapons of mass destruction?](#)

NATO's Chuck Parker saw the impact of light weapons first hand when serving in Vietnam. Today, he is one of the people trying to prevent the same misuse and mishandling of the weapons that continues today.



[10 years of action on small arms: where are we now?](#)

The 2001 UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (PoA) will celebrate its tenth anniversary in the summer of 2011. Sarah Parker asks: what difference has it really made?

[Small arms: Thousands destroyed, millions remain](#)

David Towndrow and Fred Peugeot of NATO's agency dealing with the dangers of small arms and light weapons outline progress so far and challenges ahead



[Limit arms exports to reduce violence against women](#)

The availability of small arms increases sexual violence against women, so international action is needed, argues Rebecca Gerome

[Dangerous stockpiles: unplanned explosions' high costs](#)

Over 50 incidents of unplanned explosions at munitions depots in 34 countries since 2009 is not a case of bad luck, argue Eric Berman, Pilar Reina and Pierre Gobinet



[How to keep ammunition out of the hands of terrorists](#)

Gillian Goh and Christopher Clark of the UN explain how new guidelines could help put small arms and ammunitions further from the reach of terror groups

Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management & Humanitarian Relief:

[Towards a Comprehensive Approach: Strategic and Operational Challenges](#), Edited by Christopher Schnaubelt, NATO Defense College (NDC - Rome), *NDC Forum Paper No.18*, May 2011 - One of the major impediments to implementing a comprehensive approach is lack of a common understanding between civilian and military practitioners regarding the development of strategy. This Forum Paper looks at a selection of specific cases that illuminate some of the challenges to integrating civilian and military strategy

and presents a wide range of ideas regarding the elements of strategy, its purpose, and how it should be developed. There is no single "best" way to address the complex security problems that NATO faces in the contemporary operational environment. Instead, developing a mutual understanding that recognizes where approaches overlap and where actors simply need to "agree to disagree" is the route most likely to produce practical improvements in the assimilation of civilian and military efforts. Appreciating the range of views and methods is the first step towards achieving a workable synthesis of them

Counter-Terrorism:

[Ayman al-Zawahiri appointed as al-Qaeda leader](#), *BBC News*, 16 June - Zawahiri has succeeded Osama bin Laden as the leader of al Qaeda, according to a statement posted on a Web site affiliated with the group. The statement said that al Qaeda's fight against the United States, Israel, and 'whoever supports' those countries would not cease. Earlier this month, Zawahiri released a videotape eulogizing bin Laden and warned the United States that it faces reprisals for bin Laden's death

[US vows to 'capture and kill' Ayman al-Zawahiri](#), *BBC News*, 16 June - The US will hunt down and kill new al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri as it did Osama Bin Laden, Washington's top military officer has vowed.

[The Zawahiri Era Begins](#), *Foreign Policy*, 16 June - What's in store for al-Qaeda's new leader?

The "responsibility to protect" a country's civilian population if its government violates human rights is firmly anchored in international law. But does that mean we are allowed to intervene? Or does that mean we're actually required to? I believe that each military operation must be analyzed to determine whether its goals can be achieved with appropriate means and within an appropriate time frame as well as how one gets out at the end

[Interview with German Defence Minister De Maizière](#), *Spiegel Online*, 20 June

Cyber Security:

[NATO: Heading Towards A North Atlantic Cyber Security Organisation?](#) Menekse Tokyay, *Eurasia Review*, 26 June

[Probable data breach from a NATO-related website](#), *NATO News*, 23 June - Police dealing with digital crimes have notified NATO of a probable data breach from a NATO-related website operated by an external company. NATO's e-Bookshop is a separate service for the public for the release of NATO information and does not contain any classified data; [NATO Reports 'Probable Data Breach' to One of Its Websites](#), Doug Aamoth, *Techland Time*, 23 June

[Kissinger, Huntsman: U.S., China need cyber détente](#), *Reuters*, 15 June - the US and China need an agreement to restrict cyber attacks and designate some areas as off limits to hacking, two former senior US officials said

[Estonia training Nato 'techies' for cyberwar](#), *EU Observer*, 14 June

[NATO cyber defence: next steps](#), *defpro.com*, 14 June



['Anonymous' Warns NATO: 'This Is No Longer Your World'](#), *Time*, 10 June

[Expert warns NATO of cyber arms race](#), *AFP*, 10 June

[Anonymous warns NATO not to challenge it](#), *CNET (blog)*, 9 June

[Bugless software key to security, expert tells NATO](#), *AFP*, 9 June

[NATO Defence Ministers adopt new cyber defence policy](#), NATO Press Release, 8 June -following direction provided by the Strategic Concept, the Defence Ministers adopted a new NATO Policy on Cyber Defence (photo credit: NATO)

[NATO plans force to respond to cyber attacks](#), *AFP*, 8 June

[NATO tackles cyber security at Tallinn meet](#), *Inquirer.net*, 7 June - three hundred global cyber experts gathered in Tallinn for a NATO Cyber Conflict conference focused on the legal and political aspects of national and global Internet security amid a rise in attacks

[Preparing for tomorrow: cyber defence and the New Strategic Concept](#), NATO Funded workshop, Cambridge, UK, 6-7 June - brought together 40 experts from NATO and partner countries, including Russia,

to proffer answers and provide an analytical context for a clearer understanding of what NATO's cyber security strategy should be

[NATO Threatens Anonymous; Kicks Off Weekend-Long Hackathon](#), *Techdirt*, 6 June

[NATO: Anonymous will be "infiltrated" and "persecuted"](#), Matthew Lasar, *Ars Technica*, 6 June

Defence Budgets and Gates Brussels Speech:

♣♣ [Remarks by Secretary Gates](#) at the Security and Defense Agenda, Brussels, Belgium, 10 June (also see the SDA's published report of the speech: "[Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance](#)") – and some of the fallout:

- ♣♣ [Counterpoint: In Defense of NATO](#), Stanley Sloan, *New York Times*, 28 June
- [Nato's troubled terrain](#), Peter Spiegel, *Financial Times*, 27 June
- [NATO allies must pool funds or face decline: Gates](#), *AFP*, 27 June
- [NATO's surreal world](#), Sarwar Kashmeri, *Khaleej Times*, 27 June
- [Departing Defense Secretary Robert Gates' candor puts NATO on notice](#), Martin Schram, *Seattle Times*, 24 June
- [It's time to find new allies as NATO withers away](#), Eric Rosenberg, *Houston Chronicle*, 24 June
- [Why the U.S. is stuck with NATO's bill](#), Ted Fishman, *USA Today*, 23 June
- [NATO Gets Mixed Reviews From Administration Officials, Outside Experts](#), Samuel Haass, *Huffington Post*, 23 June
- [NATO's Surreal World](#), Sarwar Kashmeri, *New York Times*, 22 June
- [NATO: The obsolete alliance](#), Steve Chapman, *NewsOK.com*, 22 June
- [U.S. Prods Europe On NATO Spending](#), Jackie Northam, *NPR*, 22 June

The amount the U.S. military spends annually on air conditioning in Iraq and Afghanistan: \$20.2 billion. That's more than NASA's budget. It's more than BP has paid so far for damage during the Gulf oil spill. It's what the G-8 has pledged to help foster new democracies in Egypt and Tunisia

[Among The Costs Of War: \\$20B In Air Conditioning](#), *NPR*, 25 June

- [Gates' transatlantic tough love for NATO](#), John Metzler, *Korea Times*, 20 June
- [Is NATO going out of business?](#) Patrick Buchanan, *Miami Herald*, 19 June
- [Gates is Right: NATO Must be Fixed](#), Les Francis, *FrumForum*, 19 June
- [Who Needs NATO? We All Do](#), Ivo Daalder, *New York Times*, 17 June
- [NATO head calls for more European defense spending](#), *Associated Press*, 16 June
- [Nato chief Anders Fogh Rasmussen warns of 'two-tier' force](#), *The Guardian*, 15 June
- [Defence policy: Learning from Libya](#), *The Guardian* editorial, 15 June
- [Nato chief urges Europeans to boost defence spending](#), *BBC News*, 15 June
- [Who Needs NATO?](#) Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *New York Times*, 15 June
- [Gates was far too nice about Nato's failings](#), Constanze Stelzenmüller, *Financial Times*, 15 June

(US Secretary Gates' visit to Forward Operating Base Walton in Kandahar, Afghanistan, 5 June – photo credit: ISAF media/ flickr)

The blunt reality is that there will be dwindling appetite and patience in the US Congress — and in the American body politic writ large — to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources or make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defence.

US Defence Secretary, Robert Gates, cited in [Defense Secretary Warns NATO of 'Dim' Future](#), *New York Times*, 10 June

SDA

"Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance"
Robert Gates' final public speech
10AM EDT/11AM GMT/10PM IST



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- [Only 49% Think U.S. Still Needs to Belong to NATO](#), *Rasmussen Reports*, 14 June
- [What Is NATO For?](#) Paul Miller, *Foreign Policy*, 14 June
- Can the Europeans Defend Themselves? *New York Times* – debate, 14 June:
 - [Alliance of the Unwilling](#), Josef Joffe, editor of *Die Zeit*
 - [Europe's Waning Influence](#), Kori Schake, Hoover Institution
 - [We Need New Partners](#), James Goldgeier, author, 'Global Shift'
 - [A Crisis of Ambition](#), Alexis Crow, Chatham House, London
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- [NATO and Its Crisis](#), Dr. Gary K. Busch, *Ocnus.Net*, 13 June
- [Pentagon chiefs' speech exposes soul-searching on tap for aging, splintered NATO](#), *Washington Post*, 12 June
- [Does Nato have a purpose any longer?](#) *The Observer Editorial*, 12 June - US defence secretary Robert Gates is right to be worried about the alliance's future
- [Clinton Backs Gates on NATO Burden-Sharing](#), *Voice of America*, 11 June
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Europe already spends more than enough on "defence". The US maintains an absurdly large military budget, costing every American family over \$5,000 a year, inherited from the cold war – to the "formative influence" of which Gates harks back nostalgically. A present-day Bourbon, he has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The future must and should be with the humanitarian and peacekeeping missions for which he has such contempt.

Peter Nicholls, *The Guardian* - letter, 14 June

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[NATO and Serbia discuss progress on Military Cooperation](#), NATO News, 15 June - Following the Strategic Military Partnership Conference (SMPC) 2011, hosted by Serbia, the Chairman of NATO's Military Committee, Admiral Di Paola, called on the Serbian Minister of Defence Dragan Sutanovac, the Assistant Minister for Security Policy Zoran Vujic and the Chief of the General Staff, General Miloje Miletic

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[Hundreds of Serb nationalists protest upcoming NATO conference](#), Associated Press, 12 June

New NATO LibGuide available: ["NATO Comprehensive Approach: NATO - EU relations"](#) (photo credit: NATO)

[Georgia: South Ossetia Tried to Bomb Tbilisi NATO Office](#), EurasiaNet, 7 June

[Closer co-operation needed to tackle new threats, NATO official says to OSCE](#), OSCE Press Release, 6 June

♠♠ [NATO Partnerships: Shaking Hands or Shaking the System?](#) Vivien Pertusot, *Focus stratégique*, No. 31, IFRI, May 2011

[The UN and NATO: Forward from the Joint Declaration](#), Edited by Brooke A. Smith-Windsor, *NDC Forum Paper No.17* - May 2011

Exercises:

- [Bold Monarch 2011](#)

[Russian sub joins rescue exercise](#), *Belfast Telegraph*, 8 June

(A Russian sailor takes part in Exercise Bold Monarch, the world's largest submarine escape and rescue drill – photo credit: Belfast Telegraph)

[NATO submarine rescue exercise improves international cooperation for saving human lives](#), NATO News, 3 June - Cartagena, Spain - A demonstration of submarine rescue operations, in the framework of Exercise Bold Monarch 2011, took place in the presence of Admiral Giampaolo di Paola, Chairman of NATO's Military Committee (CMC), Gen Nikolay Makarov, Chief of Joint Staff of Russian Federation Armed Forces and Admiral General Manuel Rebollo Garcia, Chief of the Spanish Navy, along with other NATO Officials



[Joint Press Conference](#) of the Chairman of the Military Committee with the Chief of Spanish Navy, NATO News, 3 June - Exercise Bold Monarch 11 is the world's largest submarine rescue exercise, involving submarines, ships and aircraft from both NATO and non-NATO countries, including Russia. This will be the first time that a Russian submarine has participated in a NATO exercise

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[Women: The Key to Conflict Resolution](#), *Atlantic Community Memo* 32, 30 May - NATO member states must integrate a gender perspective in agreements which establish the foundations for stable peace, as envisaged in UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325

International Law:

[New report warns drone users violating laws of war](#), NATO Watch News Brief, 23 June

[The magical realism of body counts](#), Muhammad Idrees Ahmad, *Al Jazeera*, 13 June - the US government, and a pliant mainstream media, are making sure the public remain ignorant of civilian casualties

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[NATO says Kosovo civil emergency force not intended for riot control, policing](#), *The Canadian Press*, 8 June

Libya:

NATO Operational Media Update, 5 July

Mission

On March 27, NATO decided to take control over all military operations for Libya under UN Security Council Resolutions 1970 & 1973. The aim of Operation Unified Protector is to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas under attack or threat of attack. The mission consists of three elements: an arms embargo, a no-fly-zone and actions to protect civilians from attack or the threat of attack



Air Operations

Since the beginning of the NATO operation (31 March 2011) a total of 14,007 sorties and 5,285 strike sorties* have been conducted. (*Strike sorties are intended to identify and engage appropriate targets, but do not necessarily deploy munitions each time).

Arms Embargo Activities

A total of 17 ships

under NATO command are actively patrolling the Central Mediterranean. 1,651 vessels have been hailed, 148 boardings and 9 denials have been conducted since the beginning of arms embargo operations.

Command and Control

NATO's operational commander for Operation Unified Protector is Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard of the Canadian Air Force. His office and staff is located at the Joint Force Command in Naples.

More information on Operation Unified Protector:

www.jfcnaples.nato.int

www.manp.nato.int

www.nato.int/libya

News, Commentary and Reports

♠♠ [Time to Stop the Bloodshed in Libya](#), *allAfrica.com*, Editorial, 3 July

Libya – views from NATO member states and partner countries

Arab League

[Arab League chief admits second thoughts about Libya air strikes](#), *The Guardian*, 21 June - Amr Moussa, who played central role in securing Arab support for Nato strikes, calls for ceasefire and 'political solution'

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[AU calls for ceasefire in Libya](#), *IPPmedia*, 4 July

[African Leaders to Snub NATO Libya Campaign From Dictator's Luxury Resort](#), *Bloomberg*, 30 June

[S. African President Zuma Warns NATO Against Killing Gadhafi](#), *Voice of America*, 26 June

[African leaders oppose NATO over Gadafi](#), *New Vision Online*, 17 June – includes statement by Dr Rugunda, Uganda's Permanent Rep to the UN at a meeting between the UNSC and the AU High Level Ad hoc Committee on Libya

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[Mobilizing to Stop NATO from Bombing Libya](#), *Vibe Ghana*, 4 June

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[Bulgaria's Drazki Frigate Back Home from NATO Mission](#), *Novinite.com*, 4 June

Canada

[Canadians split over Libya mission: poll](#), *Toronto Sun*, 29 June

[Not NATO's job to kill Gadhafi: Commander](#), *Toronto Sun*, 22 June

[Libya mission should continue 'til job is done: MacKay](#), *Montreal Gazette*, 14 June

[Canada will extend formal recognition to Libyan rebels: Baird](#), *Canadian Press*, 14 June

[Libyan mission focuses spotlight on NATO woes](#), *The StarPhoenix*, 14 June

[Opposition raises concerns as MacKay meets with NATO counterparts on Libya](#), *Vancouver Sun*, 7 June

[Libya mission deserves debate](#), *Montreal Gazette*, 7 June

♣♣ [Libya: Wishing the way to victory](#), *The Observer*, Editorial, 3 July - The intervention saved Benghazi but as we predicted four months ago, it has produced partition and military stalemate

[NATO tackles threat of attacks in western Libya](#), *NATO News*, 1 July

[NATO and Libya: 100 Days, but any progress?](#) Mary E. Stonaker, *Al Arabiya News*, 1 July

[NATO not involved in French arms aid to Libya rebels](#), *Reuters*, 30 June

[South African Ambassador: NATO Making Things Worse In Libya](#), *The Talk Radio News Service*, 27 June

[ICC issues arrest warrants for Gaddafi, his son and security chief](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 27 June

[NATO Secretary General's statement on International Criminal Court decision on Qadhafi indictment](#), *NATO News*, 27 June

[NATO's efforts to minimize the impact of the Libyan operation on merchant shipping](#), *defpro.news*, 27 June

[101 days in, Libya rebels say NATO is too slow](#), *CBS News*, 27 June

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[Libya: Nato must up its game to finish what it started](#), *The Observer* – editorial, 26 June

[NATO air strike blamed in 15 civilian deaths](#), *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 June

[For NATO, failure is not an option](#), Christopher Hill, *Globe and Mail*, 25 June

[NATO denies Libya claim raids kill more civilians](#), *AFP*, 25 June

[Admiral Tells Congressman NATO Is Trying to Kill Qaddafi](#), *Magazine Reports*, *Bloomberg*, 25 June

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[We must hold firm on Libya](#), David Owen, *The Guardian*, 23 June - civilian deaths have led to doubts over NATO's Libya campaign. Yet to stop now would be a huge defeat for humanitarian order

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[NATO, the ultimate transformer](#), Pepe Escobar, *Asia Times*, 21 June

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[Libya's civilian casualties have silenced Sarkozy's crusade](#), Nabila Ramdani, *The Guardian*, 20 June

Germany

[Germany replenishes Nato's arsenal of bombs and missiles](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 28 June - NATO has turned to Germany to replenish its arsenal of bombs and missiles

[Germany recognises Libya rebels as sole government](#), *BBC News*, 13 June

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[Libya civilian deaths 'sap NATO credibility'](#), *Al Jazeera*, 20 June - Italy's foreign minister says alliance losing the propaganda war to Gaddafi

[Italy to ask Nato to 'stop migrant boats'](#), *Adnkronos international*, 17 June

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(Steve Bell on the cost of Nato's action in Libya, *The Guardian*, 21 June - reproduced with the kind permission of Steve Bell)

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[Nato, Twitter and air strikes in Libya](#), *The Guardian*, 15 June - Nato says it has used information from Twitter to help analysts judge which sites in Libya should be targeted

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(Cockpit view from VC10 Tanker Aircraft as it takes off to support enforcement of No Fly Zone - photo credit: UK MoD/ flickr)



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NATO Pressing Spain, Poland to Do More in Libya Operation, *Bloomberg*, 8 June

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Gaddafi defiant as Nato strikes intensify, *Financial Times*, 7 June

Libya Stalemate Looms for NATO as Gaddafi Holds His Ground, Jonathan Dowdall, *DefenceIQ*, 7 June

Libya: a deafening silence, Jody McIntyre, *Independent (blog)*, 7 June

NATO strike pro-Qadhafi intelligence headquarters in Tripoli, NATO News, 6 June

Despite bombings, Tripoli doesn't feel like it's at war, Rosie DiManno, *Toronto Star*, 6 June

Gaddafi regime's propaganda attempts over baby exposed, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 June

NATO's Rasmussen Urges Planning for Post-Qaddafi Libya Fraught With Risks, *Bloomberg*, 6 June

Libyan rebels' advances near Misrata wiped out by Nato orders, *The Guardian*, 6 June - fighters in catch-22 as NATO instruction to pull back ahead of air strikes causes them to lose gains

Why NATO's air might lacks power, *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, 6 June

West Presses Rebels for More Details on a Post-Qaddafi Government, *New York Times*, 6 June

NATO bombs terrorize Libyan children at school in another CIA kick-started war, Deborah Dupre, *Examiner.com*, 5 June

NATO launches helicopter strikes in Libya, *Al Jazeera*, 4 June - Attack helicopters used for the first time, as opposition fighters advance towards the capital Tripoli

NATO attack helicopters increase pressure on Qadhafi regime, NATO News, 4 June - attack helicopters under NATO command were used for the first time in Libya

How We Dined with Mladic and Failed our Duty, Adam LeBor, *Financial Times*, 26 May

Maritime Security and Piracy:

Maritime security in the Mediterranean: Challenges and policy responses, SDA Discussion Paper, June 2011

The Human Cost of Somali Piracy, One Earth Future Foundation, 6 June -the abuse and torture of hostages by Somali pirates is on the rise; nearly 60% of



SDA Discussion paper
June 2011

Maritime security in the
Mediterranean: Challenges and
policy responses



hostages last year were abused or used as human shields, and pirates are growing increasingly violent in their quest for faster and bigger ransoms

Missile Defence:

[Russia-NATO Relations Stuck on Missile Defense](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 5 July

[Medvedev Could Join Russia-NATO Antimissile Talks](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 30 June

♠♠ [The missiles mind game](#), Fyodor Lukyanov, *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, 28 June

[Bulgaria to Host Elements of NATO Missile Defense if Turkey Refuses](#), *novinite.com*, 24 June

['Son of star wars' base in Yorkshire finally ready to open](#), *The Guardian*, 18 June - Peace campaigners slam secrecy over \$10bn Menwith Hill project that puts UK in line of fire

[Defense Chiefs Back U.S. Plan for European Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 17 June

[Anders Fogh Rasmussen condemns Russia for 'waste of money' missile system](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 16 June - Nato Secretary General condemns Russia for spending billions on a new missile system that he describes as "a waste of money"

[Secretary General in London: Missile Defence - A Critical Capability](#), NATO News, 15 June - NATO



Secretary General Rasmussen told an expert audience at the Royal United Services Institute in London that the development of a NATO ballistic missile defence capability is vital for the defence of the Alliance (photo credit: NATO)

[Twelfth RUSI Missile Defence Conference](#), London, 15-16 June 2011

[Czechs won't host U.S. missile defense computers](#), *Reuters*, 15 June

[Czechs, Disliking Role, Pull Out of U.S. Missile Defense Project](#), *New York Times*, 15 June

[A Historic Opportunity for Missile Defense](#), Simon Saradzhyan, *ISN Insights*, 14 June - NATO and Russia continue to disagree about binding constraints on ballistic missile defence in Europe. One way out of this stalemate could be for Russia and NATO to conclude a new Founding Act on missile defence cooperation that would contain mutual pledges of non-targeting

[Pentagon Mulls Hurdles To Early Missile Intercept](#), Amy Butler, *Aviation Week*, 13 June

[Russia objects to US warship in Black Sea because of its role in planned missile shield](#), *Washington Post*, 12 June

[Missile defence](#), NATO Fact Sheet, June 2011

[NATO and Russia Clash Again on Missile Defense](#), *Moscow Times*, 10 June

[Russia-NATO Meeting Fails to Bridge Missile Defense Divide](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 9 June

[Russian Unease Over U.S. Missile Defense Plans "Legitimate," Experts Say](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 9 June

[Uncertain World: Epilogue on joint missile defense](#), Fyodor Lukyanov, *RIA Novosti*, 9 June

[New US-Russia arms race? Battle lines grow over missile defense](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 8 June - US planned antimissile deployments are spurring threats that Russia might withdraw from New START treaty

[Russia Claims Ability to Penetrate NATO Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 8 June

[Euro-ABM: a view from Moscow](#), *Voice of Russia*, 8 June

[Russia will counter any NATO missile defense - Russian envoy](#), *RIA Novosti*, 7 June

[NATO Head Spurns Giving Russia Legal Pledge on Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 7 June

[Allies Struggle to Implement NATO's Lisbon Summit Decisions](#), Richard Weitz, *Second Line of Defense*, 7 June

As we sit here discussing missile defence, some people elsewhere in the world are discussing missile attack

"NATO: Defending against Ballistic Missile Attack", [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Royal United Services Institute in London, 15 June

The development of a capability to deliver conventional warheads to any point on Earth within minutes "would be a valuable option for the president to have at his disposal," CIA Director Leon Panetta told lawmakers ahead of a hearing on his nomination to succeed Robert Gates as US Defense secretary

[Defense Secretary Nominee Backs Prompt Global Strike Effort](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 10 June

NATO Defence Ministers Meeting, Brussels, 8-9 June:

The transition in Afghanistan and the mission in Libya provided the main operational backdrop to the [NATO Defence Ministers meetings in Brussels](#) on 8 and 9 June. But this meeting was not just about current operations, but also about NATO's future. Ignoring for a moment US Defence Secretary Gates' warning that it might be a "a dim, if not dismal future", the ministers also agreed a reform package designed to make NATO leaner, more effective, and more efficient at a time of tight budgets. Decisions were taken to both streamline the agencies which run individual NATO projects and reshape NATO's command structure.

In addition, as part of NATO's refocusing on 'emerging challenges', the ministers also agreed a new cyber defence policy which is expected to define and direct NATO efforts in defending the new frontier of cyberspace – although in its wisdom both the policy and an accompanying Action Plan remain classified. Indeed, rather unusually, there was no final declaration released following the meeting, and the only official text was a [Statement on Libya following the Working lunch of NATO Ministers of Defence with non-NATO Contributors to Operation Unified Protector](#).

[Technical background briefing on NATO Command Structure](#) by Brigadier General Patrick Wouters, Deputy Director Plans and Policy Division, International Military Staff (IMS), 9 June

[Press conference by the US Secretary of Defense](#), Robert Gates at the meeting of NATO Defence Ministers, 9 June

[Concluding press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen after the meetings of NATO Defence Ministers, 9 June

[Defence Ministers reaffirm commitment to Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 9 June; 09 Jun. 2011; [Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen at the meeting of NATO Defence Ministers with non-NATO ISAF Contributing Nations, 9 June; [NATO Rule of Law Field Support Mission \(NROLFSM\)](#), NATO Media Backgrounder, June 2011; [Afghan National Security Forces \(ANSF\)](#), NATO Media Backgrounder, June 2011



(photo credit: NATO)

[NATO and partners will stay the course on Libya](#), NATO News, 8 June; [Statement on Libya following the Working lunch of NATO Ministers of Defence with non-NATO Contributors to Operation Unified Protector](#), 8 June; [Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen after the working lunch of NATO Ministers of Defence with non-NATO Contributors to Operation Unified Protector, NATO News, 8 June; Operation Unified Protector: [Protection of Civilians and Civilian-Populated Areas - NATO-led Arms Embargo against Libya](#), NATO Fact Sheets, June 2011

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen at the North Atlantic Council at the level of Defence Ministers, NATO News, 8 June

[NATO and Russia building trust through defence cooperation](#), NATO News, 8 June - for the first time in three years, the 29 NATO-Russia Council (NRC) Defence Ministers met in Brussels to discuss a broad range of defence issues; [Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen at the meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Defence Ministers; [Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen following the meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Defence Ministers

[Gates Sets Last Talks With NATO and Russia on War, Shield](#), *Bloomberg*, 7 June

[Tough bargaining expected on NATO base reform](#), *Khaleej Times*, 7 June

[Defence minister Smith heads for NATO meet](#), *Ninemsn* (Australia), 6 June

NATO-Russia Relations:

New NATO LibGuide available: ["NATO - Russia relations"](#)

[Arms Transfers to Russia: An Internal Challenge to NATO](#), *Eurasia Daily Monitor* Volume: 8 Issue: 125, 29 June

[Is NATO Partnership for Peace in Russia's interests?](#) Robert Smigielski, *RIA Novosti*, 29 June

[Contract Watch - Four Remaining Mysteries about France and Russia's Mistral Deal](#), *DefenceIQ.com*, 23 June

[Russia acquires French copter carriers](#), *Voice of Russia*, 17 June - France becomes the first NATO country to sell military hardware to Russia

Nuclear Weapons:

(photo credit: helliothomas/flickr)

[Adapting NATO's Deterrence Posture: The Alliance's New Strategic Concept and Implications for Nuclear Policy, Non-Proliferation, Arms Control, and Disarmament](#): A Report on a Workshop in Tallinn, 4-6 May 2011, NATO Defense College, *Workshop Report*, June 2011



♣♣ [B61 LEP: Increasing NATO Nuclear Capability and Precision Low-Yield Strikes](#), Hans Kristensen, *FAS Blog*, 16 June - a modified US nuclear bomb currently under design will have improved military capabilities compared with older weapons and increase the targeting capability of NATO's nuclear arsenal. The B61-12, the product of a planned 30-year life extension and consolidation of four existing versions of the B61 into one, will be equipped with a new guidance system to increase its accuracy. As a result, if funded by Congress, the US non-strategic nuclear bombs currently deployed in five European countries will return to Europe as a life-extended version in 2018 with a significantly enhanced capability to destroy military targets

[Nuclear Bomb Refurbishment May Alarm Russia, Imperil Obama Plan](#), *Bloomberg*, 16 June

♣♣ [U.S. Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe after NATO's Lisbon Summit: Why Their Withdrawal Is Desirable and Feasible](#), Tom Sauer and Bob van der Zwaan, *Belfer Center Discussion Paper*, No. 2011-05, Harvard Kennedy School, May 2011 - in this paper the authors describe how, over the past two decades, the usefulness of US tactical nuclear weapons that are forward-deployed in Europe has gradually declined. They then list the main arguments in favour of the continuation of this trend until they are completely eliminated over the next couple of years, while subsequently investigating what the reasons are for NATO's desire to prolong its reliance on these weapons. In the final part of the paper, they analyze the political feasibility of their complete withdrawal, explain what the political practicalities of such a withdrawal would be, and make some concluding remarks

In his [written testimony](#), the next US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta gave this answer to a question about US nuclear weapons in Europe:

In your view, is there a continuing requirement for US nuclear weapons to be deployed in NATO countries?

NATO's New Strategic Concept stated NATO's commitment to the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, but made clear that as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world, NATO will remain a nuclear Alliance. At Lisbon, NATO also initiated a review of its overall posture in deterring and defending against the full range of threats to the Alliance. I am informed that this review will recommend an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defence capabilities for the Alliance. This provides an opportunity to adapt NATO's nuclear posture to the realities of the 21st century. NATO's new Strategic Concept reflects Allies' commitment to NATO as a nuclear alliance and to nuclear burden sharing as fundamental to deterrence and assurance in Europe. NATO has rightly made clear that it will not unilaterally eliminate its nuclear capabilities absent an agreement with Russia on non-strategic nuclear weapons. The Administration is exploring negotiations with Russia to address the disparity in non-strategic weapons, and will consult with Allies on those negotiations.

[Let us withdraw the remaining US nuclear weapons from Europe](#), Tom Sauer, *Europe's World*, 7 June

[NATO deterrence and defense, and divisions over tactical nuclear weapons](#), *BASIC This Week*, 6 June

[Weathering Change: the future of extended nuclear deterrence](#) - a global debate from The Interpreter, weblog of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, edited by Rory Medcalf, May 2011 - prominent global experts and emerging scholars share their core assessments on the future of the so-called nuclear umbrella

[The Baltic Approach: A next step? Prospects for an Arms Control Regime for Sub-strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe](#), Fredrik Lindvall, John Rydqvist, Fredrik Westerlund and Mike Winnerstig, FOI, Swedish Defence Research Agency, February 2011 - this study addresses the issue of sub-strategic nuclear weapons (SSNW) in northern Europe and the conditions for constructing an arms control regime for SSNWs. Such a regime could eventually lead to the removal of this category of weapons from northern Europe. In addition to a conceptual discussion of the weapons category and the different types of arms control regime that could be applied to it, the study includes analyses of Russian, US, European NATO member states' and Chinese perspectives on SSNW issues. Finally the study outlines a possible regime for arms control and disarmament for

SSNWs that focuses on the Baltic Sea area.

Reform:

[Shaping NATO's reform agenda](#), International conference, Cercle Gaulois, Brussels, 29 June – Organised by the Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and chaired by SDA co-president and former NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

[Nato base to remain at Northwood](#), *Financial Times*, 9 June



[NATO to close bases in economy, efficiency drive](#), *Reuters Africa*, 9 June

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on Agency and Command structure reform](#), NATO News, 8 June

[Background on Agency Reform](#), NATO Media Backgrounder, 8 June - NATO has currently 14 agencies and the reforms are expected to achieve greater synergy between similar functions and make agencies work more efficiently and effectively (photo credit: NATO)

[Graphical representation of the NATO Agencies, Programme Offices & Organisational Elements after the](#)

[2011 reform](#) (PDF / 105.26 kb)

[Backgrounder - NATO Command Structure Review](#), NATO, NATO Media Backgrounder, 8 June

[NATO approves reforms to meet the challenges of tomorrow](#), NATOchannel.tv, 8 June

Transparency and Accountability:

[Meet the Bloggers: NATO's Public Diplomacy and Social Media](#), Sascha Lohmann, *Atlantic-community.org*, 16 May - Social media fundamentally transformed the way in which public diplomacy is conducted. Whereas elected governments can advance their objectives through the use of social media, the prospects for international organizations remain vague as they are accountable solely to their member states

Upcoming Events:

[Meeting of NATO-Russia Council](#), Sochi, Russian Federation, 4 July

[NATO-Georgia conference on "Emerging Security Challenges"](#), Tbilisi, Georgia, 7- 8 July

[NATO Parliamentary Assembly, 57th Plenary Session](#), Bucharest, Romania, 7-11 October

[NATO Chicago Summit: 15-22 May 2012](#)

even if one is in favour of transparency, military and intelligence operations simply cannot be planned and consulted with the public. Transparency cannot exist without control. The government, and especially its security agencies, must have the right to limit access to information in order to govern and to protect. This is based on the premise that states and corporations have the right to privacy as much as individuals do and that secrecy is required for efficient management of the state institutions and organizations.

In addition, transparency can be misused on several levels – by providing unprofessional or poor-quality interpretation of information or documents, by conducting superficial or biased analysis, by lack of experience on the topic or by pursuing a political agenda. Thus, not everything carried out under the “transparency label” is necessarily good for the government and its people.

074 CDS 11E – [Information and National Security](#), Draft General Report by Lord Jopling (UK), General Rapporteur, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, May 2011



[Volatile world needs NATO](#), Thomas Wright, *Chicago Tribune*, 22 June - Organization to reset for the 21st century in Chicago

Security News from NATO Member States:

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

Canada

[Canada to pull out of Nato air surveillance](#), *Dawn.com*, 10 June

Croatia

[Visit to NATO by the President of the Republic of Croatia](#), NATO News, 7 June

Germany

[How Much Value is Germany Adding to NATO Defence?](#) *DefenceIQ*, 4 July

[German opposition slams Berlin's stance on Kunduz inquiry](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 3 July - a parliamentary inquiry has found that Germany's defence minister did nothing wrong in the aftermath of a NATO airstrike that killed dozens of civilians in Afghanistan. The opposition described the stance as "ridiculous"

[German army falls below European standards](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 3 July - the German military is more expensive and less efficient than its major NATO allies such as the UK and France, says the European Defence Agency

[50th anniversary of Berlin crisis marked by exhibition and release of declassified documents](#), NATO Press Release, 30 June - "The Wall and the Allied Response to the Berlin crisis of 1961" is the subject of a multimedia exhibition which opened at NATO Headquarters on 23 June. The exhibition was co-organized by the NATO Archives and the German Delegation to NATO and coincides with the public disclosure of NATO planning documents related to this pivotal moment of the Cold War

[Germany says Islamic terrorism still a threat](#), *Associated Press*, 1 July

[Germany extends anti-terror laws, ending long debate](#), *Reuters*, 29 June

Latvia

[Latvia says could seek NATO support over Mistral threat](#), *RIA Novosti*, 22 June - Latvia will ask NATO for support if Russia deploys French-built Mistral warships in the Baltic Sea, Defence Minister Artis Pabriks said (Mistral-class helicopter carrier - photo credit: RIA Novosti)

[How 2 Russians became NATO captives](#), *The Voice of Russia*, 6 June



Poland

[NATO counterintelligence services in exercises in Poland](#), *Xinhua*, 16 June

[Permanent NATO detachment in Poland from 2012?](#) *thenews.pl*, 13 June - a 'memorandum of understanding' was signed in Warsaw on the stationing of a US Air Force base in Poland

[U.S., Poland sign military aviation accord](#), *Reuters AlertNet*, 13 June

Spain

[Spanish Arms Exports 2000 - 2009](#), Tica Font, The Peace Studies Centre Delàs, Report No.8, February 2011 - shows that Spain has become the sixth largest arm exporter in the world and that Spanish sales largely do not respect national or EU export controls

[Radioactive Source Stolen in Spain](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 6 June

Turkey

[‘Turkey will not stand by the wrongdoing in Syria’](#), *Today's Zaman*, 19 June

[NATO and the new Turkey](#), Sinan Ülgen, *China Daily*, 16 June

[Turkey's Elections and Strained U.S. Relations](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 14 June

[An Impending Test of the Maturity of Turkish Democracy](#), Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Europe Comment, 10 June

[Turkish police detain 10 suspected radical Islamic people allegedly tied to al-Qaida](#), *Washington Post*, 7 June

[İzmir base likely to become NATO's Land Component Command](#), *Today's Zaman*, 6 June

United Kingdom

[RAF tackles Taliban in Afghanistan – using joysticks in Las Vegas](#), *The Guardian*, 5 July - In a Nevada air force base thousands of miles away from the combat zone British drone pilots take a frontline role

[Britain's defence](#), *Financial Times* – editorial, 27 June – proposed MoD reforms are billed as the most radical shake-up of Britain's defence structures in a generation, but the FT argues "they will not resolve the black hole in its finances, which remains the MoD's most pressing problem"

[Fox launches attack on Ministry of Defence](#), *Financial Times*, 27 June

♣♣ [The Security Implications of Scottish independence](#), Mark Lynch, RUSI.org, June 2011 - the victory of Scottish nationalists in the recent Scottish Parliamentary elections brings closer the possibility of Scotland's independence. With Britain's nuclear arsenal located largely in Scotland, policymakers must now consider what independence would entail for UK security

[British generals must stop their moaning](#), Max Hastings, *Financial Times*, 19 June

[Britain must reverse the defence cuts before it is too late](#), Letter from retired senior commanders, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June

[NATO Secretary General and Prime Minister Cameron exchange views on Libya and Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 15 June

[Liam Fox Faces Uphill Battle as He Leads MoD Into Cyber War](#), Robert Densmore, *DefenceIQ*, 14 June

[Admiral warns UK unable to defend Falkland Islands](#), British Forces News, 13 June

[Generals look for a new role for the Army](#), Richard Norton-Taylor and Nick Hopkins, *The Guardian*, 9 June - What will the British Army do after Afghanistan? Libya offers no answer

[Updated anti-extremism strategy published](#), *BBC News*, 8 June

- [Prevent strategy](#) - this is the Prevent strategy, presented to Parliament by Home Secretary Theresa May, June 2011
- [Lord Carlile's report](#) - on the independent oversight of the Prevent review and strategy. He covers the context of Prevent, the framework, the new strategy, the three objectives and delivery

[Anti-terror policy has backfired, says May](#), *Financial Times*, 7 June - Theresa May, home secretary, admitted that funding from the government's anti-radicalisation programme had in the past "found its way" to extremist organisations

[U.K. Agency Warns of Terrorist Threat to Food Supply](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 6 June

United States

[Global race on to match U.S. drone capabilities](#), *Washington Post*, 4 July

[U.S. drone targets two leaders of Somali group allied with al-Qaeda, official says](#), *Washington Post*, 30 June



♣♣ [Report of the Task Force on a Unified Security Budget for the United States](#), Lawrence Korb and Miriam Pemberton, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 30 June

[The Militarized Surrealism of Barack Obama - Signs of the Great American Unraveling](#), Tom Englehardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 30 June

(Predator Drone –photo credit: [Doctress Neutopia/ flickr](#))

[U.S. counter-terrorism strategy to rely on surgical strikes, unmanned drones](#), *LA Times*, 29 June - the White House outlined its newly released [National Strategy for Counterterrorism](#) in a



Obituary:

Brian Haw : 7 January 1949 – 18 June 2011

[Brian Haw, veteran peace campaigner, dies aged 62](#), *The Guardian*, 19 June - Haw, whose tent became a familiar sight in Parliament Square, died in Germany after a long battle against lung cancer

[Brian Haw: rest in peace](#), Barbara Panvel, 19 June

speech by John Brennan, President Obama's top counter-terrorism advisor, at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. The new strategy will focus on diminishing al Qaeda's ability to recruit and attack inside the United States, Brennan said, and will rely on "[m]ore special operations raids, targeted drone strikes and fewer land wars" to fight a diminished al Qaeda threat



♠♠ [New estimate of U.S. war costs: \\$4 trillion](#), *Washington Post*, 29 June - the [study](#) by the Eisenhower Research Project based at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies, also estimates that at least 225,000 people, including civilians, troops and insurgents, have died as a result of the conflicts (graphic: Watson Institute)

[On the Mend? America Comes](#)

[to Its Senses](#), Andrew J. Bacevich, *TomDispatch.com*, 28 June

[Our Untransparent President](#), Geoffrey Stone, *New York Times*, 26 June - law professor and former informal adviser to President Obama's 2008 campaign, Geoffrey Stone writes that Obama has, in some respects, "shown a disappointing willingness to continue in his predecessor's footsteps" with regard to a lack of government transparency and in zealously applying the state secrets doctrine

♠♠ [Rethinking 'the long war' on terrorism](#), David Ignatius, *Washington Post*, 25 June

["Dirty Bombs": Technical Background, Attack Prevention and Response, Issues for Congress](#), Jonathan Medalia, Congressional Research Service, 24 June

[Pentagon Readies Competition for "Global-Strike" Weapon](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 24 June

[Former CIA Agent Glenn Carle Reveals Bush Admin Effort to Smear War Critic Juan Cole](#), *Democracy Now*, 22 June

[US urged to rethink export controls on drones](#), *Financial Times*, 21 June

♠♠ [Business as Usual on Steroids - The Obama Administration Doubles Down on the War on Terror](#), Karen J. Greenberg, *TomDispatch*, 19 June - suggests the president appoint a commission to reassess what the war on terror means ten years

The peddlers of fear and the phony tough-on-terrorism crowd have dominated the national security debate for too long. The president must step in and stop this march toward endless war and the perpetual undermining of American constitutional values
New York Times [editorial](#), 25 June

To make sense of drones, we probably have to stop thinking about "war" and start envisaging other models -- for example, that of the executioner who carries out a death sentence on another human being at no danger to himself. If a pilotless drone is actually an executioner's weapon, a modern airborne version of the guillotine, the hangman's noose, or the electric chair, the death sentence it carries with it is not decreed by a judge and certainly not by a jury of peers.

♠♠ [Nine War Words That Define Our World](#) - "Victory" Is the Verbal Equivalent of a Yeti, Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 23 June

after 9/11, and hopes that such a panel might propose a few basic recommendations, including the release John Walker Lindh, create a rehabilitation program for releasing Guantanamo detainees and restore permanently to the Department of Justice responsibility for trying terrorists from around the globe currently assigned to indefinite detention

♠♠ [War Evolves With Drones, Some Tiny as Bugs](#), *New York Times*, 19 June

[Looking Back, Gates Says He's Grown Wary of 'Wars of Choice'](#), *New York Times*, 18 June

The Department of Defense has created a new [DoD Laboratory Network](#) to coordinate existing programs on the assessment of and response to the use of WMD, which is intended "to provide timely, high-quality, actionable results for early detection, confirmation, response, and effective consequence management of acts of terrorism or warfare involving CBRN agents; infectious disease outbreaks; and other all-hazards agent events requiring a DoD integrated incident response". The initiative was set forth in [DoD Instruction 6440.03](#), "DoD Laboratory Network (DLN)," 10 June -Source: *Secrecy News*, Issue 57, 16 June

[House Committee Slashes Conventional "Global Strike" Funds](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 16 June

[Defense: FY2012 Budget Request, Authorization and Appropriations](#), Pat Towell, Congressional Research Service, 15 June

♠♠ [How lawyers sign off on drone attacks](#), Pratap Chatterjee, *The Guardian*, 15 June - strict protocols supposedly govern conduct of Obama's secret unmanned air war, but poor intelligence still causes lethal errors

[Yet another illegal war -- now in Yemen](#), Glenn Greenwald, *Salon.com*, 14 June

[Siamese Twins Sharing the Same Brain - How the Military and the Civilian Are Blurring in Washington](#), William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 14 June

[CIA Plans Yemen Drone Strikes](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 14 June - Covert Program Would Be a Major Expansion of U.S. Efforts to Kill Members of al Qaeda Branch

[International Law and the War on Terror: The US-European Schism](#), Gabor Rona, *JURIST—Forum*, 11 June

♠♠ [100% Scared - How the National Security Complex Grows on Terrorism Fears](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch*, 9 June



[The Targeted Killings Debate](#), Council on Foreign Relations, 8 June

[U.S. Is Intensifying a Secret Campaign of Yemen Airstrikes](#), *New York Times*, 8 June

[Occupying Iraq, State Department-Style - A Frat House With Guns in Baghdad](#), Peter Van Buren, *TomDispatch*, 7 June

(think without fear – photo credit: Sam UL/ 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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