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## NATO Watch

conducts independent monitoring and analysis of NATO and aims to increase transparency, stimulate parliamentary engagement and broaden public awareness and participation in a progressive reform agenda within NATO. **NATO Watch website** [www.natowatch.org](http://www.natowatch.org)



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Civil Society Perspectives on the  
Lisbon Summit and NATO's New  
Strategic Concept

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## NATO Watch Essay:

### NATO Reform Lite: An Evaluation of the Lisbon Summit (Part I)

- New Alliance blueprint oversold as a transformation – NATO 3.0 – when much of it is a slow-cooking evolution
- Afghanistan exit strategy masks divisions over conduct of war, lessons learnt and pace of withdrawal
- Russian re-set built around missile defences, cooperation in Afghanistan and a future joint security review

*This summary assessment was originally published on 26 November 2010 as part of a more detailed NATO Watch [Briefing Paper No. 14](#) on the Lisbon Summit*

#### Strategic Concept

At the Lisbon Summit NATO leaders signed off on a new strategic doctrine, the first since 1999, intended to explain to over 900 million citizens in the 28-member Alliance why it still matters. Strategic concepts set out the military and political guidelines for NATO. During the Cold War, Alliance strategic concepts were predominantly military documents and remained classified, but those published since (in 1991 and 1999) were essentially a tool of public diplomacy. Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said the new [Strategic Concept](#) meant that NATO would “continue to play its unique and essential role in ensuring our common defence and security”.

(Photo credit: NATO)



The Secretary General also referred to it as an ‘Action Plan’, although the truth is that it looks more like an inaction plan, or at best a delayed action one, than the kind of energised, collective agreement that was needed. Alliance officials are quick to point to the difficulties in securing change within an intergovernmental organisation that works by consensus – and one need look no further than NATO’s Brussels-based neighbour, the EU, and the prolonged Lisbon Treaty process, to recognise the complications and pitfalls.

Moreover, summits are invariably as much about continuity as they are change – and this one was no exception. But the Secretary General has made no secret of his ambition to be the great

reformer of the Alliance and he flagged Lisbon as an opportunity to move towards NATO 3.0 (borrowing from computer jargon, the Alliance of the Cold War era is described as NATO 1.0 and the changes after 1990, when the Alliance embarked on an era of overseas stabilisation missions, as NATO 2.0). However, the outcomes in Lisbon appear to provide too much continuity and too little change: a NATO Reform Lite – or NATO 2.1 – rather than the blueprint for a strategic transformation.

In many respects, the document is not dramatically different to the previous Strategic Concept, which also contained an awareness of evolving and changing threats and the need to balance traditional Article V defence of all NATO members with new and emerging security challenges. But over the past ten years there has been a further evolution in the security environment (not least, as a result of 9/11, and subsequent reactions to it) and the new strategy attempts to keep pace with those changes. At just under 4,000 words and set out in 38 paragraphs, the new strategic document has some good intentions, expressions of cooperation and commitments to make future commitments. And these are supplemented by the [Summit Declaration](#), which

at just under 7,000 words and 54 paragraphs adds a little more colour to the mix – although attempting to make sense of the two documents as a ‘package’ is not always easy (as can be seen in the detailed assessment below).

In addition, many of the common

denominators appear to hit new lows: containing just enough substance for the Secretary General to present the policy reforms as an important step in the right direction, but often vague enough to paper over the cracks in unity within the Alliance. In sum, many key questions are left hanging for another day.

On nuclear issues, for example, if there had been no mention of a commitment “to the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons” it would have been a slap in the face for those political leaders who have been pressing for the removal of US tactical nuclear weapons from Europe as part of the ‘global zero’ agenda. But in reconfirming the centrality of nuclear deterrence

for “as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world”, the subsequent commitment to also “seek to create the conditions for further reductions in the future” falls well short of the kind of bankable assurances that nuclear reformers sought – although a promised ‘deterrence review’ does provide some succour to the glass half-full brigade, despite being vaguely articulated.

the failing counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan hangs over the new document like a bad smell

In an attempt to reconcile divergent member state positions, similar contradictions and compromises are scattered throughout the Strategic Concept and Summit Declaration. Broader non-traditional security threats to NATO and its populations are now said to include ballistic missile proliferation, potential cyber attacks, terrorism, failed states and energy vulnerabilities, yet the idea of collective defence remains the core organising principle. The threat of a conventional attack against NATO territory is described as “low”, but the document goes on to argue that it “cannot be ignored”, since “many regions and countries around the world are witnessing the acquisition of substantial, modern military capabilities with consequences for international stability and Euro-Atlantic security that are difficult to predict. This includes the proliferation of ballistic missiles, which poses a real and growing threat to the Euro-Atlantic area”.

However, there is no self-awareness of the major role played by NATO member states in exporting destabilising quantities of weapons to conflict regions. The recently [proposed \\$60bn US arms sale to Saudi Arabia](#), the biggest in US history, for example, is in keeping with a track record that regularly sees NATO nations at the forefront of military arms exports. Indeed, the current top four arms suppliers to the Middle East are the US, France, Germany and Britain, the very NATO powers that are falling over themselves to warn the ‘international community’ of the “threat posed by Iran”. Similarly, seven of [the top 15 countries with the highest military spending in 2009](#) were from the Alliance, and collectively NATO accounts for over 60% of the global total of military spending.

Ballistic missile technology also continues to proliferate horizontally in NATO member states as a result of upgrades to strategic nuclear weapon systems and initiatives such as [Prompt Global Strike](#).

More promising, perhaps, is NATO’s commitment to work to “prevent crises,

manage conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations” and pledge closer cooperation with the United Nations and the European Union. However, it remains to be seen whether the gap between NATO enthusiasm for conflict prevention in principle and its selective application in practice can be bridged – especially since the failing counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan hangs over the new document like a bad smell.

Indeed, it is far from clear that the right lessons are being drawn from experiences in the Balkans and Afghanistan. The Strategic Concept commits NATO to “further develop doctrine and military capabilities for expeditionary operations, including counterinsurgency, stabilization and reconstruction operations” and “develop the capability to train and develop local forces in crisis zones”. In addition, civilian-military planning will be enhanced, and there will even be “an appropriate but modest civilian crisis management capability”. Some of this makes sense, at least on paper – although before NATO develops any sort of counter-insurgency (COIN) doctrine it needs to properly evaluate its record in Afghanistan (since it may well conclude that COIN is a worthless currency for an Alliance being recast as “fit for purpose in addressing the 21st Century security challenges”).

## Afghanistan

The Lisbon Summit also marked the beginning of the end of NATO’s involvement in Afghanistan – or possibly not. Amidst the tightly choreographed coming together of all the main international governmental actors with a stake in that war-torn country, a process was launched by which, according to Rasmussen, “the Afghan people will once again become masters of their own house”. He went on to explain that “starting early next year, Afghan forces will begin taking the lead for security operations. This will begin in certain districts and provinces, and based on conditions, will gradually expand throughout the country. The aim is for the Afghan forces to be in the lead country-wide by the end of 2014”.

(Photo credit: NATO)

However, almost before the ink was dry on the 2014 deadline, it began to fade into the shadows (rather like President Obama’s earlier commitment to begin bringing American troops home in July 2011). Officials were quick to establish





the [aspirational](#) nature of this goal, which would not see *all* NATO troops head for the exits, only 'combat troops' - and probably not all of them (especially those flying the Stars and Stripes and engaging in an ongoing [base-building surge](#)).

In keeping with the Iraq model, where 50,000 US 'non-combat' troops remain in situ, tens of thousands of NATO and US trainers and other so-called non-combat forces are likely to stay to help with the 'transition process' as part of the [Enduring Partnership](#) agreement signed in Lisbon.

Richard Holbrooke, US Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, also [claimed](#) that the US would need to maintain a "*counterterrorism capability*" in Afghanistan (in addition to the one in Iraq) beyond 2014. Meanwhile, Mark Sedwill, NATO's leading civilian representative in Afghanistan, while claiming that children were [safer in Kabul than in Glasgow](#) also suggested that Afghans could face "*eye-watering violence*" after troops leave. He insisted, therefore, that 2014 was nothing more than "*an inflection point*" in an ever more elastic withdrawal plan. And topping them all, the new British Chief of Defence Staff, General Sir David Richards, says that NATO should be preparing plans to maintain troops in Afghanistan for the [next 30 to 40 years](#).

"*Staying for as long as it takes*" is preferable to 'cutting and running', but only if the "*active engagement*" is underpinned by a genuine political settlement, as argued in a [report](#) by a group of leading development, human rights and conflict prevention organisations. The authors' argue that a new approach is needed that puts reconciliation and the drive for a comprehensive peace settlement at the heart of the international strategy on Afghanistan. This means dropping the present pre-condition that the main insurgent groups should disarm first (or be defeated in battle). It also requires a change of military tactics to support confidence-building towards peace (for example, through locally-negotiated ceasefires or suspending widely-resented tactics like night raids in particular areas).

*"Staying for as long as it takes" is preferable to 'cutting and running', but only if the "active engagement" is underpinned by a genuine political settlement*

However, reports on the ground suggest that the opposite is happening and most of the current news makes grim reading. Having earlier in the year implemented a welcome shift from high-intensity to low-intensity and non-kinetic warfare, the policy

has been reversed in a major way. In October, NATO planes launched missiles or bombs on [1,000 separate Afghan missions](#), numbers rarely witnessed since the 2001 invasion. A [powerful artillery system](#) has also been deployed in the area around the southern city of Kandahar and [tanks are about to be introduced](#) to the conflict for the first time (the M1 Abrams tank has a "main gun that can destroy a house more than a mile away" and in an echo of the war in Iraq, is expected to bring "awe, shock, and firepower" to the fight). Night raids on Afghan homes by "*capture/kill*" teams have [tripled](#) with 1,572 such operations over the last three months. Previously reticent NATO commanders are now also proclaiming their 'successes' in [killing or capturing insurgent leaders](#): across Afghanistan 19 Taliban leaders and 252 lower-level fighters were killed or captured between 15 and 21 November, with a further 387 insurgent commanders reported as having been killed or captured in the three months before 18 November. In the districts around Kandahar, a [new tactic of the US military](#) is simply to flatten houses or even whole villages believed to be booby-trapped by the Taliban. Unsurprisingly, therefore, civilian and [NATO](#)

casualties are rising rapidly: another [inter-agency report](#) says that this has been the most deadly year for Afghan civilians since the Taliban regime fell nine years ago.

(An International Security Assistance Force Special Operations Forces soldier hands out notepads and pens to an Afghan boy while a Road Maintenance Team checkpoint is being built in Tagab, Afghanistan, 26 November 2010: photo credit: isafmedia/flickr)



None of this, of course, has anything

to do with winning hearts and minds. Nor is it conducive to developing the comprehensive peace settlement envisaged in the NGO report. Rather, it suggests that COIN may be creating anti-Western jihadists faster than it is killing or capturing them. And at \$100 billion a year (seven times the GDP of Afghanistan) the cost of the war already [exceeds the cost of the Vietnam and Korean Wars combined](#) and is feeding a deficit

that will eventually take an additional human toll across the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond.

**Conclusion: two essential missing ingredients - human security and transparency**

What might a real NATO 3.0 blueprint for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century look like? At a [Shadow NATO Summit](#) organised by civil society groups in Brussels last week a fledgling draft [Citizens Strategic Concept](#) set out some initial ideas on how to move NATO forward from conventional security logic—the security of borders and the role of military forces—and to think in terms of human security. Work on this civil society initiative continues (the draft is now open for discussion and revision) with the aim of building a policy platform based on a range of existing initiatives and ideas rather than reinventing the wheel. Mary Kaldor, Co-Director of the Centre for the [Study of Global Governance](#) and Javier Solana, the former Secretary General of NATO, for example, have [urged](#) the EU to seize the opportunity offered by Russian President Medvedev's initiative for a new post-cold war security order to propose a human security architecture for Europe. They conclude that despite all the various security organisations, "our ability to keep people safe in the region as a whole, or to contribute to security in the rest of the world, is at best ad hoc and at worst non-existent". There is no reason why NATO cannot also seize this initiative – and do so in partnership with the EU and Russia.

The human security approach is based on protecting individuals worldwide from a range of risks (violence, natural disasters, famine or disease, for instance) using a mixture of military and civilian forces under international authorisation. This human security approach needs to be complemented by strong parliamentary and public oversight of NATO affairs. Unfortunately, the opposite is currently the case. In particular, the role of national parliaments in their most important function—of assenting to policy—is particularly underdeveloped. Many parliaments simply lack the power of prior authorization of NATO military operations or of determining the length of time of any such deployment. Given the proliferation of NATO missions, this is a significant failing. And because NATO lacks a dynamic treaty base (the North Atlantic Treaty remains essentially unaltered since its adoption in 1949) and legal system (akin to the EU) parliaments are rarely afforded the opportunity to debate and decide upon major initiatives within the Alliance. Executive

prerogative often renders the positions of NATO members (and thus the eventually decisions reached within the Alliance, including those last weekend in Lisbon) out of reach of parliamentary oversight.

The [Expert Group](#) headed by Madeleine Albright recognised that this had to change and called for the Alliance to strive to attract and maintain public and legislative backing for its operations through "*transparency and effective public communications*", but without setting out how this might be achieved. The Lisbon Summit remained silent on this issue, however. So what should be done? First, national parliaments in member states need to sharpen their scrutiny of NATO affairs. At a minimum, this means establishing permanent standing parliamentary committees in each member state dedicated to NATO. Second, the democratic mandate of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly needs to be strengthened. In particular, there needs to be greater accountability and openness about how members are selected. Third, NATO should adopt an information openness policy consistent with the access to information laws already in place in the Alliance's 28 member countries. Such a policy should include guidelines for proactive publication of core information, a mechanism by which the public can file requests for information, and an independent review body for hearing appeals against refusals or failures to make information public within a short time-frame. And finally, since NATO was unwilling to publish a working draft of the Strategic Concept in advance of the Summit, Member State Parliaments should take it upon themselves to discuss and ratify the documents agreed in Lisbon.

In order to deepen and extend the shared values-base within the Alliance, NATO needs to become closer to its citizens. This means an updated, more open, transparent and accountable Alliance, appropriate to 21st century expectations. It means reforms that less heavily distort NATO towards Pentagon interests. It means convincing public opinion that terrorist attacks sometimes need to be absorbed with a degree of phlegm and self-control in order to avoid even greater blowback from overreactions. It means combating terrorism with everyday policing, intelligence sharing and the rule of law rather than drone attacks. It means refocusing the military on the fundamentals of 'proper soldiering': safeguarding human security, peacekeeping and disaster relief. And above all else, it means looking in the mirror and putting our own house in order.

(Human structure: photo credit - Brandon Doran/flickr)



## News, Commentary and Reports:

### NATO Lisbon Summit:



#### Key Documents:

**Active Engagement, Modern Defence** - "Strategic Concept For the Defence and Security of The Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation", Adopted by Heads of State and Government in Lisbon, 19 November

**Declaration by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on an Enduring Partnership** signed at the NATO Summit in Lisbon, Portugal, 20 November

**Declaration by the Heads of State and Government of the Nations contributing to the UN-mandated, NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan** signed at

the NATO Summit in Lisbon, Portugal, 20 November

**Lisbon Summit Declaration** - Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Lisbon, 20 November

**NATO-Russia Council Joint Statement** at the meeting of the NATO-Russia Council held in Lisbon, 20 November

#### Background:

**Summit Guide** - Lisbon Summit - 19-20 November 2010 NATO's 24th summit meeting

**Summit Programme**

**Host nation website**

**Remarks** at NATO Summit Meeting on Afghanistan, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 20 November

**Address** by Dr. Karl A. Lamers (Germany), President of the NATO PA to the NATO Summit of Heads of State and Government Lisbon, Portugal, 19 November 2010

#### Reactions:

**NATO Reform Lite: An Evaluation of the Lisbon Summit (Part I)**, NATO Watch Briefing No.14, 26 November

**NATO'S Summit: Great on Presentation, Less Good on Substance**, Jonanthan Eyal, RUSI, November 2010

♠♠ **NATO: Going Global** – As its original enemies were defeated two decades ago, what is NATO's new role? Al Jazeera – *Empire*, 25 November - This 45-minute long programme is a special report on NATO featuring several interviews, including with the NATO Secretary General. The programme can be viewed via the link to the Al Jazeera website

**US a kid in a NATO candy store**, Pepe Escobar, *Asia Times*, 25 November

**Quo Vadis, NATO?** Dr. Ezio Bonsignore, *Defence Professionals*, 25 November

**A tale of one summit: NATO's new Strategic Concept**, Gülnur Aybet, *Today's Zaman*, 25 November

**NATO: fit for what purpose?** *The Hindu* Editorial, 24 November

**Between the European Union and NATO**, Many Walls, Judy Dempsey, *New York Times*, 24 November

**Video: Inside Story - From foes to partners**, AlJazeera, 24 November

**NATO for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**, Bellum, *Stanford Review*, 24 November

**NATO's next mission**, Anne Applebaum, *Washington Post*, 23 November

**There's Life in the Old NATO Yet**, Timo Noetzel and Adrian Oroz, *ISN Insights*, 23 November – The NATO summit garnered the usual pronouncements of historic success. In this case the praise may actually be well



deserved. Indeed, a few surprisingly dynamic and positive outcomes were achieved - especially in relations with Russia. But will member states muster the political will to act in accordance with the new strategic concept?

[U.S. Ambassador To NATO Says Alliance Ready To Meet 'Global Threats and Challenges'](#), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 23 November

[Success at the Lisbon Summit: The U.S. Perspective](#) – full audio of an event organised by the Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings (CUSE) with Ivo Daalder, the US Ambassador to NATO, 22 November

[The new Nato pact](#), *Financial Times* Editorial, 22 November

Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State, Lisbon, Portugal - [Interview With Chris Wallace of Fox News Sunday](#), [Interview With Bob Schieffer of CBS Face the Nation](#), [Interview With David Gregory of NBC Meet the Press](#), 21 November

[NATO Summit paves way for renewed Alliance](#), NATO News, 20 November

[Press Briefing](#) by US Ambassador to NATO Ivo Daalder and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications Ben Rhodes, Faria Internacional de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, 19 November

[NATO Agrees to Build Missile Defense System](#), *New York Times*, 19 November

['Fit for purpose' Nato looks to Russia for help with missile defence shield](#) - Mission statement takes in nuclear weapons and Turkey - Alliance to co-operate with Russia on missile defence, *The Guardian*, 19 November

[NATO launches an ambitious agenda for Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 19 November - NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, opened the meeting of Heads of State and Government in Lisbon, stating that it will be one of the most important summits in NATO's history (see [transcript](#) of opening remarks)

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Running towards the future', 19 November

[NATO Review](#) - Lisbon Summit Special Edition, November 2010 - [New age, new threats, new responses](#)

[A New NATO for a New World](#), Anders Fogh Rasmussen, NATO Secretary General, *Huffington Post*, 19 November

[Young professionals meet in Lisbon, ahead of NATO Summit](#), NATO News, 19 November - On 18 November, 70 young leaders from across Allied and Partner nations joined 120 Portuguese university students at the two-day Young Atlanticist Summit (YAS) entitled "[NATO and its Neighborhood: Working with Others to Meet New Challenges](#)"

[Europe and America, Aligned for the Future](#), Barack Obama, *International Herald Tribune*, 18 November

[NATO Leaders To Define A New Mission](#), *NPR*, 18 November

[Nato summit in Lisbon: the key issues](#), *The Guardian*, 18 November - Afghanistan, relations with Russia and the Turkey-Cyprus conundrum among a challenging list of issues on the agenda

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'The most important summit in NATO's history', 17 November

[NATO to outline new strategies for new realities](#), *Washington Post*, 16 November

[Effective, engaged, efficient: Lisbon decisions to guide the new NATO](#), NATO News, 15 November - Just a few days before NATO Heads of State and Government meet, Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said that Lisbon will be one of the most important Summits in NATO's history. The decisions that Allies are expected to take at the end of this week in Portugal will ensure that NATO is more effective, more engaged and more efficient than ever before.

[Secretary General and Prime Minister Cameron discuss Lisbon Summit](#), NATO News, 4 November



(photo credit: NATO)

## Afghanistan-Pakistan:

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

### News

[Coalition ramps up air war over Afghanistan](#), *Associated Press*, 30 November - a 20 percent increase in sorties over last year and 4,615 bombs and Hellfire missiles dropped so far in 2010, compared with 4,184 in 2009

[Pakistan drone victim demands damages from CIA](#), *Associated Press*, 29 November

[UK-based Taliban spend months fighting Nato forces in Afghanistan](#) - Taliban fighter reveals he lives for most of year in London and heads to Afghanistan for combat, *The Guardian*, 24 November – read the [special report](#) on this story

[Taliban Leader in Secret Talks Was an Impostor](#), *New York Times*, 22 November

[Afghan children dismiss diplomat's safer claim](#) - Aid groups also lambast Mark Sedwill for claiming children are safer growing up in Afghanistan's major cities than in Glasgow, *The Guardian*, 22 November

*The Afghanistan war is as bad as the Vietnam War except for the ways in which it's worse*

[Worse Than Vietnam](#), Robert Wright, *New York Times*, 23 November

[Children safer in Kabul than in Glasgow, says Nato spokesman](#)

- Nato's leading civilian representative in Afghanistan, Mark Sedwill, makes comments in CBBC Newsround interview, *The Guardian*, 22 November

[NATO Sees Role After Afghan Combat](#), *New York Times*, 21 November

[Obama Pushes Back On Karzai Criticism](#), *Washington Post*, 21 November

[One in 10 victorious Afghan candidates banned for fraud](#) - Hamid Karzai may overturn election body's ruling over ballot in which polling station closures hit Pashtun votes, *The Guardian*, 21 November

[NATO Sees Long-Term Role After Afghan Combat](#), *New York Times*, 20 November

[NATO and Afghanistan launch transition and embark on a long-term partnership](#), NATO News, 20 November - At the NATO Summit in Lisbon, the Heads of State and Government of 48 Nations, contributing to the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, agreed on a clear vision for sustainable transition to greater Afghan security responsibility, which the 28 NATO Allies backed up by the signing of a long-term partnership between NATO and Afghanistan

[U.S. deploying heavily armored battle tanks for first time in Afghan war](#), *Washington Post*, 19 November

[Afghanistan could face 'eye-watering violence' after troops leave](#) - Nato representative in Kabul says 2014 deadline for ending combat role might not be met, *The Guardian*, 17 November

[NATO Is Razing Booby-Trapped Afghan Homes](#), *New York Times*, 16 November

[Pakistan drone attack 'kills 20 militants'](#), *BBC News*, 16 November

[Kabul Is Offered Wider Role in U.S. Missions](#), *Washington Post*, 16 November

[Despite Gains, Night Raids Split U.S. and Karzai](#), *New York Times*, 15 November – For the United States, a recent tripling in the number of night raids by Special Operations forces to capture or kill Afghan insurgents has begun to put heavy pressure on the Taliban and change the momentum in the war in Afghanistan. For President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, the raids cause civilian casualties and are a rising political liability, so much so that he is now loudly insisting that the Americans stop the practice

[US defends Afghanistan tactics after Karzai calls for troop reduction](#) - Afghan president warned he is undermining war effort by publicly criticising military strategy against Taliban fighters, *The Guardian*, 15 November

[U.S. Plan Envisions Path to Ending Afghan Combat](#), *New York Times*, 14 November

[U.S. hires firms with questionable pasts for Afghan jobs](#), *McClatchy*, 14 November - nearly \$4.5 billion worth of contracts have been awarded to companies with chequered histories including alleged violations of the law and disputes over previous projects





[Flawed projects prove costly for Afghanistan, U.S.](#), *McClatchy*, 14 November - nearly \$200 million of Army Corps of Engineers projects since January 2008 have "failed, face serious delays, or resulted in subpar work"

[US missile salvo kills six in Pakistan: officials](#), *AFP*, 11 November

[U.S. Tweaks Message on Troops in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 10 November

[Afghan security training program marks one-year anniversary](#), *Washington Post*, 8 November

[NATO says 900 trainers needed for Afghan forces](#), *Associated Press*, 8 November

[Afghan Forces Hurt by Attrition, Leadership Gaps, NATO Finds](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 7 November

[Afghanistan to be included in defence sector integrity-building initiative](#), NATO News, 2 November - Lead nations Norway, Poland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom signed the financial and executing agreements for the second phase of the Building Integrity (BI) Initiative. The programme, which aims to help Allied and Partner nations reduce corruption risks in the defence sector, will soon include a programme tailored for Afghanistan

### **Commentary and Reports**

[Afghanistan: Exit vs Engagement](#), *Asia Briefing* No.115, International Crisis Group, 28 November - warns of the deep problems that still exist in Afghanistan and of the dire consequences that can ensue unless the foundations of an effective state are put in place

[Tanks, But No Tanks](#) - Why heavy armor won't save Afghanistan, Michael Waltz, *Foreign Policy*, 24 November

♣♣ [How to Schedule a War - The Incredible Shrinking Withdrawal Date](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 23 November

[Fake Taliban, real embarrassment](#), Joshua Foust, *Foreign Policy*, 23 November

[It's braver to quit Afghanistan now](#) - If the date for withdrawal from Afghanistan is fixed at the end of 2014 then our soldiers may be dying for nothing, Peter Preston, *The Guardian*, 21 November

♣♣ [Piecemeal or Peace Deal? Nato, Peace Talks and Political Settlement in Afghanistan](#), Oxford Research Group, Christian Aid, Open Society Foundations, November 2010 - argues that the transition that was agreed at the NATO summit on 20 November to hand over security to Afghan Army and Police by 2014 will not work without the political settlement needed to underpin it: "This is the only viable solution to avoid either a deepening military quagmire or a cut-and-run deal, which might allow international troops to withdraw only to see another civil war lead to terrible human suffering and dangerous regional instability."

♣♣ [Nowhere to Turn - The Failure to Protect Civilians in Afghanistan](#): A Joint Briefing Paper by 29 Aid Organizations Working in Afghanistan for the NATO Heads of Government Summit, Lisbon, 19 November

♣♣ [Afghanistan: can aid make a difference?](#) Jonathan Steele, *The Guardian*, 19 November - Along with troops, the UK is pouring aid into Afghanistan. But is it working? A first hand view of life inside Helmand province

[No Trainers? No Transition](#) - LTG Bill Caldwell outlines why he sees trainers as holding the key to Afghanistan's future, *NATO Review*, November 2010



[There's no checklist for counterinsurgency](#), Joshua Rovner and Tim Hoyt, *Foreign Affairs*, 18 November

[Rainmaking in Afghanistan](#), Amitai Etzioni, The Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies at The George Washington University, 17 November

(Afghanistan, 16 November 2010 – photo credit: 101st CAB, Wings of Destiny /flickr)

[Coalition violence in southern Afghanistan](#), Anand Gopal, *Foreign Policy*, 17 November

*The approach of NATO policy in Afghanistan was flawed from the beginning. The lessons we had learned on post-conflict Security Sector Reform (SSR) were put to one side. We will never know if Afghanistan would be in a better position now if a more committed effort to building state capacity and SSR had been attempted from the start.*

Clare Short, former UK Secretary of State for International Development, August 2009 – Foreword to a new book on [The Future of Security Sector Reform](#), Edited by Mark Sedra, The Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2010

[Reforming Afghanistan's Broken Judiciary](#), *Asia Report* N°195, International Crisis Group, 17 November

[The Stimulus Package in Kabul](#) (I Was Delusional -- I Thought One Monster "Embassy" Was the End of It), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 14 November

[International assistance funding is finding its way to the insurgency, expert says](#), NATO PA Press Release, 13 November - As much as half of the Taliban's funds come indirectly from money being poured into Afghanistan by the international community, an expert told the NATO Parliamentary Assembly: the presentation by Akbar Ayazi, Associate Director Broadcasting who oversees RFE/RL's Afghanistan, Persian, Pakistan, and Iraq broadcast services, is available [here](#)

["Dysfunctional" governance is holding back progress in Afghanistan, expert tells NATO Parliamentary Assembly](#), NATO PA Press Release, 13 November

[New Light on the Accuracy of the CIA's Predator Drone Campaign in Pakistan](#), *Terrorism Monitor* Volume: 8 Issue: 41, 11 November,

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog, [Taking back the initiative](#), 11 November

[Missed opportunities in Kandahar](#), Anand Gopal, *Foreign Policy*, 10 November

♣♣ [Afghanistan: U.S. Rule of Law and Justice Sector Assistance](#), Congressional Research Service, 9 November - provides a detailed overview of the US approach to rule of law issues in Afghanistan, which are expanding and accelerating. Nearly a billion dollars has been spent in the past decade to strengthen Afghanistan's legal infrastructure, rising from \$7 million in FY2002 to an estimated \$411 million in FY2010. This report describes the numerous and diverse initiatives that have been undertaken, the political, cultural and institutional obstacles that confront them, and their uncertain results

♣♣ [Afghanistan in 2010: a survey of the Afghan people](#), The Asia Foundation, 9 November - the broadest public opinion poll in the country. Conducted by The Asia Foundation's office in Afghanistan, the 2010 survey polled 6,467 Afghan citizens across all 34 provinces in the country on security, development, economy, government, corruption, and women's issues to assess the mood and direction of the country. A key finding is that 83% of those surveyed support Afghan government efforts to negotiate with insurgents, compared with 71 percent last year, and insecurity, unemployment, and corruption top the list of concerns for Afghans

[Russia returns to Afghanistan](#), Richard Weitz, *Foreign Policy*, 3 November

## Arms Control:

[NATO Should Focus More on Conventional Arms Control in Europe](#), Donald K. Bandler and Jakub Kulhanek, Atlantic Council, 20 November

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the US and the Soviet Union that led to the signing of the SALT I Treaty in 1972 were documented in exhaustive detail in [the latest volume](#) of the official US State Department publication Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS). The [new FRUS volume](#) (pdf), which is more than 1000 pages long, covers internal deliberations over US arms control policy and strategy in the Nixon Administration, discussions with NATO allies and the development, refinement, negotiation and ultimate approval of the SALT I Treaty. (Source: *Secrecy News*, Volume 2010, Issue No. 90, 10 November)

## Climate Change and Environmental Security:

[Experts review environmental security issues](#), NATO News, 24 November - On 21 and 22 November, more than 30 environmental security experts gathered in Belgium for a workshop entitled "Environmental Security Assessments: Methodologies and Practices". The event was organized in the framework of the Environment and Security (ENVSEC) Initiative, through which NATO is working with other international organizations to address environmental priorities that threaten security



(UK climate change canvass - photo credit: Oxfam International/flickr)

## Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Humanitarian Relief:

[NATO concludes airlift operations in support of the flood victims in Pakistan](#), NATO News, 25 November - NATO's 90-day airlift operations in support of flood victims in Pakistan were brought to a close on 22 November in coordination with the Pakistani authorities. During this period, the Alliance transported 1,020 tonnes of relief goods in a total of 24 airlift missions to Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi airports

♣♣ [Time for the human approach](#), Mary Kaldor and Javier Solana, *Open Democracy*, 15 November 2010

♣♣ [The military is not a surgical tool of political engineering](#) - Assuming an expensive role as world police gifts propaganda opportunities to extremists – and its ultimate logic is endless war, Patrick Porter, *The Guardian*, 15 November

## Counter-Terrorism:

[NATO and the Media: Winning Hearts and Minds](#), Yasser Abumuailek, *Atlantic-Community.org*, 22 November - NATO needs to reach out to both its own citizens and those at risk of being recruited by terrorists through the media. The New Strategic Concept unfortunately overlooks this aspect, as the mass media is a key defensive weapon against terrorist propaganda

[Ukrainian ship joins NATO's counter-terrorism surge in eastern Mediterranean](#), NATO News, 12 November - Ukraine sent a warship to the Mediterranean to assist NATO's Operation Active Endeavour, which aims to detect and deter terrorist activity in the region



(The Ukrainian corvette URS Ternopil – photo credit: NATO)

## Cyber Security:

[BAE Realigns Offerings Toward ISR, Cyber](#), David Fulghum, *Aviation Week*, 23 November - US and UK companies are realigning their structures to profit from a new wave of intelligence, cyber, information and electronic weaponry, as well as the sophisticated sensors that will guide them [Cyber war and cyber power – issues for NATO doctrine](#), Jeffrey Hunker, NATO Defence College *Research Paper*, No.62 November 2010 - There is an urgent need to define what NATO's role in responding to cyberspace could be. This paper proposes key definitions and ways for NATO to act



["Cyber Coalition 2010" to exercise collaboration in cyber defence](#), NATO News, 16 November - Between 16-18 November, NATO conducted Cyber Coalition 2010, a cyber defence exercise that tested cyber incident response, inter-agency collaboration, and the strategic decision making processes of NATO and its member states

[Cyber Defense To Be On NATO Critical Capabilities List](#), Julian Hale, *Defense News*, 16 November

[UK needs cyber attack capability: minister](#), *Reuters*, 10 November  
(photo credit: NATO)

## Defence Budgets and Procurement:

[Restructuring Europe's Armed Forces in Times of Austerity: Challenges and Opportunities for Government and Industry](#), Sophie-Charlotte Brune in cooperation with Alastair Cameron, Jean-Pierre Maulny and Marcin Terlikowski, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), November 2010 – the authors jointly explore what concrete policy options are on the table to achieve savings whilst pursuing much needed structural reforms of the armed forces and strengthening a European Defence Technological and Industrial Base.

[Budgeting NATO's future](#), Michael A. Innes, *Foreign Policy*, 19 November

[Security and the effects of budgetary constraints](#), *NATO Review*, November 2010

[Nato and the case for defence](#), *Financial Times*, Editorial, 17 November

[NATO Nations pursue cost-savings through joint Counter-Improvised Explosive Device \(C-IED\) procurement](#), NATO News, 16 November - 13 nations agreed to seek significant cost-savings through the joint procurement of C-IED technology at a special workshop held in Brussels

[European allies are not living up to commitments on defence spending, NATO official says](#), NATO PA Press Release, 14 November - As austerity measures start to bite across the Alliance, budget cuts are having an impact on defence spending by NATO members, says Frank Boland, director of force planning with NATO's Defence Policy and Planning Directorate. Co-operation among states has the potential to bring much-needed efficiencies, but there are considerable political obstacles, he said. Only five of the 28 allies spent



the recommended 2 per cent of their gross domestic product on defence and security last year, he told the Alliance's Parliamentary Assembly members of the Economics and Security Committee

[Keeping the Spirit of the Game: NATO Standardisation Agency Ensures Fair Play](#), *Defence IQ*, Podcast, 11 November – interview with Cesare Balducci, Deputy Director of the NATO Standardisation Agency, on the challenges of maintaining interoperability among component air forces

## Enlargement and Partnerships:

[The G-20 Challenge and its Implications for NATO](#), *New Atlanticist Podcast Series* - Atlantic Council senior fellow Sarwar Kashmeri interviews George Magnus, Chief Economist of UBS Investment Bank, 26 November

Media guide: [NATO and the Western Balkans – New Strategy, Old Challenges](#), *Athens Working Group: Transforming the Balkans*, Hellenic Centre for European Studies, 17 November

[The United States and Europe: an agenda for engagement](#), Philip Gordon, *esharp.eu*, 4 November - sets out the agenda for transatlantic cooperation ahead of EU-US, NATO and OSCE summits taking place this month

[ESDP and NATO institutional, functional and issue overlapping: The debate on Turkey](#), Jelena Mrvelj and Aleksandar Roncevic, Paper presented at SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference, Stockholm 9-11 Sep. 2010 - This study examines post-Cold War relations between the EU and NATO in the security and defence area, with a special focus on Turkey

[NATO Partnerships: DOD Needs to Assess U.S. Assistance in Response to Changes to the Partnership for Peace Program](#), US Government Accountability Office, GAO-10-1015, 30 September 2010

## Gender:

Women and conflict: a frontline issue? [NATO Review](#), Edition 5, 2010 - Patrick Cammaert, Dutch Major General (retired) recently said: 'It has probably become more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in armed conflicts'. Women are, through no fault of their own, on the frontline of many conflicts. They suffer disproportionately (along with children) from the effects of conflict. NATO Review asks, 10 years on from moves to improve women's fortunes, has anything really changed?

(photo credits: NATO Review)



### UNSCR 1325: a happy 10th birthday?

It's been 10 years since the UN called for more women in conflict resolution, more respect for women's rights in conflicts and more women's perspectives in peacekeeping. How much has changed?

### Security: still a male

How much have women has there been in the the top how they see



### career?

been able to make their mark on security? What kind of progress last 10 years? We ask some women who have been able to get to women's role in security.

### How important are

NATO is changing to adapt to a new century, new challenges much can women expect to be part of NATO's vision for the

### women Concept?



### in NATO's new Strategic

and new attitudes. How future?



### 'Women have become today's without guns'

Margot Wallstrom, the UN's special envoy on sexual violence in conflict, outlines the major problems facing women in conflicts, why prosecutions are vital and her disappointment at progress so far.

### 10 years on, the promises to women need to be kept

The man seen as the 'architect' of UNSCR 1325 outlines where progress has been made in the last 10 years - and what remains to be done



### The struggle to empower Congo's women

How much progress is there in the fight to empower and protect women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo? The Collective of Congolese Women for Peace and Justice tell Terra Robinson their story.



## Maritime Security and Piracy:

[Western navies could do more to address piracy in Somalia, expert says](#), NATO PA Press Release, 16 November

[Experts examine new technologies in maritime security](#), NATO News, 9 November - From 3 to 5 November 2010, more than 120 maritime security professionals gathered at the second international WaterSide Security (WSS) Conference in Marina di Carrara, Italy, organized by the NATO Underwater Research Centre (NURC)

['Dear Human, I Have Seen the Navy of the Future and It Does Not Include You . . .'](#), Robert Desmore, *DefenceIQ*, 8 November

## Missile Defence:

[Secret talks with Russia focused on missile defense](#), *Washington Times*, 30 November

[Full cost of European missile defence could run to billions](#) - European states will have to spend billions of pounds over the next 10 years to build a ballistic missile defence shield designed to protect the region from nuclear attack, according to Nato officials, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 November

[Ukraine Willing to Participate in NATO Missile Shield](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 24 November

[Much ado about nothing? NATO, Turkey and one missile defence shield](#), Gülnur Aybet, *Today's Zaman*, 22 November

[NATO Agrees On Missile Defense Shield](#), *LA Times*, 20 November

[Allied leaders agree on NATO Missile Defence system](#), NATO News, 20 November

[NATO Agrees To Build Missile Defense System](#), *New York Times*, 19 November

[Potential Iranian Responses to NATO's Missile Defense Shield](#), Michael Eisenstadt, *PolicyWatch* #1722, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 19 November



[Missile defence: the \\$270m 'protective umbrella' for 28 Nato allies](#), *The Guardian*, 19 November

[NATO missile shield agreement due](#), *defencemanagement.com*, 19 November

(Polish-American talks on missile defence, July 2010 – photo credit: Poland MFA/flickr)

♠♠ [NATO and Territorial Missile Defense: A "No Brainer" or More Questions than Answers?](#) Simon Lunn, Atlantic Council, 18 November

[Iran missile system tested, rhetoric sharpened on eve of NATO summit](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 November

[Alliance to calm Turkish nerves over missile plan](#), *Financial Times*, 17 November

[Missile defence could be "new glue" for alliance, NATO parliamentarians say](#), NATO PA Press Release, 15 November

[How US strategic antimissile defense could be made to work](#), George N. Lewis and Theodore A. Postol, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November/December 2010

[Unblocking the road to zero: US-Russian cooperation on missile defenses](#), Barry Blechman and Jonas Vaicikonis, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November/December 2010

[Will pinning NATO's security to missile defence lead to more cohesion?](#) Ian Anthony, SIPRI, 10 November

Next Steps in Arms Control: Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense and NATO, Arms Control Association and Heinrich Boell Stiftung North America, [event](#) at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC, 8 November - Third Panel [Transcript](#): Missile Defense and NATO

[NATO and the future of missile defense in Europe](#), Pavel Podvig, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 28 October 2010

## NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

[Korean incident underlines peninsula's unpredictability](#), NATO parliamentarians learn in Seoul, NATO PA Press Release, 23 November - The scale of the security challenges on the Korean peninsula was

dramatically underscored for visiting members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly by the North Korean artillery attack on a South Korean island

[Afghanistan and relations with Russia dominate last day of NATO parliamentary assembly](#), NATO PA Press Release, 16 November

[Security in the gulf should be higher on NATO's political agenda, U.S. congressman says](#), NATO PA Press Release, 14 November

[Russia "can be a very good partner" for NATO, says polish official, but obstacles to co-operation with the EU remain](#), NATO PA Press Release, 13 November

[NATO PA 56th annual session kicks off in Warsaw](#), NATO PA Press Release, 12 November - The NATO PA's Annual Session, hosted by the Polish Parliament, involving some 260 legislators from 48 NATO member and partner countries - ranging from the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Georgia, to Kazakhstan, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea and Japan, met in Warsaw for five days of discussion of key security issues on the threshold of NATO's Lisbon Summit

[Danger situation in Sudan discussed during groundbreaking visit to Ethiopia](#), NATO PA Press Release, 11 November - From 25-29 October, members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Sub-Committee on Trans-Atlantic Economic Relations, with the support of the World Bank, visited Ethiopia—the first ever NATO PA visit to that country. The purpose was to learn how Ethiopia has been affected by the global economic crisis and its approach to development, but also to discuss the formidable security challenges in that region of Africa, including the very tense situation in Sudan

(NATO Russia Council Meeting, Lisbon Summit – photo credit: NATO)

## NATO-Russia Relations:

[Russia's Medvedev warns of new arms race](#), *Reuters*, 30 November

Atlantic Council senior fellow Sarwar Kashmeri [interviews](#) Dmitry Rogozin, Russia's Ambassador to NATO, *New Atlanticist Podcast Series*, 29 November



[NATO-Russia set on path towards strategic partnership](#), NATO News, 20 November - The third summit in the history of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) took place in Lisbon on 20 November 2010. At the end of this historic gathering, President Dmitri Medvedev of Russia and his counterparts from the other 28 NRC member states issued a [joint statement](#)

*The NATO-Russian Council still looks like a uniform made a couple of sizes too large, in the expectation that the soldier who wears it will bulk up a bit. Well, the soldier still cannot seem to bulk up. We have an extensive institutional network of contacts, but the actual amount of cooperation between Russia and NATO is not that great*

[Interview](#) with the Russian Ambassador to NATO Dmitry Rogozin for the *Security Index* journal, PIR Centre, 17 November

[Kinder, Gentler U.S.-Russia Mood at NATO Summit](#) – Interview with Stephen Sestanovich, CFR George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, 19 November

[Russia Pushes for CSTO-NATO Cooperation on Counter-Narcotics](#), Richard Weitz, *EurasiaNet*, 19 November - Russian officials are pushing for the Alliance to demonstrate a greater spirit of cooperation with Moscow in combating drug production in Afghanistan

[Game, reset and good match?](#) *NATO Review*, November 2010 - In April 2010, The Atlantic Initiative conducted an expert survey in Russia to gauge the path of the NATO -Russia relationship. *NATO Review* presents the results

[Russia-NATO Arms Deal in Reach Once Ties Cemented at Summit, Rogozin Says](#), *Bloomberg*, 18 November

[Moscow Expands NATO's Routes](#) - Russia to Allow More Supplies to Flow to Afghanistan Amid Efforts on Both Sides to Improve Ties, *Wall Street Journal*, 18 November

[NATO head in Moscow for partnership talks](#), *Russia Today*, 3 November

[Secretary General in Moscow to prepare the Summit](#), NATO News, 3 November



## Nuclear Weapons:

[Russian Missiles Fuel U.S. Worries](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 30 November

[NATO Sets Basis for Tactical Nuclear Cutbacks, But Path Remains Uncertain](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 24 November

[European churches disappointed about NATO's new Strategic Concept not effectively contributing to nuclear disarmament](#), The Conference of European Churches Press Release, 22 November

[Nato's tactical nuclear weapons: the new doctrine](#)

- Arms controls advocates and nuclear weapons experts are divided over whether Nato's new strategic concept represents a step towards disarmament, Julian Borger, *The Guardian*, 21 November

(photo credit: slide from presentation by Guy Roberts at the Shadow NATO Summit, November 2010)



[Experts Call NATO Strategic Concept 'Missed Opportunity to Reduce Role of Obsolete Tactical Nukes from Europe'](#), ACA & BASIC Press Release, 19 November

♠♠ NATO Strategic Concept: One Step Forward and a Half Step Back, Hans Kristensen, *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, 19 November

[Germany and France in nuclear weapons dispute ahead of Nato summit](#) - Merkel and Sarkozy set to meet on fringes of Lisbon meeting to try to hammer out deal and rescue summit from failure, Ian Traynor, *The Guardian*, 18 November

[Is NATO's Nuclear Deterrence Policy a Relic of the Cold War?](#) Paul Schulte, Carnegie Europe, *Policy Outlook*, 17 November



[NATO's new Strategic Concept: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb part 2](#) - Bombspotting exposes the irrational Cold War rhetoric behind NATO's new Strategic Concept with a hoax NATO News-website ([natonews.tv](#)) and interview on nuclear strategy with a representative of the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division

(Photo credit: bombspotting)

[Barack Obama's hopes for a nuclear-free world fading fast](#) – two of the president's initiatives, on disarmament and relations with Russia, have been dealt a serious setback, *The Guardian*, 16 November

♠♠ NATO, Nuclear Security and the Terrorist Threat, Sam Nunn, *New York Times*, 16 November

[Defence, deterrence and decommissioning all have their place in modern nuclear policy](#), US official says, NATO PA Press Release, 16 November

[NATO's Nuclear Policy Game - Assessing the Teams, the Pitch and the Ball before Lisbon](#), Wilbert van der Zeijden, *IKV Pax Christi Newsletter*, 15 November - Confrontations between France and Germany are always intense. Whether on the battlefield, at the negotiation table or on the soccer pitch - the NATO Strategic Concept negotiations over the past months were no exception

[NATO Parliamentarian suggests declaring details of US nuclear deployments in Europe](#), NATO PA Press Release, 15 November - NATO's updated Strategic Concept is unlikely to significantly change its nuclear policy, but greater transparency on the deployment of US weapons could help nuclear disarmament, members of the Alliance's Parliamentary Assembly said, even if no real formal change in NATO's posture could be expected in the short term. See the report by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities: [US. Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe: A Fundamental NATO Debate](#), Raymond Knops (Netherlands), Rapporteur

[NATO's new Strategic Concept and the future of tactical nuclear weapons](#), Oliver Meier, *Nuclear Policy Paper No.4* November 2010, ACA, BASIC & IFSH

[Current NATO Nuclear Policy](#), Rt Hon the Lord Browne of Ladyton (Des Browne), *Nuclear Policy Paper No.3* November 2010, ACA, BASIC & IFSH

[Polish and Central European Priorities on NATO's Future Nuclear Policy](#), Łukasz Kulesa, *Nuclear Policy Paper* No.2 November 2010, ACA, BASIC & IFSH - In the present debate over the future of NATO's nuclear policy, and especially the stationing of the US sub-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe, the countries of Central Europe are usually presented as the staunch supporters of the nuclear status quo. In fact, their attitude towards the role of nuclear weapons and wider issue of the deterrence policy of the Alliance is much more varied and nuanced, and reducing them to a "no changes" camp can result in the oversimplification of the picture and hampers the understanding of the motives of their choices in foreign and security policy

[Options for arms control to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in NATO](#), Ambassador Peter Gottwald, *Nuclear Policy Paper* No.1 November 2010, ACA, BASIC & IFSH - Ever since the Harmel report, NATO has been committed to a broad approach to security, including arms control, disarmament and other co-operative security tools as necessary complement to military capabilities. The declaration on Alliance security adopted by the 2009 Strasbourg summit reflects this twofold approach by restating that deterrence, including through nuclear capabilities, will remain a core element of NATO strategy, while at the same time NATO will continue to play its part in reinforcing arms control and promoting nuclear and conventional disarmament and non-proliferation

[Controlling Tactical Nuclear Weapons](#), Micah Zenko, *ISN Insights*, 11 November - Tactical nuclear weapons represent the final frontier of nuclear arms control. Controlling US and Russian supplies would reduce the potential for nuclear terrorism, decrease the perceived threat to US allies and maintain momentum toward Obama's goal of a world without nuclear weapons

The Future of Nuclear Weapons and Missile Defense in NATO Security, US Institute of Peace [event](#) with Ellen O. Tauscher, Amb. Wolfgang Ischinger, Franklin Miller, Stephen Flanagan, 8 November

Next Steps in Arms Control: Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense and NATO, Arms Control Association and Heinrich Boell Stiftung North America, [event](#) at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC, 8 November - Second Panel [Transcript](#): Tactical Nuclear Weapons and NATO

## Reform:

[NATO leaders agree to far-reaching reforms](#), NATO News, 20 November - NATO leaders agreed at their Summit meeting in Lisbon to far-reaching reforms of the NATO Military Command Structure and the agencies that provide essential capabilities and services to NATO armed forces

[New challenges - new Nato](#), *NATO Review*, November 2010 - In early August, a new "Emerging Security Challenges Division" started its work in NATO's International Staff.

[Can NATO Modernize Before It Becomes Obsolete?](#) Leo Cendrowicz, *Time*, 18 November



roundtable focused upon the dual requirements of promoting stability and protecting access within the global commons, which are comprised of the space, maritime and cyber domains (sunset over the earth – photo credit: NASA/flickr)

## Space Security:

[SDA Report - Protecting the global commons](#), November 2010 – in September, the SDA welcomed a delegation from NATO Allied Command Transformation, along with a panel of experts, to participate in a roundtable debate entitled "Protecting the global commons." The purpose of the roundtable was to identify trends and issues that will shape the global security climate, and to identify NATO's role in these diverse areas. The

*Nato has operated ever since 1991 in a fog of peace. It owes its continuing existence as much to inertia as to any grand overarching military project*

[For 60 years, Nato kept the peace in Europe. What now?](#)

The alliance now has few common objectives, and bows to a US agenda. Europe must make a stand to keep it relevant, Martin Kettle, *The Guardian*, 18 November

## Strategic Concept:

[NATO adopts a new Strategic Concept](#), NATO News, 19 November - NATO leaders adopt a new Strategic Concept (see [text](#)) that will serve as the Alliance's roadmap for the next ten years and that reconfirms the commitment to defend one another against attack as the bedrock of Euro-Atlantic security.

[Critics Write Obits, But NATO Focuses On New Threats](#), Sen. John F. Kerry, *Politico.com*, 17 November

[NATO's Strategy - a Pre-Summit Assessment](#), Director of the NATO Defense College Research Division, Dr Karl-Heinz KAMP, 17 November

[NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept: Five Markers of Success](#), Sally McNamara, Heritage Foundation, 16 November

[The future of NATO - Fewer Dragons, More Snakes](#), *The Economist*, 13 November

NATO set to announce a new mission statement in Lisbon – [Press briefing](#) by NATO Spokesman, James Appathurai, 10 November

[Walker's World: Planning NATO Mark 3](#), Martin Walker, *UPI*, 8 November  
(The dragon and the snake – photo credit: PunkJr/flickr)



[NATO's pursuit of legitimacy in the 21st century: Normative dilemmas in view of global challenges](#), Charlotte Wagnsson, Paper presented at SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference, Stockholm 9-11 Sep. 2010 - This paper is a draft version of a pilot study that examines normative dilemmas in NATO's discourse during the strategic concept process. A central argument is that global security politics can be explained by reference to a struggle over 'security norms'. The findings suggest that the concept process was very much about using 'others' to legitimise NATO's existence, but it was little about norms and it was a lot about finances. A few possible reasons for the weak prevalence of normative justifications in the concept process are suggested and the author asks whether NATO in the long run can avoid an open debate on the normative underpinnings of security policy.

## Transatlantic Cooperation:

[SDA Report: Redefining NATO and the transatlantic relationship](#), November 2010 - In October, the SDA welcomed a panel of experts to discuss the future of NATO and the transatlantic relationship. Focusing on the ongoing mission in Afghanistan and European relations with the US, the debate revolved around the need for reform, reinvigorated partnerships with regional powers and new models of cooperation in an increasingly unstable world

[What do Europeans want from NATO?](#) EU Institute for Security Studies, Report No.8, November 2010

A new [statement](#) released on 10 November by the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative—led by Wolfgang Ischinger, Igor Ivanov, and Sam Nunn—contends that the United States, Europe, and Russia have a crucial role to play in stabilizing the world, which starts with transforming the Euro-Atlantic space into a stronger, inclusive security community

*it is not easy to report my impressions of Helmand's challenges. I was invited by our own Department for International Development (DFID), but everything I write has to be submitted to the Ministry of Defence and cleared for publication. Britain is trying to bring good governance to the people of Afghanistan, among which I thought was respect for press freedom. But no journalist can travel with the British in Helmand if he or she has not given signed agreement to an annex to the MoD "Green Book" which sets out the procedures for coverage, including the requirement for pre-publication approval of all text, audio, and pictures. A soldier even sits in on my interviews. No wonder American journalists decline to report on the British in Helmand. Their own government makes no such demands of the embedded press. Astonishingly, I learn the Newspaper Publishers Association, the National Union of Journalists, the Society of Editors and the BBC were consulted in producing the Green Book.*

[Afghanistan: can aid make a difference?](#)  
Jonathan Steele, *The Guardian*, 19 November

## Transparency and Accountability:

"What NATO means for us" - NATO countries have produced short videos on what membership in NATO means to them and their citizens – see [video links](#)

## Upcoming Events:

'Afghanistan: Recording All The Dead Is In Everyone's Interest', public meeting convened by the cross-party UK Parliamentary Afghanistan Withdrawal Group, chaired by Paul Flynn MP - 7 December, 19:00 - 20:30 House of Commons, Committee Room 9 - John Sloboda, Director of [ORG's Recording the Casualties of Armed Conflict programme](#), will be the main speaker. For more details, please click [here](#)

'After the NATO Summit: Prospects and Problems for Transatlantic Defence Cooperation', 8 December - The American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Berlin - this



conference will analyze the future of transatlantic defence industry cooperation and NATO after the Lisbon Summit and the unveiling of the new strategic concept. Selected speakers include Ambassador Ivo Daalder, US Permanent Representative to NATO, and Dr. Christoph Heusgen, Foreign and Security Policy Adviser to the German Federal Chancellor. For further details, please click [here](#)

'The United States Meets Europe: Beyond Mars and Venus: The Transatlantic Relationship in the New World Order', Washington DC & New York City, 3 - 9 January 2011 This Forum for Young Leaders will focus on the economic, political, cultural, and societal dimensions of the relationship, and the wider context within which this relationship exists. For details, please click [here](#)

## **Security News from NATO Member States:**

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

### **Canada**

[NATO Secretary General welcomes Canadian decision on Afghan mission](#), NATO News, 16 November

[Federal security agencies raise spectre of Arctic terror threats](#), *The Globe and Mail*, 10 November

### **Czech Republic**

[Czech house approves more troops for Afghanistan](#), *Reuters*, 3 November

### **Germany**

[Germany to abolish compulsory military service](#) - Biggest postwar modernisation of German Bundeswehr aimed at reducing €8bn off the defence spending budget, *The Guardian*, 22 November

'Cause for Concern' - German Government Issues 'Concrete' Terror Warning, *Der Spiegel*, 17 November

[Germany May End Military Intelligence in Cost Clampdown](#), *Handelsblatt Says*, *Bloomberg*, 1 November

### **Lithuania**

[Remarks With Lithuanian Foreign Minister Audronius Azubalis](#) After Their Meeting, Hillary Rodham Clinton Secretary of State, Treaty Room, Washington, DC, 15 November

### **Netherlands**

The Netherlands General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), [Annual report 2009](#)

### **Portugal**

[South Atlantic crossfire: Portugal in-between Brazil and NATO](#), Pedro Seabra, Portuguese Institute of International Relations and Security, *IPRIS Viewpoints*, November 2010

### **Romania**

[Geopolitical Journey, Part 3: Romania](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 16 November

### **Slovenia**

[Slovenia in ISAF](#), *defencemanagement.com*, 18 November

### **Turkey**

[Geopolitical Journey, Part 5: Turkey](#), George Friedman, *STRATFOR*, 23 November



*[Defence spending] is a response not to known threats (such as Russia), nor even to known unknowns (such as a resurgent Russia), but to those famous unknown unknowns. The great ontologist, Donald Rumsfeld, remains the patron saint of defence expenditure.*

*The argument can take amazing forms. Come now, say the high priests. Just suppose another Hitler rose again, built a new Luftwaffe and U-boats, and bombed London and sank all our coastal trade. We would need a carrier. Suppose Russia falls under the sway of an oligarch with a grudge against Harrods and a business rival in Kensington Palace Gardens. Suppose he decides to nuke them. Supposed 100 suicide bombers block-booked themselves on Eurostar and went to every Premier League match. You would look pretty silly, Jenkins, wouldn't you?*

*I would look pretty silly, and probably I wouldn't be the only one. But for the time being, I regard such unrealities used to justify massive spending as no less silly. We can only meet realistic threats. We do not build 1,000 NHS hospitals and leave them to await the return of bubonic plague.*

[Does Britain really need the military?](#) Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 5 November

## United Kingdom

[The Strategic Defence Review – Rearguard Actions and Missing the Point](#), Paul Rogers, Oxford Research Group, November 2010

[British atom bomb test veterans lose damages case](#) - Appeals court rules it is too late to prove exposure to fallout caused ailments of elderly ex-service personnel, *The Guardian*, 22 November

[Afghanistan injured cost government £500,000 a week](#) - The cost of treating injured soldiers at Selly Oak hospital between May and July this year was £10.25m, *The Guardian*, 22 November

[Defence review hurt morale, says report](#), *Financial Times*, 17 November



(HMS Ark Royal Visits HMNB Clyde for the Final Time – photo credit: UK MoD/flickr)

[Documents at odds: the UK's national security review](#), Mary Kaldor, *open democracy*, 10 November

[Britain's SDSR - Mired in Fantasy](#), Gerard DeGroot, ISN Insights, 9 November - A desire to "punch above its weight" has left Britain flailing in its most serious security challenge - combating terrorism

[BAE 'put gun to government's head' over carriers](#), *Financial Times*, 4 November

## United States

[Smarter than you think - War Machines: Recruiting Robots for Combat](#), *New York Times*, 27 November

[OSCE media freedom representative condemns arrest of journalists covering protest at U.S. military base](#), OSCE Press Release, 23 November

[The New War Congress - An Obama-Republican War Alliance?](#) David Swanson, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 November

[Twenty-First Century Blowback? As Prospects Dim in Iraq, the Pentagon Digs in Deeper Around the Middle East](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 15 November

♣♣ [U.S.-Saudi Arms Deal: Congress Should Take A Closer Look](#), Arms Control Association, *Issue Brief*, Volume 1, Number 29, 12 November

Without excessive exaggeration, one might say of the United States today what was once said of Prussia -- that it is a state owned by its army

♣♣ [Manufacturing Insecurity - How Militarism Endangers America](#), William Pfaff, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2010

[Initial salvo fired in effort to reduce defence costs](#), Jeremy Lemer and Daniel Dombey, *Financial Times*, 11 November - High-profile equipment such as the F-35 combat jet and overseas military forces could be targeted for cutbacks under proposals to slash defence spending by \$100bn in 2015

[Behind Drone Issue in Yemen, a Struggle to Control Covert Ops](#), Gareth Porter, *Inter Press Service*, 10 November - The drone war that has been anticipated in Yemen for the last few months has been delayed by the failure of U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) to generate usable intelligence on al Qaeda there

[Drone footage overwhelms analysts - Pentagon looking for better ways to sift through data](#), *Washington Times*, 9 November

[Proliferation Security Initiative \(PSI\)](#), Mary Beth Nikitin, Congressional Research Service, 5 November

Army Weapon Systems Handbook 2011 - The US Army has published its [2011 Weapon Systems](#) handbook, a catalogue of current weapon programs that are in various phases of the acquisition process. Many of the programs are mature and familiar; others are less so. In each case, the program's purpose and status are described, contractors involved in production are identified, and countries that have acquired the weapon system through foreign military sales programs are listed (Source: *Secrecy News*, 4 November)

[Guantánamo, Exception or Rule?](#) All-American Justice for a Child Soldier at Obama's Gitmo, Chase Madar, *TomDispatch.com*, 4 November

Yemen Covert Role Pushed -Foiled Bomb Plot Heightens Talk of Putting Elite U.S. Squads in CIA Hands, *Washington Post*, 1 November

An open letter to the Tea Party, Hugh Gusterson, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 29 October 2010 - The



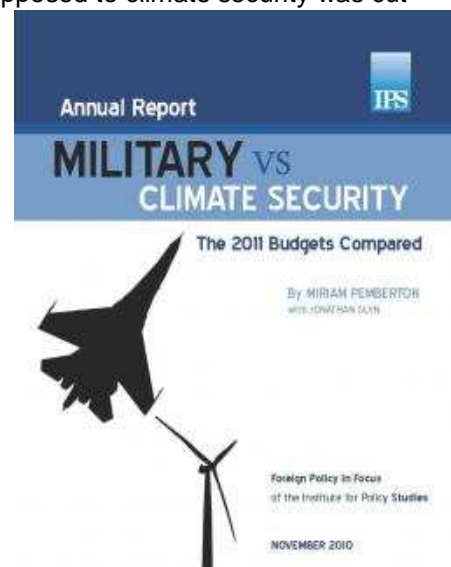
Tea Party has the power to change the game in Washington, but, in order to do so, it must first take on big defence contractors and politicians complicit in unnecessary military spending

(faces of the tea party movement – photo credit: theqspeaks/flicker)

Conventional Prompt Global Strike and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles: Background and Issues, Amy F. Woolf, Congressional Research Service, 25 October

♠♠ Military vs. Climate Security: The 2011 Budgets Compared, Institute for Policy Studies, 25 October 2010 - The gap between federal spending on military as opposed to climate security has narrowed. The US military now recognizes climate change as a security “threat multiplier.” Since 2008 the Institute for Policy Studies has been measuring the extent to which federal spending is being reallocated to reflect that perception. Between FY 2008 and FY 2011 the federal climate change budget more than doubled, from \$7.4 billion to \$18.1 billion. As a result, the gap between federal spending on military as opposed to climate security was cut more than in half. In 2008 the US budgeted \$94 on tools of traditional

military force for every dollar spent on climate. That ratio will narrow to \$41 to \$1 in the 2011 fiscal year



## 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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