



# Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

No.24 – August 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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## NATO Watch Editorial:

### Who to believe? Three conflicting narratives from the NATO front lines

#### 1. Is Afghanistan safer or less secure as the NATO drawdown begins?

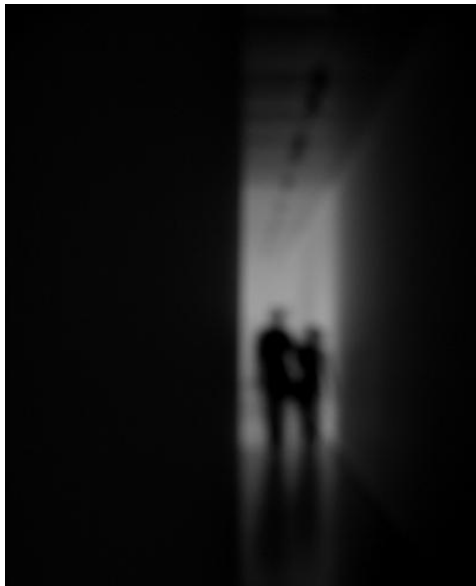
As NATO began handing over security control of parts of Afghanistan to local forces—the central Afghan province of Bamiyan was [the first of seven areas to be passed to local forces](#) under a plan announced by President Karzai in March—outgoing US and NATO commander Gen. David Petraeus declared that the war is on the right track. At his departure ceremony on 18 July, [Petraeus told](#) the assembled troops: *"You and our Afghan partners have wrested the momentum from the enemies of the new Afghanistan in much of the country"*, adding *"Contrary to intelligence analyst forecasts of significant further increases in insurgent attack levels this year, the number of attacks the past two-and-a-half months was actually less than the number for the same period last year, even though there are over 80,000 more Afghan and ISAF forces this year and we have been on the offensive"*.

However, General Petraeus' assessment of the security situation is dramatically at odds with those coming out of the United Nations. The [June 23 report](#) by the UN Secretary General to the UN General Assembly Security Council on developments in Afghanistan, for example, details a sharply deteriorating security situation in the second quarter of the year. According to the report, *"the number of security incidents was 51% higher than in the same period in 2010"*. In the second quarter of the year, 1,090 civilian conflict deaths were recorded by the UN, a 20% increase during the second quarter of 2010.

Similarly, Georgette Gagnon, director of human rights at the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), [told a July 14 press conference](#) that 1,462 "conflict-related" civilian deaths were recorded in the first six months of this year, up 15% from the same period last year. Almost 20 civilians were killed or injured each day in the first half of the year. Of those deaths, 80% have been blamed on anti-government militants including the Taliban. Suicide bombs and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) are the single biggest killer and such attacks are now *"more complex"*, said the UN, and often involved

*"multiple bombers in spectacular attacks that kill many Afghan civilians"*.

Such tactics are abhorrent under both international humanitarian law and Islamic law, but equally concerning is an assassination campaign by insurgent groups that is gradually purging local and provincial officials who are supposed to take charge of the country under the security transition. The UN says that 191 civilians, generally key tribal figures or government officials, were assassinated in the first half of 2011, up from 181 in the first half of last year. The most recent and high profile assassination was of President Karzai's half-brother, who was killed in Kandahar by his own head of security. There have also been a number of high-profile attacks in the country including an assault by militants on a luxury hotel in Kabul that left 22 people dead



The UN describes Kandahar as the most violent place in Afghanistan—"the city of Kandahar and its surroundings registered the majority of the incidents during the reporting period, with a quarter of the overall attacks and more than half of all assassinations recorded countrywide"—whereas Petraeus told his troops *"you have taken away from the insurgents important areas in the former Taliban heartland, in places like Central Helmand Province and Kandahar"*. Who to believe?

(the truth is out there - photo credit: crosses/ flickr)

NATO Watch Verdict: It is getting increasingly hard to evaluate the real nature of the war in Afghanistan, especially since NATO and the UN use different metrics. When Petraeus says "attacks" are down, for example, he is probably referring to attacks on NATO troops or some other limited measure. NATO and US officials prefer to focus on the lethality of their operations rather than civilian casualty rates: according to a [recent briefing at NATO HQ](#), from April to July this year, 2,832 special operations raids led to the capture of 2,941 insurgents and the killings of 834. This is twice the number captured or killed during the same period a year ago. Overall, however, it seems clear that NATO military and civilian leaders continue to over-estimate the impact of their 'successes' in disrupting insurgent activities. The claims that an increase in [night raids](#) has [insurgents on the run](#), do not sit well with the reality of an escalating human toll, especially among civilians. Rather than moving towards

greater stability, the UN reports show that Afghans are experiencing increasing levels of violence in their everyday lives across an even wider portion of the country.

## 2. Is the bombing of the Tripoli TV satellite transmitters a war crime or a necessary part of NATO's mission to protect civilians?

On 30 July NATO aircraft bombed Libyan state TV satellite transmitters in Tripoli because, [according to an alliance spokesperson](#), they were being used to incite violence and threaten civilians. *"Striking specifically these critical satellite dishes will reduce the regime's ability to oppress civilians while (preserving) television broadcast infrastructure that will be needed after the conflict,"* NATO elaborated in its statement. The Libyan Broadcasting Corporation issued a statement saying that three employees were killed and 15 wounded in the strike, although this has not yet been independently verified. Libyan state TV appeared to be broadcasting as normal the following day.

The unsuccessful attempt to silence Gaddafi's TV broadcasts carries an uncanny echo from an earlier bombing campaign in April 1999 when NATO attacked [a TV and radio station in Belgrade](#). At the time, NATO said the station was a legitimate target because it was a "propaganda mouthpiece" for the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. Sixteen employees of Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) died when a single NATO rocket hit the building. However, the Serbian TV station was back on air within 24 hours from a secret location.

NATO's bombing campaign against the former Yugoslavia, including the specific attack on the Serbian TV station, was subsequently reviewed by an ad-hoc committee established by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The [committee report](#) in May 2000 recommended that no investigation be commenced against NATO because *"either the law is not sufficiently clear or investigations are unlikely to result in the acquisition of sufficient evidence"*. The committee's approach was [criticised](#) by some international lawyers as having a *"poor grasp of legal concepts"* and deviating from well-established ICTY case law.

As to whether the media constitutes a legitimate target group, the ICTY committee commented that it *"is a debateable issue. If media is used to incite crimes, as in Rwanda, then it is a legitimate*

*target. If it is merely disseminating propaganda to generate support for the war effort, it is not a legitimate target"*. In a lengthy discussion of the bombing of the Serbian TV station, the committee uncritically accepted the arguments put forward by NATO in press conferences at the time, that *"the bombing of the TV studios was part of a planned attack aimed at disrupting and degrading the C3 (Command, Control and Communications) network"*.

The current attack on Libyan TV facilities has been censured by two international journalists' groups. Reporters Without Borders (RWB) [condemned](#) the attack as a war crime, and a serious violation of the Geneva Conventions. RWB secretary-general Jean-François Julliard said: *"We remind NATO that news media are civilian installations and cannot be regarded as military objectives. Even if Al-Jamahiriyah is clearly used by the Gaddafi regime as a propaganda outlet, it does not in any way legitimize these attacks. Other means, such as support for independent media, must be used to minimize the regime's propaganda and threats"*.



(Carmen Romero, NATO Deputy Spokesperson, press briefing on Libya, 2 August – photo credit: NATO)

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) [said](#) the bombing was in contravention of [UN Security Council Resolution 1738](#) passed in December 2006 that explicitly condemned such attacks against journalists and media. *"We utterly condemn this action, which targeted journalists and threatened their lives in violation of international law,"* Brussels-based IFJ secretary-general Beth Costa said, adding, *"our concern is that when one side decides to take out a media organisation because they regard its message as propaganda, then all media are at risk"*.

When asked to justify the attack on the TV transmitters during a [press briefing](#) on 2 August, NATO spokeswoman Carmen Romero said *"all NATO strikes are against legitimate targets, in full respect of the UN Security Council mandate and this one as well, and that we also consider that incitement of violence is a threat to the population. So NATO needed to act in this case"*. Who to believe?

**NATO Watch Verdict:** The legal issues related to 'target selection' are undoubtedly complex, especially in relation to dual-use objects, which have some civilian uses and some actual or potential military use (such as communications systems, transportation systems, manufacturing



complexes of some types etc). But there are three reasons for concluding that this specific incident requires further investigation as a potential war crime.

First, international law prohibits any military activities that indiscriminately impact on civilians or imperil the economic and social infrastructures of civilian life. The inconsistent ICTY review committee report notwithstanding, this also precludes attacks on media equipment and installations, as subsequently set out in UNSCR 1738. The resolution does carry the caveat "unless they are military objectives", but it is difficult to see how the broadcasting of propaganda activities were sufficient to make the TV satellite dishes a legitimate military target.

Second, the attack is inconsistent with the principle of proportionality. While the attack appears to have been more proportionate than the one on Serbian TV in 1999 (i.e. targeting television transmitters rather than the TV station itself and with fewer casualties), it should have been obvious to NATO that the airstrike would only interrupt broadcasting for a brief period (as was the case in the 1999 missile strike).

Third, NATO is operating under a UN mandate premised as a mission to protect civilians. The deliberate targeting of civilian installations is inconsistent with that mandate and is further evidence of having wilfully overstepped the mark. Once the combined airpower stopped the likely slaughter in Benghazi that is where NATO should have stopped the airstrikes. The UN authority was never a mandate for regime change or for attacking civilian media outlets. NATO should conduct an investigation into the attack on the Libyan TV facilities, publish the results and refrain from further attacks on media.

### **3. Is NATO conducting a civilian casualty-free air campaign in Libya, or are civilian casualties beginning to rise?**

The air war in Libya is now being taken forward by a shrinking alliance. Norway has withdrawn its jets and Italy pulled an aircraft carrier. This leaves the 28-nation alliance with combat planes from seven nations to finish a job begun four months ago that many hoped would last just weeks. This has led to some flip-flopping among allies, with the 'big three' (US, France and Britain) all recently

indicating that Gaddafi could perhaps stay in Libya after all if he cedes power.

Despite a lack of clarity about Gaddafi's fate, NATO continues to maintain a high tempo of aerial operations, which have averaged more than 100 sorties per day including around 50 missions aimed at hitting targets. As of August 3<sup>rd</sup>, a total of 17,691 sorties, including 6,701 strike sorties, have been conducted. In contrast, during the bombing campaign in the former Yugoslavia, NATO aircraft flew 38,400 sorties, including 10,484 strike sorties. Approximately 500 civilians were killed during the campaign.

In Libya, however, NATO dismisses claims of *any* civilian casualties. On the 14 July, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [told reporters](#) that the alliance has "no confirmed information" about possible civilian casualties as a result of its bombing. While Libyan officials' claims that the alliance's airstrikes have killed more than 1,100 people are regularly discredited in the Western media as propaganda, little or no attention has been paid to NATO's claim of a civilian casualty-free campaign. Who to believe?

NATO Watch Verdict: Reading NATO briefings and those of defence ministries from aircraft-contributing member nations like the UK, you could almost believe it was a casualty-free



campaign altogether, because the alliance is also reticent when it comes to any assessment of how many military deaths (among Gaddafi forces) have taken place. The official briefings completely 'blank out' any human cost and are couched in the language of 'tanks, buildings and plant' destroyed, but never people.

("Stop Bombing Libya" demand the Stop the War Coalition - London, 12 July – photo credit: Stop the War Coalition/ flickr)

Even taking at face value NATO's claim that, in the words of the Secretary General, the alliance is "extremely careful and cautious in identifying legitimate military targets and avoiding civilian casualties", and also making allowances for the probability that today's munitions are 'smarter' than those deployed against the former Yugoslavia, it still remains inconceivable that the NATO air campaign has resulted in zero civilian casualties. NATO acknowledges that there have been some so-called 'friendly fire' incidents in which rebel fighters have been accidentally killed, so why the reluctance to admit to civilian casualties? In addition to the allegations of three

civilians killed in the airstrike against Libyan TV satellites discussed earlier (which admittedly took place after the NATO Secretary General's remarks) there have been a number of credible media reports of NATO attacks which are said to have killed and/or injured civilians.

These include: [three men](#) killed picnicking by a harbour in Sirte in March; [an 18 month old boy](#) killed in Khorum in March; [seven people](#) between the ages of 12-20 killed in a rebel held area just outside of Brega in April; [10 students injured](#) when the University in Tripoli was hit in April; [at least nine killed \(including two children\) and eighteen injured](#) in the strongly anti-Gaddafi Tripoli neighbourhood of Souk al-Juma in June, as

NATO as good as admitted at the time; [at least fifteen civilians \(including three children\)](#) at a home/'command and control node' in Sorman, west of Tripoli, in June; and [a mother and two children](#) in Zlitan as recently as August 4.

Of course it is difficult for NATO, journalists and human rights groups to independently check Libyan claims of civilian casualties, but to dismiss all such allegations out of hand is an unacceptable piece of spin on the part of NATO. It would surely be better for NATO to admit that any killing of civilians has been unintentional and very rare, and to commit to introducing a [casualty recording mechanism](#) in Libya that is open, transparent, and available to public scrutiny.

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## News, Commentary and Reports:

### Afghanistan-Pakistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

#### News

[Taliban Hint at Interest in Negotiated Settlement](#), *New York Times*, 3 August

[BBC asks Nato to investigate reporter's death](#), *The Guardian*, 1 August - Freelance Ahmed Omed Khpulwak was one of 19 people killed in attacks in the south of Afghanistan

[Gunmen torch 10 NATO oil tankers in south Pakistan](#), *AFP*, 31 July

[Drones in Pakistan - Out of the blue](#), *The Economist*, 30 July - a growing controversy over the use of drones

[Taliban claims responsibility for fatal attack on Kandahar's mayor](#), *Washington Post*, 27 July

[U.S. trucking funds reach Taliban, military-led investigation concludes](#), *Washington Post*, 25 July

[Report Finds Vast Waste in U.S. War Contracts](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 23 July - Panel Says \$34 Billion Was Misspent In Iraq, Afghanistan in 10-Year Period

♠♠ [Is Afghanistan safer, or isn't it?](#) *The Christian Science Monitor*, 20 July

[Afghan National Army prepares for life after Nato](#), *The Guardian*, 20 July - a fledgling force made up of tens of thousands of new recruits and a few experienced officers is performing quite well

[Afghanistan security forces take control of Helmand capital](#), *The Guardian*, 20 July - British military hands over responsibility of Lashkar Gah as part of transition to end Nato combat duties in Afghanistan by 2014

[Afghanistan's test case: NATO handover in Laghman Province](#), *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 July

[Militants Ship Bomb Materials in NATO Trucks](#), *military.com*, 19 July

[NATO to double the number of Afghan police](#), *LaSpecula.com*, 18 July - the NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan is planning to increase the number of Afghan policemen from 130,000 to 157,000 forces by the year 2014

[NATO Secretary General on the ISAF Command handover](#), *NATO News*, 18 July

(First Lt. Claire Cvetkovski, officer-in-charge of the Georgia Agribusiness Development Team (ADT) Women's Initiative Training Team (WITT) meets with the Logar director of women's affairs (DOWA), Kabul, 2 July – photo credit: Georgia National Guard/flickr)



[As Generals Change in Afghan War, Violence Flares](#), *New York Times*, 18 July

♣♣ [US claims of 'no civilian deaths' in Pakistan drone strikes is untrue](#), Chris Woods, *Bureau of Investigative Journalism*, 18 July - a detailed examination of 116 CIA 'secret' drone strikes in Pakistan since August 2010, which uncovered at least 10 individual attacks in which 45 or more civilians are reported to have died; also see: [US drone strikes in Pakistan claiming many civilian victims, says campaigner](#), *The Guardian*, 17 July - one man in Waziristan is documenting casualties – and says destruction has been radicalising locals

[Bamiyan province handed to local forces](#), *BBC News*, 17 July – It is the first of seven areas to be passed to local forces under a plan announced by President Karzai in March

[Campaigners seek arrest of former CIA legal chief over Pakistan drone attacks](#), *The Guardian*, 15 July - UK human rights lawyer leads bid to have John Rizzo arrested over claims he approved attacks that killed hundreds of people

[UN: Afghan Civilian Death Toll Up 15 Percent](#), *New York Times*, 14 July - the first six months of this year were the deadliest for Afghan civilians since fighting began in 2001, with 1,462 civilians killed

[Five French soldiers killed in Afghanistan](#), *AFP*, 13 July

[General Petraeus says military strategy is working in Afghanistan](#), *British Forces News*, 13 July

[Hamid Karzai appeals to Taliban as his brother is buried](#), *The Guardian*, 13 July - Afghan leader urges Taliban to 'stop destroying the country'

[U.S. Drone Strikes Kill 48 Suspected Militants in Pakistan](#), *New York Times*, 12 July

[Afghan officials: Up to 16 civilians killed in NATO strike](#), *CNN*, 12 July

[Night Raids Curbing Taliban, but Afghans Cite Civilian Toll](#), *New York Times*, 9 July

[Canada Ends Combat Mission in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 7 July

[NATO Acknowledges Killing Afghan Civilians, Probes Claims](#), *New York Times*, 7 July - NATO is investigating reports that an airstrike in Khost province killed up to 14 people, including eight children, and a bombing raid in Ghazni province that killed two civilians

[Slow Withdrawal Plan for British Troops in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 6 July - David Cameron announced a reduction in British troops in Afghanistan to 9,000 by the end of 2012, but would keep soldiers in the country to train Afghan forces until 2023 or later

With little notice and only occasional complaints, the American military and local authorities have been engaged in an ambitious effort to record biometric identifying information on a remarkable number of people in Afghanistan and Iraq, particularly men of fighting age. Information about more than 1.5 million Afghans has been put in databases operated by American, NATO and local forces. While that is one of every 20 Afghan residents, it is the equivalent of roughly one of every six males of fighting age, ages 15 to 64.

♣♣ [To Track Militants, U.S. Has System That Never Forgets a Face](#), *New York Times*, 13 July

### Commentary and Reports

[An insider's honest account](#), *Gulf News.com*, 5 August - outspoken critic of policy towards Afghanistan, former British diplomat Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles recommends a political solution to end the stalemate

♣♣ [Aid And Conflict In Afghanistan](#), International Crisis Group, Asia Report N°210 – 4 August - nearly 10 years of foreign troops and aid in Afghanistan have failed to build a stable or economically viable Afghan government, necessitating a major shift in priorities. The report concludes that the counterinsurgency effort has not brought security to the country, and that aid priorities are too often short-term

[The Dual Failure of Night Raids and Drones](#), Adam Cohen, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 27 July

[Afghanistan: Anatomy of a Hit](#), Conn Hallinan, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 27 July

[Report: U.S. funds in Afghanistan could go to insurgents](#), *CNN*, 21 July - a report by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) has found that the US still has few controls over the nearly \$70 billion in aid money disbursed since 2002

(US Army Sgt. Brian Ohler hands a case of water to a local boy at the scene of a fire, Pusht-e Rod District, Farah Province, 2 August – photo credit: ISAF media/flickr)





[Karzai's brother's death means Afghanistan worse than we thought](#), Fred Kaplan, *National Post*, 20 July

[Assassin Nation](#), Edward Girardet, *Foreign Policy*, 18 July - after more than three decades of targeted killings, is there anyone left alive who can actually run Afghanistan?

[How Many More?](#) Trevor Royle, *Herald Scotland*, 17 July - another killing in Afghanistan; another family racked with grief. How can we get out of a hated war ... and what happens if we do?

[Can Afghanistan's Counternarcotics Efforts Survive NATO Withdrawal?](#) Matthew C. DuPee, *World Policy Review*, 14 July

[Reduce Corruption, Defeat the Taliban](#), Adam Cohen, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 14 July

♠♠ [Afghanistan's civilians in the crosshairs](#), Erica Gaston, *Foreign Policy*, 14 July



[Empowering Afghanistan: The elements of a "civilian surge"](#), SDA evening debate - 8 June 2011, SDA Report, 12 July - in this debate, NATO's top civilian official in Kabul Simon Gass stressed the need to build support for the transition among the Afghan population by improving governance and the rule of law. He said the international community needs to reassure Afghans that it won't abandon them after 2014. However in a sober assessment of the country's prospects, speakers acknowledged that 2014 would find Afghanistan's democracy, security and governance all in a fragile state



[Policing in conflict – an overview of EUPOL Afghanistan](#), *ESR Briefing* no. 7, 12 July

[The Militant Pipeline - Between the Afghanistan-Pakistan Border Region and the West](#), Paul Cruickshank, New America Foundation, 6 July - "the terrorist safe haven in Pakistan remains the more dangerous to the United States as well as other Western countries....[O]f the 32 'serious' jihadist terrorist plots against the West between 2004 and 2011, 53 percent had operational or training links to established jihadist groups in Pakistan and just 6 percent to Yemen."

[Counterinsurgency Scorecard - Afghanistan in Early 2011 Relative to the Insurgencies of the Past 30 Years](#), Christopher Paul, *RAND Occasional Paper*, 2011 -

[The Lies That Sold Obama's Escalation in Afghanistan](#), Gareth Porter, *Truthout*, 6 July

[Karachi's violence and the war in Afghanistan](#), Bilal Baloch, *Foreign Policy*, 5 July,

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

[Qatar Armed Forces Representatives visiting the NATO C3 Agency](#), NATO News, 27 July - the General Manager of the NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency, Georges D'hollander, hosted a delegation from the Qatar Armed Forces to introduce the customised Document Handling System (DHS)

[Arab Spring raises questions about humanitarian intervention](#), Şaban Kardaş, *Al Arabiya News*, 10 July



## Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management & Humanitarian Relief:

[The tulips of Srebrenica](#), Simon Kuper, Life & Arts, *Financial Times*, 2 July

(Women in Black Vigil to commemorate Srebrenica, 2009 – photo credit: The Advocacy Project/ flickr)

## Counter-Terrorism:

[White House Adviser says U.S. Has 6 Months to 'Knock Out' Rattled Qaeda Leadership](#), *New York Times*, 29 July

♠♠ [Former Intel Chief: Call Off The Drone War \(And Maybe the Whole War on Terror\)](#), *Danger Room*, 28 July

[What should we believe about al-Qaida?](#) Peter Gelling, *Global Post*, 27 July - Too much of what we "know" about bin Laden and the terrorist group he led comes from anonymous US officials

[Russia and NATO to fight terrorism together](#), *Voice of Russia*, 7 July

[Al Qaeda's Mythical Unity](#), Benjamin Friedman, *The National Interest*, 6 July – the author argues that the myth that al Qaeda remains a hierarchical organization with a centralized command structure is “destructive to counterterrorism”

## Cyber Security:

[Hacker says Anonymous still downloading NATO data](#), *CBS News*, 22 July

♠♠ ['NATO RESTRICTED': The lowest possible classification](#), Lewis Page, *The Register*, 21 July - Anonymous/LulzSec will have to do better than this



Hi NATO. Yes we haz more of your delicious data. You wonder where from? No hints, your turn. You call it war; we laugh at your battleships.

mean every country in the alliance must now fight back against Anonymous?

[Anonymous and LulzSec taunt FBI amid NATO and News International leaks](#), *SlashGear*, 21 July

[US prepared for military response in cyberwar](#), *Financial Times*, 14 July

[Anonymous says it hacked NATO, blasts FBI arrests](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 21 July

[Nato investigates Anonymous hacking claims](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 21 July

[Anonymous Hacks NATO, Threatens FBI](#), *The Mark*, 21 July - Given NATO's pledge of collective security, does this

## Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

[Other members of NATO must step up](#), Ted Kaufman, *The Newark Advocate*, 22 July

[Defence cuts will leave China as the world's policeman, warns Nato chief](#), *Daily Mirror*, 21 July

[NATO chief warns Europe against defence cuts](#), *PublicServiceEurope.com*, 20 July

[Data Link Solutions to provide information systems to NATO](#), Shephard Group Press Release, 19 July - a joint venture of Rockwell Collins and BAE Systems has been awarded a direct commercial contract from NATO Air Command and Control System Management Agency (NACMA) to provide Multifunctional Information Distribution System Low-Volume Terminals (MIDS-LVT) for Bulgaria, Lithuania and Romania

[NATO on the brink](#), William S. Cohen, Nicholas Burns, and George Robertson, *The Hill*, 11 July

[Former NATO chief calls alliance performance 'an indefensible outrage'](#), *Al Arabiya News*, 7 July - addressing the Royal Institute of International Relations in London, Lord Robertson echoed remarks made recently by outgoing US Defence Secretary Robert Gates about the European allies

*When we look at the sometimes pathetic contributions being made by some countries inside NATO, the European elements of NATO cannot expect the US to come to our aid on every occasion*

UK Defence Secretary Liam Fox, cited in [Some NATO partners 'pathetic'](#), *defencemanagement.com*, 14 July

*Eisenhower remarked that "every gun that is made is a theft from those who hunger" – a bomber is two power stations and a hospital not built. Likewise, each Tomahawk Cameron drops on Tripoli destroys not just a Gaddafi bunker (are there any left?), but a hospital ward and a classroom in Britain*

[Eisenhower's worst fears came true. We invent enemies to buy the bombs](#), Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 16 June

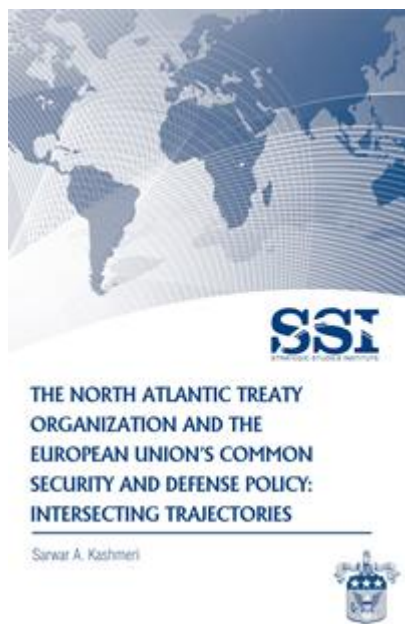
## Enlargement and Partnerships:

[NATO knocks the door of ASEAN](#), Jassim Taqui, *Pakistan Observer*, 28 July

[Sketching out a future ASEAN-NATO partnership](#), Evan A. Laksmana, *Jakarta Post*, 26 July

[Ukraine-NATO large-scale exercises start](#), *NRCU – Ukrainian Radio*, 25 July - Military exercises Rapid Trident-2011 start at the Yavoriv ground (Lviv region, Ukraine's west) within the NATO program Partnership for Peace, the Defense Ministry press service informs





The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy: *Intersecting Trajectories*, Sarwar A. Kashmeri, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, SSI Monograph, July 2011

Guatemala calls for Nato-style regional force, *Financial Times*, 20 July; Nato-style force is the wrong remedy for Central America, Diana Villiers Negroponte, Letters, *Financial Times*, 29 July

Ukraine, NATO demonstrate desire to deepen relations and cooperation, NRCU – Ukrainian Radio, 18 July

Pragmatic cooperation remains priority in relations with NATO, NRCU – Ukrainian Radio, 14 July

NATO rattles its weapons too close to Russian borders, *Pravda*, 14 July - NATO troops are training for combat operations in mountainous terrain at the very borders of Russia, at the Sachkhere military base in Imereti, Western Georgia

Balkan leaders: EU and NATO membership goal unites region, *SETimes.com*, 13 July - the future of Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo lies in the EU and NATO, the presidents of the four countries

agreed

Moldovan Ministers discuss reform agenda with NATO Allies, NATO News, 13 July - Minister of Defence Vitalie Marinuta and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration Andrei Popov of Moldova visited the NATO Headquarters and met with the NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen

Israelis Back Deploying NATO Forces in West Bank, Gaza: Poll, *Crienglish.com*, 12 July

NATO Needs Global Partners for the Global Commons, Felix F. Seidler, *Atlantic-community.org*, 1 July - despite financial constraints, the transatlantic partners must tackle the 21st century's challenges together. However, the allies will be unable to pursue their interests on the global commons without new partners. Therefore, NATO should push cooperation with global partners who share our values

## Kosovo:

Border clash "diverts from real Kosovo issues", *Swissinfo.ch*, 5 August - a Swiss expert on the Balkans argues that an agreement to put an end to a border dispute between Serbia and Kosovo is shaky

Officials: NATO considers more Kosovo reserves, *Huffington Post*, 4 August

NATO seeks troops to help in Kosovo, *Montreal Gazette*, 3 August

NATO To Send Extra Troops To Kosovo, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 2 August



(KFOR "placemat" - contributing nations and troop numbers, 3 August – [download here](#))

Just When You Thought It Was Safe to Stop Thinking About Kosovo, Barbara Frye, *Transitions Online*, 1 August

Serbia blames Kosovo for change of status quo in disputed north, *Deutsche Welle*, 31 July - Serbia has said Kosovo wants to create a political fait accompli by trying to seize two border checkpoints with force. Meanwhile, a NATO convoy was unable to reach its soldiers due to a blockade by ethnic Serbs

Serbia's president and parliament call for peaceful resolution of crisis with Kosovo, *Washington Post*, 30 July

New Violence in Kosovo Could Pose a Quandary for an Overstretched NATO, Tony Karon, *Global Spin*, 27 July

Ethnic Serbs fire at NATO troops in Kosovo, *Reuters*, 27 July

Nato Steps In Amid Kosovo-Serbia Border Row, *Sky News*, 27 July

Kosovo PM backs deadly move into Serb-run north, *Associated Press*, 26 July - a NATO spokesman in Kosovo says the military alliance is trying to negotiate an end to a surprise move by Kosovo's special police forces to take over two border crossings with Serbia

## Libya:

### NATO Operational Media Update, 4 August

#### 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 17,808 sorties and 6,745 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. 2,080 vessels have been hailed, 208 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](http://www.jfcnaples.nato.int)

[www.manp.nato.int](http://www.manp.nato.int)

[www.nato.int/libya](http://www.nato.int/libya)

### News, Commentary and Reports

[Nato accused of killing family in botched bombing raid](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 4 August

[Libyan missile misses Italian warship](#), *CNN*, 3 August

[International journalists' group denounces deadly NATO bombing of Libyan TV](#), *Washington Post*, 3 August

[Press briefing on Libya by Carmen Romero, the NATO Deputy Spokesperson and Colonel Roland Lavoie, Operation "Unified Protector" military spokesperson](#), 2 August

[Will Ramadan bring a break in Libya hostilities, or a NATO rethink?](#) *The Periscope Post*, 1 August - as Islam's holiest month begins, many are hoping for a break in the Libyan conflict

[Libya rebels take Zlitan as RAF clears way after two-month struggle](#), *The Guardian*, 1 August - bombing campaign destroys Gaddafi tanks, rocket launchers, ammunition dumps and command centres

[Cables show NATO's intervention in Libya is all about oil](#), Syed Rashid Husain, *Arab News*, 30 July

[Nato bombs Libyan TV transmitters](#), *The Guardian*, 30 July - alliance attempts to silence Gaddafi's 'incitement to violence' against opponents as rebel unity is tested by Younis killing

### Libya – views from NATO member states and partner countries

#### Canada

[Canadian surveillance planes join propaganda war; urge Gadhafi forces to go home](#), *Winnipeg Free Press*, 29 July

[Top Canadian soldier ponders slow progress in Libya](#), *Vancouver Sun*, 18 July

[Canada's second Libya-bound warship leaves Victoria](#), *The Globe and Mail*, 10 July

#### France

[France to stand by Libyan rebels as NTC in turmoil over Yunis murder](#), *RFI*, 31 July

[France Says Qaddafi Can Stay in Libya if He Relinquishes Power](#), *New York Times*, 20 July

[France risks Nato split over call for Gaddafi talks](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 11 July - France risked opening a significant split within Nato over the war in Libya yesterday by calling for negotiations with Colonel Gaddafi and confirming it was "passing messages" to his regime

[France Says NATO Bombing Has Failed](#), Franklin Lamb, *CounterPunch*, 11 July

#### Germany

[Germany lends Libyan rebels \\$144 million](#), *CNN*, 24 July

#### Italy

[Italy demands to know if Libya blockade warship ignored refugees](#), *The Guardian*, 5 October - after rescue of 370 people by Italian coastguards, Rome asks NATO to investigate if Libyans were left in peril at sea

[Italy trims participation in Libya campaign](#), *eTaiwan News*, 8 July

#### Norway

[Norwegian jets return from Libya](#), *Views and News from Norway*, 1 August

[Norway to fly last Libya mission](#), *News24*, 29 July

#### Russia

[Russia has no plans to supply arms to Libya](#) - Russian envoy, *RIA Novosti*, 17 July

[NATO strikes Libyan state TV satellite facility](#), Statement by the Spokesperson for NATO Operation Unified Protector, Colonel Roland Lavoie, regarding air strike in Tripoli, NATO News, 30 July

[Family Sues NATO Over Civilian Deaths in Libya](#), *New York Times*, 28 July

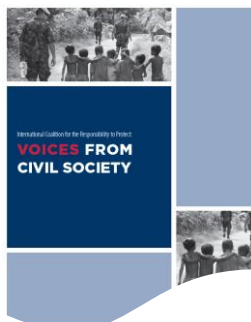
[Nato warns Gaddafi on civilian facilities](#), Imed Lamloum, *Independent Online*, 27 July - NATO warned that it will bomb civilian facilities if Gaddafi's forces use them to launch attacks

[First Afghanistan, now Libya. Can Nato actually win any of its wars?](#) Richard Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, 26 July

[Libya blames NATO for raid on food warehouse](#), *Al Jazeera*, 26 July - Officials claim air strike killed eight people in Zlitan as UN envoy holds meeting with Benghazi-based opposition

**What impact will the response to Libya have on future [Responsibility to Protect] cases?**

*That human carnage was contained in Libya should be seen as a positive outcome of the international community's response. If the UN and NATO had failed to take stronger actions, we would now be questioning whether the commitment to RtoP holds any value. As Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect Edward Luck has said, we are now dealing with the dilemma of RtoP being too relevant, in that the UN and regional bodies will be compelled to act in more cases. It remains critical to eliminate double-standards and political bias from Council decisions of this magnitude.*



*But it is also important that appropriate action be taken when warranted. All states have a responsibility to protect their populations, this includes Syria, Bahrain and Yemen, countries where populations are currently at risk of gross human rights violations. The challenge ahead for RtoP advocates is to encourage consistency not only in the invocation of the language of RtoP but also in response.*

*Civil society can and will continue to push for appropriate action by the international community in all cases where crimes are occurring or threaten to occur. Whether this will translate into political will of the international community is up to us all.*

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect: [Voices From Civil Society](#), Report, Summer 2011

[Libya mission about oil, arms](#), Scott Taylor, *The ChronicleHerald.ca*, 25 July

[Nato in Libya has failed to learn costly lessons of Afghanistan](#), Patrick Cockburn, *The Independent*, 24 July - for too long, Western governments have believed they could earn a cheap victory by using air power alone. But experience shows this is not enough

[Qaddafi Increases Chances He Could Stay](#), *Bloomberg*, 22 July - the US, UK, Italy and France now say they're willing to accept an outcome in Libya that would allow Muammar Qaddafi avoid exile or a trial on war crimes charges

[Pentagon mulls NATO request for more U.S. drones in Libya campaign](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 21 July - a

US official says sending more Predator drones would require moving them from war zones, and counter-terrorism operations elsewhere, and that some US officials and commanders oppose the move

[Scant Planning for Post-Qaddafi Libya](#), James Joyner, *The Atlantic*, 20 July

[Nato Secretary General: Gaddafi must leave power](#), *BBC News*, 20 July

[NATO Chief Sounds Upbeat Note on Libya](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 20 July

[Four Months On: Assessing The Libya Conflict](#), Stuart Ramsey, *Sky News*, 19 July

[U.S., Libya put different spin on talks](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 19 July

♠♠ [Gaddafi Must Be Held Accountable for Crimes Against Humanity](#), Richard Dicker, *Jurist*, 18 July

[Libyan government representatives holds face-to-face talks with US officials](#), *Washington Post*, 18 July

## UK

[Nightly Britain bombs Tripoli. Bar death, what do we achieve?](#) Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 2 August

[Britain needs wholesale rethink of Libya war says Sir Menzies Campbell](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 31 July - Britain must undertake a "wholesale re-examination" of its involvement in the NATO conflict in Libya after the murder of the leader of the anti-Gaddafi forces, former Liberal Democrat leader Sir Menzies Campbell has said

[Muammar Gaddafi could stay in Libya, William Hague concedes](#), *The Guardian*, 25 July - Foreign secretary opens path for political peace as British planes step up bombing before Ramadan

[Britain urges US to step up Libya support](#), *Financial Times*, 17 July

[UK criticises some NATO members as Libya pressure mounts](#), *Reuters Africa*, 13 July

## USA

[Lessons of History Would Help Obama Lead on Libya](#), *Bloomberg*, editorial, 21 July

[US recognises Libyan rebel TNC as legitimate authority](#), *BBC News*, 15 July

[U.S. sees Libya pivot point in anti-Gaddafi struggle](#), *Reuters*, 14 July

[Congressional Budget Office Cost Estimate](#), 8 July - S.J. Res. 20: a joint resolution authorizing the limited use of United States Armed Forces in support of the NATO mission in Libya, as reported by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 29 June

[Blame U.S. Policy for Libya's Muddle](#), John Bolton, *Bloomberg*, 8 July

[US House votes to bar military aid to Libyan rebels](#), *AFP*, 8 July

[House disapproves of Libyan action, but leaves funding intact](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 7 July



[NATO Secretary General at the International Contact Group for Libya in Istanbul](#): NATO remains committed to protect the Libyan people, NATO News, 15 July - the NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen attended the meeting of the International Contact Group for Libya and said that NATO is supportive of all efforts to find a political solution to the Libya crisis and commended the initiative to develop a roadmap

[Libya: Nato dismisses claims of civilian casualties](#), *The Independent*, 15 July

[Libya: Nato's insistence on a just war makes it an unendable one](#), Richard Spencer, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July - it has been clear from the beginning that the Libya conflict is unlike any other. The strangest of its many strange aspects is that in trying to ensure it is a just war, NATO has made it an unendable one

[NATO leaders discuss Libya in Istanbul](#), *Al Jazeera*, 15 July - Libya Contact Group meets, with Turkish 'road map' to resolve conflict and further support for rebels on the agenda

[NATO will be Defeated in Libya](#), Gerald A. Pereira, *Centre for Research on Globalisation*, 14 July - the Libyan Resistance Movement. A Defining Moment for Africa

[Who Ends the Libya War, the Rebels or NATO?](#) Tony Karon, *Time (blog)*, 14 July

[Cynical French, a naive PM, foolish MPs. This Libyan misadventure will end in tears](#), Max Hastings, *Daily Mail*, 13 July

[NATO vows to keep bombing Gadhafi forces in Libya](#), *Associated Press*, 13 July

[NATO suggests a Ramadan cease-fire in Libya](#), *Associated Press*, 12 July

*.... has to be a political solution. Led by Libyans. Supported by the international community. And fulfilling the legitimate demands of the Libyan people – as the United Nations Security Council demanded. The time to find a solution is now*

[Statement by NATO Secretary General](#) after meeting with delegation of the Libyan Transitional National Council, NATO News, 13 July

[Rights group accuses Libyan rebels of abuse](#), *AFP*, 12 July

[Some NATO allies in Libya exhausted in 90 days-US](#), *Reuters Africa*, 11 July

[Syria and Libya: Lessons in how and how not to support people power](#), *Al Arabiya*, 11 July

[Libya and the Problem with The Hague](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 11 July

[NATO answers refugee boat's mayday off Libya](#), *Reuters Africa*, 10 July

[NATO targets Qadhafi regime missile launchers near Tawurgha](#), NATO News, 9 July

[NATO denies aiding Libyan rebel advance](#), *Al Jazeera*, 8 July

[Nato strikes at Libya's oil in bid to oust Gaddafi](#), *The Independent*, 8 July - most senior British commander says decision to launch attack

on Brega works 'was not taken lightly'

The Libyan Rebels: Evolution of a Fighting Force, Kathleen Westwood, NATO [Civil-Military Fusion Centre](#), July 2011

[Libyan Family Take Legal Action Against Nato](#), *Sky News*, 7 July

[NATO cuts off pro-Qadhafi access to fuel in Brega](#), NATO News, 6 July - NATO aircraft struck military refuelling equipment to deny pro-Qadhafi forces access to fuel in the Brega area

[Opportunities lost, opportunities seized: the Libya crisis as Europe's perfect storm](#), Erik Brattberg, European Policy Centre *Policy Brief* June 2011 - the handling of the Libyan crisis, from the use of humanitarian aid to military intervention, tells a bigger story about the future of EU foreign and security policy than that played out in Libya, according to this Policy Brief. EU relations with NATO and the US are also under strain following the Libya debacle. Has the EU lowered its global ambitions? And how is it going to deal with security in its neighbourhood and beyond?

(NATO cite this as an example of a militarized civilian facility - re-purposed cement factory Southeast of Brega. observed on 20 July – photo credit: NATO)

*Increasingly, and more overtly, the three military missions that NATO claims to be conducting in Libya are being utilized in a coordinated effort to remove Qaddafi from power*

[Libya No-Fly-Zone Is Anything But](#), Micah Zenko, *The Atlantic*, 19 July



## Maritime Security and Piracy:

[Lawmakers call for US to compensate captain's kin](#), *Taipei Times*, 26 July - lawmakers from the two main political parties yesterday urged the US government to provide full compensation to the family of a Taiwanese fishing boat captain killed during a NATO anti-piracy operation earlier this year

(Patriot missile firing from NATO base on Crete – photo credit: NATO)

## Missile Defence:

[U.S. Antimissile Spending to Match Cost of Apollo Space Program](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 5 August

[Turkey Decision on Radar Base Pending, U.S. Ambassador Says](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 3 August

[U.S. Approaches NATO Members on Hosting Radar](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 1 August

[Russia Sees Little Movement in Missile Shield Dispute](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 29 July

[U.S. missile shield may be precursor for Iran attack – Rogozin](#), *RIA Novosti*, 28 July

[Rogozin Discloses Talks With U.S. on Collaborative Missile Threat Centers](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 22 July

[France Seeks to Compete With U.S. in Antimissile Realm](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 21 July

[Pentagon Pressed to Improve Antimissile Training](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 19 July

[Germany Opposes U.S. Shutdown of MEADS Program](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 19 July

[Russian Plan Off The Table in Missile Defense Talks](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 18 July

[Republicans' eyes on Clinton's visit for radar talks with Turkey](#), *Today's Zaman*, 14 July

[French Senate Committee Urges \\$2.2B in Antimissile Spending](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 13 July

[Senators Demand Turkey Radar Data Be Shared With Israel](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 13 July - two Republican senators are demanding that Israel be given access to data from a US missile defence radar that might be installed in Turkey

[Senators to Clinton: Don't sign Turkish missile defense agreement](#), Josh Rogin, *The Cable*, 13 July

[Russia crucial in European missile defense](#), *The Voice of Russia*, 9 July

[Russia admits no chance of sectoral missile defense with NATO](#), *RIA Novosti*, 4 July

*The government believes that it is fine to test-fire these missiles time and again, while expressing criticism when other countries conduct missile tests. Such double standards encourage nuclear proliferation and make the world a more dangerous place.*

David Krieger, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation President, speaking ahead of the US Air Force's planned test of the Minuteman 3 ICBM, cited in *Global Security Newswire*, 26 July

## NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

[MKs leave NATO seminar during Iranian's speech](#), *The Jerusalem Post*, 7 July – Two Israeli parliamentarians walked out of a NATO PA Seminar when an Iranian diplomat addressed the forum

## NATO-Russia Relations:

[NATO-Russia relations: 20 years after the USSR](#)– *NATO Review*, Edition 5, 2011

NATO and Russia cooperate on Afghanistan, counter-terrorism, search and rescue and a host of other areas. So where's the problem? This edition looks from both angles at what's gone right - and not so right - in the NATO-Russia relationship . And how this may soon have to change.



[Taking the temperature: what the Russian experts think](#) - How do Russian experts see NATO's evolving relationship with Russia in areas such as missile defence, Afghanistan and other security issues? Here are the results of a survey of Russian experts by the

independent Atlantic Initiative

**NATO and Russia: doomed to disappointment?** James Sherr of Chatham House contends that different understanding on either side of the NATO-Russia relationship keep leading to unwanted outcomes. And until this bridge is broached, cooperation will not lead to harmony, he argues.



**Dealing with the symbolic irritant in NATO-Russia diplomacy** - that NATO and Russia are partners is not in dispute, argues Vincent Pouliot. The problems start though when it comes to defining who is the senior partner. And on this, a largely polite, but ongoing, disagreement seems to characterise the relationship.

**How NATO is perceived in Russia (or lessons in optimism)** -

Robert Pszczel is NATO's face in Russia. As the head of NATO's Information Office in Moscow, he now both talks about - and listens to opinions on - NATO's evolving partnership with Russia. Here he explains some of the feedback - and why it's positive to be an optimist.



**Time to abandon illusions** - today is the moment for Russia and NATO to end seeing each other through the Cold War prism, argues Fyodor Lukyanov. Twenty first century challenges requires both sides to challenge their 20th century hangovers.

**One step forward...** The relationship between Russia and NATO seems destined to be one of peaks and troughs, argues Konstatin Eggert. But it is Russia's other regional relations which may soon top its security agenda.



**NATO and Russia: resuscitating the partnership** - there have been major improvements in the practical cooperation between NATO and Russia, argues Andrew Monaghan. But deeper, real meetings of minds about each other's roles remain elusive.

**Rogozin finds Russia-NATO summit successful**, *The Voice of Russia*, 8 July

**Dmitry Rogozin: NATO's withdrawal from Afghanistan - moment of truth for CSTO**, *Voice of Russia*, 8 July

## Nuclear Weapons:

(photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

**Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe**, Anne Penketh, BASIC News, 18 July

**NATO, U.S. Said Discussing Removal of Tactical Nukes From Europe**, *Global Security Newswire*, 17 July

**Parting words: Gates and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe**, Kingston Reif and Emma Lecavalier, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 14 July - US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe provide a capability for a threat that no longer exists at a financial and opportunity cost that can no longer be justified



♠♠ **Getting STARTed: Short-Term Steps to Advance the Long-Term Goal of Deep Nuclear Reductions**, James M. Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Policy Outlook*, 7 July - the next round of US-Russia arms control presents some truly daunting challenges. This paper argues there is much the Obama administration could do in the remainder of its first term—unilaterally, bilaterally, and multilaterally—

*It seems to me we're maintaining a posture of nonstrategic weapons more for internal, psychological and cultural issues rather than because there's an urgent need.*

Hans Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists', questioning the continued value of US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, **Experts: NATO Should Limit Role of Nukes, Remove US Warheads**, *Global Security Newswire*, 20 July

to lay the groundwork for another treaty while reducing nuclear risks. Among several recommendations it argues that the administration should publicly challenge Russia to engage on tactical nuclear weapons and identify a clear military goal for ballistic missile defence cooperation.

**Russia's Nuclear Forces: Between Disarmament and Modernization**, Pavel Podvig, Ifri Security Studies Center, *Proliferation Papers* No.37, Spring 2011 – nuclear weapons have traditionally occupied an important place in Russia's national security strategy. After an overview of the current status of the Russian strategic nuclear forces and the strategic modernization program undertaken by Russia, this paper considers the role that missile defence and tactical nuclear weapons could play during the next round of nuclear arms control negotiations.



## Reform:

[A Word From Afar: Is NATO No More?](#) Paul G. Buchanan, *Scoop*, 8 July

## Transatlantic Cooperation:

[Afghanistan and Libya point NATO to five lessons](#), Kurt Volker, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 28 July - the wars in Afghanistan and Libya reveal serious flaws in the alliance. If they can't be fixed, perhaps it's time for a 'back to basics' NATO and a return to coalitions of the willing

[NATO: An Alliance That Divides Rather Than Unites](#), Doug Bandow, *Forbes* (blog), 25 July

## Transparency and Accountability:

[Croatian diplomat to lead NATO's public diplomacy](#), NATO News, 4 July - Ambassador Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović took up her position as NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy on 4 July 2011

[A Comparative Perspective of Ombudsman Institutions for the Armed Forces](#), Hans Born, Aidan Wills, and Benjamin S. Buckland, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), *Policy Paper* – № 34, March 2011 – Ombudsman institutions, in their many guises, have now been around for two centuries. However, it is only since WWII that these institutions have been more widely embraced as an important component of democratic governance. This policy paper is part of an ongoing research project which is analysing the functions and performance of ombudsman institutions in relation to the armed forces and identifying lessons of best practice on the basis of comparative research. Of the 15 countries in the study, 10 are NATO member states (Belgium, Canada, Estonia, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and United Kingdom) and five are 'Partnership for Peace' countries (Austria, Finland, Ireland Serbia and Sweden).



## Upcoming Events:

[Ground the Drones: A Week of Action](#), 1-8 October, UK - the past few years has witnessed the increasing use of unmanned aerial vehicles, commonly known as drones, to undertake armed attacks around the globe. Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya, Yemen and Somalia have all been subject to drone strikes by US or British drones controlled from many thousands of miles away. Palestine is also subjected to drone strikes from Israel. As part of International Keep Space for Peace Week, the UK Drones Campaign Network is encouraging organisations, local groups and individuals to engage in actions to both raise public awareness about drones and to engage in action to 'ground the drones'.

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

[Re-thinking Europe's security priorities](#), SDA Conference, 7 November, Brussels - With keynote speeches by: Radoslaw Sikorski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland; Gérard Longuet, Minister of Defence,

France (tbc); Michel Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

**NATO Chicago Summit: 15-22 May 2012**

[G8 and NATO: International Capital and Its Army Head for Chicago](#), Ron Jacobs, *Dissident Voice*, 3 August

[Garry McCarthy to NATO, G-8 protesters: Police will be ready](#), *Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 July

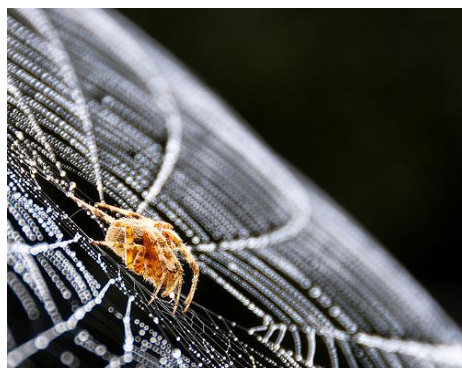
[SEIU Local 73 Supports Right to Protest NATO/G8, Fight Back!](#) *Newspaper*, 18 July

## Security News from NATO Member States:

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

### Canada

[Canadian data, foreign threats: Spying in the digital age](#), Colin Freeze, *The Globe and Mail*, 28 July



## Czech Republic

[NATO chief warns Czechs against spending cuts](#), *Czech Position*, 15 July - NATO general secretary Anders Fogh Rasmussen sends letter to PM Petr Nečas warning of Czech Republic becoming a 'freeloader'

## France

[Retreat, discontent, and misunderstanding: France in Afghanistan](#), Stéphane Taillat, *Foreign Policy*, 14 July

## Germany

[Germany's Choice: Part 2](#), Peter Zeihan and Marko Papic, *Stratfor*, 26 July

[Germany to Deliver Sixth Nuke-Capable Sub to Israel: Report](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 18 July

## Poland

[Cold War NATO documents released on FM website](#), *TheNews.pl*, 19 July - the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published 65 declassified NATO documents relating to the political situation in Poland in 1979-84, focusing primarily on the imposition of Martial Law to crush the Solidarity movement in December 1981

[NATO ruled out Martial Law intervention](#), *Warsaw Business Journal*, 19 July



## Turkey

New NATO LibGuide: [Turkey: NATO, EU and its evolving foreign and security policy](#) – this new LibGuide is intended to provide a few starting points to assist with research on issues related to Turkey and its relations with NATO and the EU as well as Turkish foreign and security policy

[How Turkey's military upheaval will affect NATO](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2 August - the resignations of Turkey's top military brass, along with the detention of scores of officers, have sparked fears that the capability of

NATO's second-largest army is being eroded

[Recovery From the Age of Discovery: The Next Four Years of Turkish Foreign Policy](#), Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Europe, *Policy Outlook*, 27 July

[NATO warns Turkey against buying Chinese, Russian air defense systems](#), *Hurriyet Daily News*, 25 July

[Turkey and Greece: Time to Settle the Aegean Dispute](#), International Crisis Group, *Policy Briefing*, 19 July - to capitalise on twelve years of normalisation, and at a time when both could benefit from a foreign policy success, Greece and Turkey should settle their expensive, outdated and stressful stand-off over Aegean Sea maritime zones and related issues

[Turkey: Public, Policymakers Divided Over NATO](#), Anna Wood, *Eurasia Review*, 16 July

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on terrorist attack in Turkey](#), NATO News, 15 July

[Turkey: Al Qaeda Planned Attack on U.S. Embassy](#), *ABC News*, 13 July

[Turkish Democracy Gives Rise to Turkish Power](#), Phyllis Bennis, Institute for Policy Studies, 11 July

## United Kingdom

[How Multiculturalism can save UK Grand Strategy](#), Tarak Barkawi, *RUSI.org*, July 2011 - British power is in decline. If the UK is to regain relevance in the coming Asian century, it must embrace and utilise its greatest political asset: multiculturalism

[Army chief warns of 'sobering' impact of further defence cuts](#), *The Guardian*, 25 July - General Peter Wall has told commanding officers that troop reductions will be imposed sooner than ministers have admitted

[Britain blocks permanent EU military HQ, worried about weakening NATO](#), *Washington Post*, 18 July

[Defence cash deal to plug 'funding gap'](#), *Financial Times*, 18 July - Liam Fox has secured an unprecedented guarantee from the

*The total cost of operations in Afghanistan is not known – House of Commons defence committee. The Ministry of Defence told the committee: It is too early accurately to forecast the cost of UK operations in Libya.*

[Costs of British military operations in Afghanistan estimated at £18bn](#), *The Guardian*, 28 July

Treasury to increase spending on defence equipment every year from 2015 to 2020 to plug what the MoD says is a £43bn funding gap

*We are opposed to this [an EU operational military headquarters] because we think it duplicates Nato structures and permanently disassociates EU planning from Nato planning*

UK Foreign Secretary William Hague, cited in [Britain blocks EU plans for 'operational military headquarters'](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July

[Troop numbers to be slashed again in 2015](#), *Financial Times*, 17 July - the UK's standing army will be cut by more than 10,000 troops to just 84,000, the smallest in over a century, augmented by an additional 26,000 reserves who will be trained and ready for combat

[Opinion: The \(Un\)changing British Media Portrayal of War](#), Neil Waghorn, *DefenceIQ*, 11 July

[Former Top Diplomat Says U.K. Might be Able to Cut Trident Sub](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 8 July

[The search for truth in the war over drones](#),

*defencemanagement.com*, 8 July - Drone Wars UK blogger Chris Cole calls on the Ministry of Defence to release more information on the use of unmanned drones to enable a fully informed public debate on the issue

[Watchdog attacks carrier decision](#), *Financial Times*, 7 July – in a scathing report into the core decision of last year's Strategic Defence and Security Review, the National Audit Office says it expects UK spending on the aircraft carriers to "significantly exceed £10bn" over the next decade. But it warns that the Ministry of Defence has an "incomplete" and "immature" understanding of how much the project will cost – and has not even developed its thinking on how to use the carrier capability; also see [Looking for clarity on our carriers](#), *Financial Times* editorial, 7 July

## United States

♣♣ [Obama Takes Steps to Help Avert Atrocities](#), *New York Times*, 3 August – the president has issued a [presidential directive](#) establishing an Atrocities Prevention Board — made up of officials from the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon and other agencies — aimed toward forming an early-warning system of potential genocide and other politically driven humanitarian catastrophes

♣♣ [A Secret War in 120 Countries - The Pentagon's New Power Elite](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 3 August

[After Months of Partisan Wrangling, Wall Street & Pentagon Emerge Victorious on Debt Deal](#), *Democracy Now*, 2 August

♣♣ [Lowering America's War Ceiling? Imperial Psychosis on Display](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 2 August

♣♣ [Drastic Measures Required: Congress Needs to Overhaul U.S. Secrecy Law and Increase Oversight of the Secret Security Establishment](#), Mike German and Jay Stanley, American Civil Liberties Union, July 2011 - "Congress must take the lead in challenging the laws and practices that have allowed excessive secrecy to become the dominant feature of our national security culture," says this new report on government secrecy

(Red Sox - KC Game 12, 27 July 2011 – photo credit: gGraphy/ flickr)

*Put simply, the message that citizens wish to convey to their soldiers is this: although choosing not to be with you, we are still for you (so long as being for you entails nothing on our part). Cheering for the troops, in effect, provides a convenient mechanism for voiding obligation and easing guilty consciences*

[Ballpark Liturgy: America's New Civic Religion - Cheap Grace at Fenway](#), Andrew Bacevich, *TomDispatch.com*, 28 July





[How Not to Make Friends in the Greater Middle East - Washington's Singular Accomplishment](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 July

[Obama's Expanded Militarism](#), Kailash Srinivasan, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 20 July

[US war debt dances on the ceiling](#), David Isenberg, *Asia Times*, 20 July

♣♣ [Obama's Bush-League World - Is the Obama National Security Team a Pilotless Drone?](#) Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 12 July

[Op-Ed: Fear Unwarranted for Terror Suspect](#). Paul Eaton, *Politico*, 12 July

[The CIA's Secret Sites in Somalia](#), *The Nation*, 12 July - reports on secret facilities run by the CIA in Mogadishu, Somalia, where the agency runs a counterterrorism training program for Somali intelligence and uses a secret prison where prisoners suspected of being Shabab members or of having links to the group are held. According to the report, the CIA presence in Mogadishu is part of Washington's intensifying counterterrorism focus on Somalia, which includes targeted strikes by US Special Operations forces, drone attacks and expanded surveillance operations

[Pentagon Tightens Grip On Unclassified Information](#), *Secrecy News*, 11 July

[War Without Humans - Modern Blood Rites Revisited](#), Barbara Ehrenreich, *TomDistatch.com*, 10 July

[As Debt Talks Threaten Medicare, Social Security, Study Finds U.S. Spending \\$4 Trillion on War](#), *Democracy Now*, 8 July

♣♣ [Bradley Manning, American Hero - Four Reasons Why Pfc. Bradley Manning Deserves the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Not a Prison Cell](#), Chase Madar, *TomDispatch.com*, 7 July



(Young Cardinals fan and a machine gun - Lance Cpl. JuanCarlos Aglugub, a Light Armored Vehicle crewman at 4th Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion in Marine Corps Base Camp Pendleton, Calif., Special Purpose Marine Air Ground Task Force Marine Week shows a young Cardinal fan what it's like to be hold a machine gun outside Busch Stadium in St. Louis June 21, 2011. Marines from all across the Corps came to St. Louis for Marine Week to show the city who they are and what they do. Photo by Lance Cpl. Chelsea Flowers – photo credit: United States Marine Corps Official Page/ 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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