

**Welcome** to the fourth edition of NATO Watch's bi-monthly *Observatory*. Our focus is on NATO policy-making and operational activities and the clips are drawn from a wide range of subscriptions, feeds and alerts covering a substantial part of the major English language newspapers and other periodicals worldwide. If you are short on time – go straight to the recommended reading, marked ♣♣

## Contents:

### Feature Article:

**Six Essays on NATO's Cooperation with the External World**  
(Illustrations to the future NATO Outreach Strategy) by Dr Solomon Passy

### Quote – Unquote

### News, Commentary & Reports

- Afghanistan
- Arms Control
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Conflict Prevention
- Missile Defence
- NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Edinburgh
- NATO Partnerships
- Nuclear Weapons
- Space Security
- Strategic Concept
- Transatlantic Cooperation

### Upcoming Events

### Security News from NATO Member States

- Canada
- Germany
- United Kingdom
- United States

### IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

**Have your say:** join in the debate on the future of NATO

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## **NATO Watch Feature Article:**

### **Six Essays on NATO's Cooperation with the External World (Illustrations to the future NATO Outreach Strategy)**

By Dr. Solomon Passy\*

*NATO's next Strategic Concept seminar will take place in Norway in January and will examine NATO's evolving partnerships. In a timely comment piece, Dr. Solomon Passy, founding President of the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chair of the OSCE and of the UN Security Council, provides some out-of-the-box thinking about NATO's potential to develop a wider and more inclusive network of partners for addressing new asymmetric threats to international peace and security. He provides exclusively to NATO Watch Observatory this excerpt from a comprehensive NATO Outreach Strategy developed by the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria.*

After Bulgaria was invited to join NATO in 2002, I tried to launch in many of my different capacities some ideas to reform the Alliance which did not go through and which I see as being even more valid today. These six proposals – three grand and three less-so, but nonetheless all with the potential to rejuvenate NATO – are summarised as follows:

#### **1. Creation of a NATO-EU Synergy Committee**

Close cooperation between NATO and the EU is an important element in the development of an international "Comprehensive Approach" to crisis management and operations, which requires the effective application of both military and civilian means. A stronger NATO-EU partnership is not only needed on the ground, for example, in Kosovo and Afghanistan, but also in their strategic dialogue at the political headquarters level in Brussels. While NATO and EU officials meet on a regular basis to discuss issues of common interest, the creation of a NATO-EU Committee would help synergize cooperation, avoid unnecessary duplication of effort and facilitate greater transparency.

On this issue, the ball is firmly in the EU's court. And the door has just been opened by the Lisbon Treaty, which envisages the creation of a common EU defence policy, as a pillar of NATO defence policies. But NATO can also do something: to upgrade its logo, bringing it closer to the European minds. Let me suggest that the new logo of NATO combine the current one and the EU's one.



#### **2. Creation of a NATO-China Council (NCC)**

Having written to the former NATO Secretary General about this in December 2007, today, in the year in which both the People's Republic of China and NATO celebrate their 60th anniversary, I see even more arguments supporting the idea. China already participates in NATO seminars and conferences, and dialogue between Chinese officials and NATO Headquarters is steadily increasing – especially in areas of mutual interest, such as maritime anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia. In order to build upon and extend this progress a NATO-China Council (NCC) should be created. It would increase NATO's role in the rest of the world, in China itself, and would have a positive influence on West-Russia relations.

The creation and functioning of an NCC would also open a new chapter in NATO-UN relations, which itself is a sufficient motivation and guarantees a globalisation of NATO's role. The NCC may also counter the illusionary tendencies to consolidate the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as an alternative nucleus of 'non-democratic' globalisation. The offer of OSCE and Partnership for Peace (PfP) membership could be good preparatory steps for a NCC.

To these ends, I tested the waters with the Chinese in 2002 (when Bulgaria joined the UN Security Council) and continued this outreach until today. While the Chinese require necessary time to reflect and mature their decision-making, in the past seven years I noticed a remarkable progress in their thinking. Actually, much bigger progress than I noticed in many Brussels-based circles.

#### **3. Future NATO Membership for Russia**

As regards NATO-Russia relations, and the broader West-Russia future, having closely examined the region for 25 years, I have gradually come to the firm conclusion that we shall have to treat Russia as a potential member of NATO. Both the West and Russia would benefit if NATO were to offer Russia a strategic Membership Action Plan (MAP), say, of a 15-20 years span. It may also include a timetable on implementation and improving of democratic standards and values. As an important side effect, this would encourage the Russian people to aspire to be a stronger part of a European civilization, which in turn would catalyse the democratic processes inside Russia.

(Photo credit: [icantcu](#))



Such an approach to Russia may yield solutions (though perhaps not immediately) to many other current problems, such as the security concerns of NATO members on the eastern border, other aspects of NATO enlargement, the territorial integrity of Georgia, and MAP's for Georgia, Ukraine and others. The Russia-NATO accession talks would resemble the Turkey-EU negotiations, which in the last 40 years have helped Turkey to overcome a heavy historic burden. This is what Russia will desperately need in the decades to come (and let us not forget the spiral of history: the USSR created the Warsaw Pact in 1955, because it was rejected from NATO membership in 1954).

#### 4. Future NATO Membership for Cape Verde

Cape Verde is a tiny little pearl of European democracy, on the busy crossroads between Europe, Africa, North America and South America. Its strategic importance by far exceeds its size and it holds the key to an effective strategy to prevent illicit trafficking. Influential in both West Africa and the Portuguese speaking countries, as well as among the non-aligned and in the South-Atlantic, Cape Verde could provide a strategic steppingstone for NATO to make new friends, less enemies and improve its image. The country should be invited to PfP, the OSCE and eventually to NATO itself.

#### 5. NATO Partnership with Mongolia

When I chaired the OSCE in 2004, Bulgaria did its best to include Mongolia in the OSCE framework, which eventually happened. We then encouraged the Mongolians to apply for membership in PfP, which they gladly did, but without ever getting NATO's reply. In the meantime, Russia has been working to bring back Mongolia within its own orbit. However, the Mongolians continuously assure me that they have not lost hope in 'bailing out' of the embrace of their two larger neighbours, and find their 'third neighbour' in Brussels. After a June 2009 visit to Mongolia, I renewed efforts to put Mongolia on NATO's agenda and hope to witness more progress in the future than in the past.

#### 6. Future NATO Membership for Cuba

While this may seem like an unlikely proposition at present, I believe that a future democratic Cuba – if invited to NATO – would enable a very useful

dialogue with Latin America, the non-aligned movement and Africa. (One of the reasons why Cuba is so influential is that the development of its foreign policy is a national priority.) Easily absorbed within NATO, Cuba could smoothly become the third North American pillar of the transatlantic bridge. The wind of change, which I noticed with the naked eye in Cuba, may be accelerated to a democratic tornado by such a perspective.



(Photo credit: [Stewf](#))

In conclusion, **NATO's most urgent priority** is to improve – both within and outside of the Euro-Atlantic area – its international image and reputation, which sharply contrasts with NATO's historic achievements in the last 60 years. The Atlantic Club succeeded to change NATO's image in Bulgaria from 15% (positive): 85% (negative) in 1990, to 70% (positive): 20% (negative) in 2004. And this could be done, to a great extent, worldwide. We have suggested that NATO aim for a future **Nobel Peace Prize**: with the development of a wider and more inclusive network of partnerships and other measures to truly transform the Alliance, I believe this to be a just and doable enterprise.

*\* Special gratitude to Ian Davis for his very fruitful remarks on the text. The author [SolomonPassy@gmail.com](mailto:SolomonPassy@gmail.com) will appreciate any comments, which may be helpful for drafting the Atlantic Club's philosophy of NATO's Outreach Strategy, to be submitted as a contribution to brainstorming NATO's new Strategic Concept.*

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#### Quote – Unquote:

(photo credit: [reway2007](#))

*The army is basically paying the Taliban not to shoot at them. It is Department of Defence money.*

Unnamed US executive of a private logistics company in Afghanistan, cited in [How the US army protects its trucks – by paying the Taliban](#), Aram Roston, *The Guardian*, 13 November



Relations between NATO and the European Union are so restricted that we even can't agree on a security arrangement for NATO to protect EU police in Afghanistan.

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the University of Edinburgh, 17 November

## News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan:

(photo credit: [Stitch](#))

### News

[Rumsfeld let Bin Laden escape in 2001, says Senate report](#) - *The Guardian*, 29 November

[German minister quits in row over Nato air strike that killed civilians](#), *The Guardian*, 27 November

[Taliban Open Up Front in Once-Quiet Afghan North](#), *New York Times*, 26 November

[U.S. Seeks 10,000 Troops From Its Allies in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 25 November

[Time is the enemy in Afghans' training](#), *Financial Times*, 25 November

[Afghans warn Dutch over pull-out](#), *Financial Times*, 23 November

[NATO's new training mission for Afghanistan is activated in Kabul](#), *NATO News*, 21 November

[Afghan Militias Battle Taliban With Aid of U.S.](#), *New York Times*, 21 November

[Hamid Karzai sets Afghan security target in inauguration speech](#) - President calls for Afghan forces to take control of security within five years, and vows to tackle corruption, *The Guardian*, 19 November

[UK maps out Afghanistan political strategy](#), Alex Barker, *Financial Times*, 18 November

♣♣ [How the US army protects its trucks – by paying the Taliban](#) - Insurance, security or extortion? The US is spending millions of dollars in Afghanistan to ensure its supply convoys get through – and it's the Taliban who profit, Aram Roston, *The Guardian*, 13 November

[Brown to ask Nato countries to commit 5,000 more troops to Afghanistan](#) - Prime minister dismisses reports he is planning to talk to the Taliban, *The Guardian*, 13 November

[Combat support essential, Rudd tells Dutch](#), *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 November

[Barack Obama 'risks Suez-like disaster' in Afghanistan, says key adviser](#) - Leading authority on counter-insurgency fears US is heading for 'irresponsible' fudge on extra troops, *The Guardian*, 12 November

[Afghan Enclave Seen as Model for Development](#), *New York Times*, 12 November

[U.S. Envoy Urges Caution on Forces for Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 11 November



[Afghan students help pave the way to stability in their country](#), *NATO News*, 9 November

[Nato blamed for Afghan air strike deaths](#), *Financial Times*, 8 November

[Prospect of More U.S. Troops Worries Afghan Public](#), *New York Times*, 6 November

[Reviews Raise Doubt on Training of Afghan Forces](#), *New York Times*, 6 November

Two Afghan National Army Soldiers talk with a local Afghan – photo credit: US army

[Pentagon Expected to Request More War Funding](#), *New York Times*, 5 November

[Hail of fire raises a chilling question: who is the enemy in Afghanistan?](#) *The Guardian*, 4 November

### Commentary and reports

♣♣ [Reforming the Afghan National Police](#), A joint report of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (London) and the Foreign Policy Research Institute (Philadelphia), November 2009.



Applying thirty years of lessons from international police reform missions, this report calls on the international community to abandon an 'obsession' with quantity over quality in order to combat corruption within the ranks of the Afghan National Police (ANP).

[Afghanistan: Elections and the Crisis of Governance](#), *International Crisis Group*, 25 November. This policy briefing examines the situation in Afghanistan after a deeply flawed presidential electoral process. It argues that institutions facing a credibility crisis of such huge proportions cannot defeat the insurgency.

[President Obama's Strategic Review of Afghanistan and Pakistan and the consequences for Nato Policy](#), Fionnuala Ní Éigeartaigh, Report of a Noref seminar in Oslo (2 Sept. 2009), *Noref Reports*, 19 November.

Video message from the NATO Secretary General – “A New Momentum”, 18 November

♣♣ [Paying Off the Warlords - Anatomy of an Afghan Culture of Corruption](#), Pratap Chatterjee, *TomDispatch.com*, 17 November

♣♣ [The Taliban Biography: The Structure and Leadership of the Taliban 1996-2002](#) - Documents Show US Officials Worried Mullah Omar Was Growing Closer to Bin Laden in 1998, Barbara Elias, US National Security Archive, 13 November

[Protecting Kensington, from Kandahar?](#) Gordon Brown is right to talk about the origins of terrorism, but wrong to limit the region to Afghanistan and Pakistan, Jason Burke, *The Guardian*, 13 November

[Reshaping our strategy on Afghanistan](#), Dr Ahmed Idrees, *Europe's World*, 12 November

[Why Most Counterinsurgency Wars Fail](#), Ivan Eland, The Independent Institute, 11 November

[The coffins will keep coming until we conquer our amnesia on Afghanistan](#), Jonathan Freedland, *The Guardian*, 10 November

[Keeping our Allies on our Side](#) - the US needs to start listening to those nations sharing the risks, Leo Michel & Robert Hunter, *atlantic-community.org*, 9 November

[Where Will They Get the Troops? Preparing Undeployables for the Afghan Front](#), Dahr Jamail and Sarah Lazare, *TomDispatch.com*, 8 November

♣♣ [2014 or Bust - The Pentagon's Building Boom in Afghanistan Indicates a Long War Ahead](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 5 November

[Will the U.N.'s withdrawal cancel out the U.S.'s civilian surge?](#) Brian Katulis, *Foreign Policy*, 5 November

[Abandoning Afghans is not the answer](#), Malcolm Rifkind, *The Guardian*, 5 November

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#): “Afghanistan: What's next”, 4 November

[It's time to pull out of Afghanistan and take the fight to Bin Laden in Britain](#), Kim Howells, *The Guardian*, 3 November

## Arms Control:

[NATO launches rocket fuel oxidizer destruction project in Uzbekistan](#), NATO Press Release, 26 November

[The Conventional Arms Control Challenge](#), Frida Berrigan, *Foreign Policy In Focus*, 18 November

[A brief farewell to arms](#), Jean Pascal Zanders, ISS Analysis, November 2009



(Photo credit: NATO)

## Bosnia and Herzegovina:

[States of Conflict: A case study on peace-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina](#), Berit Bliesemann de Guevara, IPPR 25 November.

[Bosnia's Dual Crisis](#), Europe Briefing N°57, ICG, 12 November

## Conflict Prevention:

'The Future of Peace Operations', [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the University of Edinburgh, 17 November

## Missile Defence:

[Obama Missile Defense Plan Clears Hurdle](#), Megan Scully, *CongressDaily*, 25 November

[Dealing With Long-Range Missile Threats: It's All About Russia](#), Greg Thielmann, *ACA Brief*, 20 November  
[U.S. Missile Defense May Backfire if Too Robust: General](#), *Reuters*, 10 November  
[Poland OK With Revised Missile Shield](#), Global Security Newswire, 4 November

## NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Edinburgh:

[NATO Parliamentary Session Closes in Edinburgh](#), NATO PA Press Release, 18 November

[Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly meeting in Edinburgh, 17 November

[Nato and 'parochial' SNP at war](#), David Maddox, *The Scotsman*, 14 November. SNP plans to take an independent Scotland out of Nato damned as "parochial".



**NOTE: NATO WATCH WILL SHORTLY BE PUBLISHING A REPORT ON THE NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY MEETING IN EDINBURGH**

## NATO Partnerships:

[Georgian Minister visits NATO](#), NATO News, 18 November

[NATO Headquarters hosts high-level Ukraine consultations](#), NATO Press Release, 16 November

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the High-Level NATO-Ukraine Consultations at NATO HQ, Brussels, 16 November

[Opening remarks](#) by the Acting Defence Minister of Ukraine, V. Ivashchenko at the High-Level NATO-Ukraine Consultations at NATO HQ, Brussels, 16 November

[NATO Deputy Secretary General visits China](#), NATO News, 10 November

[Speech](#) by NATO Deputy Secretary General Claudio Bisogniero at the China Institute for International Studies, Beijing, China, 10 November



(photo credit: [hellothomas](#))

## Nuclear weapons:

[The status of U.S. nuclear weapons in Turkey](#), Alexandra Bell and Benjamin Loehrke, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 23 November

[Allied and Russian experts discuss nuclear doctrine and strategy](#) at a seminar in Oslo, Norway on 9 and 10 November, NATO News

[Nuclear Capabilities in a Changing Security Environment – a Norwegian Perspective](#), State Secretary of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Defence, Espen Barth Eide, NATO-Russia Council Seminar – Nuclear Doctrine and Strategy - Oslo, 9 November

[Germans press for removal of US nuclear weapons in Europe](#), Julian Borger, *The Guardian*, 6 November

[Multilateral Input Needed on German Plan for U.S. Nukes](#), NATO Head Says, *GSN*, 4 November

## Strategic Concept:

"NATO as a guarantor of territorial defence and a provider of global security", [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen in Berlin, 26 November

[Italian perspective on NATO's new Strategic Concept discussed in Rome](#), NATO News, 23 November

Italian Atlantic Committee, Strategic Concept Working Group, Interim Discussion Paper, [NATO New Strategic Concept](#), November 2009

[NATO's new Strategic Concept, a Strategic Opportunity for Israel](#), Matthew Mark Horn, *Europe's World*, 18 November

[Second Seminar on NATO's Strategic Concept: NATO's Engagement in an Era of Globalization](#), Brdo, Slovenia, 13 November. NATO's second seminar on the New Strategic Concept focused on the fundamental security tasks of the Alliance. From the seminar:

[Remarks](#) by Samuel Žbogar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia  
[Remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen  
[Opening Remarks](#) and [Closing Remarks](#) by Madeleine K. Albright, Chair of the Group of Experts  
[Closing remarks](#) by Dr. Ljubica Jelušič, Minister of Defence of Slovenia  
[Closing press conference](#)

[NATO's operations discussed at Slovenia seminar on new Strategic Concept](#), NATO Press Release, 13 November

[NATO panel discussion in Slovenia highlights new challenges to global security](#), NATO Press Release, 12 November

[NATO's New Strategic Concept and US Commitments in the Asia-Pacific](#), Stephan Frühling and Benjamin Schreer, *RUSI Journal*, Oct 2009, Vol. 154, No. 5

## Space Security:

[China general sees military space race](#), *Financial Times*, 3 November

## Transatlantic cooperation:

[Russia in Euro-Atlantic Region](#), Sergei Karaganov, *Europe's World*, 24 November



[Book: The Obama Moment - European and American perspectives](#), Edited by Álvaro de Vasconcelos and Marcin Zaborowski, EU Institute for Security Studies, November 2009. Authored by leading experts from both sides of the Atlantic, this book provides an authoritative analysis of the most topical issues facing the EU and US today.

[Book: What ambitions for European defence in 2020?](#) Edited by Álvaro de Vasconcelos, Preface by Javier Solana, EU Institute for Security Studies, November 2009. Originally published in July 2009, this second edition has been revised in the light of the Irish Lisbon Treaty referendum. The book examines Europe's long-term security and defence ambitions and concludes with a ten-point 'roadmap to 2020'.

[The European security architecture two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall: can Russia be integrated?](#), Wolfgang Ischinger, *SIPRI Essay*, 9 November

[Rebooting the West: The US, Europe and the Future of the Western Alliance](#),

Christopher Coker, *RUSI Whitehall Papers*, 6 November.

[Uniting All of the Allies Some of the Time](#), James Rubin, *New York Times*, 4 November

## Upcoming Events:

NATO Foreign Ministerial Meetings, Brussels, 3–4 December. Other meetings with Ministers of Foreign Affairs will include the NATO-Ukraine Commission, the NATO-Georgia Commission, the NATO-Russia Council, and a meeting of the North Atlantic Council with troop contributors in ISAF.

Conference on 'Anticipating the New Strategic Concept', organised by Instituto Cuestiones Internacionales y Política Exterior, Madrid, Spain, 10 December

Regional Conf. on NATO's New Strategic Concept: A view from Western Balkans, Tirana, Albania, 13-14 December

[NATO and the credit crunch](#), International Conference, SDA, Brussels, 17 December

International Security Academy, org. by Intl. Relations Council of Turkey, Ilgaz, Turkey, 18-22 December

Strategic Concept Seminar 3, [NATO's Partnerships and Beyond](#), Oslo, Norway, 14 January 2010

## Security News from NATO Member States:

### Canada

[Permanent Allies? The Canada-US Defence Relationship](#), Andrew Richter, *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol 12, No 1 (2009)

[A Special Military Relationship? Canada's Role in Constructing US Military Power](#), Stephen Clarkson, Erin Kelly Fitzgerald, *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol 12, No 1 (2009)

[Canada's Army - Post Peacekeeping](#), MGen. Lewis MacKenzie (ret'd), *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol 12, No 1 (2009)

## Germany

[Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and German Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Westerwelle, 3 November



(photo credit: [darkmatter](#))

## United Kingdom

[Jointery and the Emerging Defence Review](#), Trevor Taylor, *Future Defence Review, Working Paper No.4*, RUSI, November 2009.

[Deterrent cannot be guaranteed with three subs, says Navy chief](#), Michael Evans, *The Times*, 18 November

[MoD considers call for rise in outsourcing](#), Jeremy Lemer, *Financial Times*, 18 November

[The Citizen and the Law of Armed Conflict](#): Transcription of a Conference organised by the Network for Law, Accountability and Peace, London 1-2 September 2009

[Britain offers to give up territory to boost Cyprus peace talks](#), Richard Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, 10 November

[UK premier eyes Chinook fast-track](#), *Financial Times*, 10 November

[Tory Defense Chief Seeks U.K. Security Overhaul](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 10 November

♣♣ [Remembrance day: Goodbye to all that](#), Editorial – *The Guardian*, 7 November

[Labour splits over Afghanistan war strategy](#) - Former minister Kim Howells calls for pullout and more domestic spying, *The Guardian*, 3 November

[Spooks and Spookmen](#) – Book Review of “The Defence of the Realm: The Authorised History of MI5”, *Private Eye*, 1 November

## United States

[Blackwater's Secret War in Pakistan](#), Jeremy Scahill, *The Nation*, 23 November

[The Pentagon Garrisons the Gulf](#) - As Washington Talks Iraq Withdrawal, the Pentagon Builds Up Bases in the Region, Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 22 November

[The Cyberwar Plan](#) - It's not just a defensive game; cyber-security includes attack plans too, and the US has already used some of them successfully, Shane Harris, *National Journal Magazine*, 14 November

[Integrating Security - Preparing for the National Security Threats of the 21st Century](#), Lawrence Korb, Sean Duggan, and Laura Conley, Center for American Progress, November 2009

[New York's 9/11 trial justice](#), Putting the 9/11 suspects on trial in New York is the right move - but seeking the death penalty would be a strategic error, Ken Gude, *The Guardian*, 13 November

[Over 2,200 US Veterans Died in 2008 Due to Lack of Health Insurance](#), *Democracy Now*, 11 November

[Sexual Assaults, Inadequate Healthcare Among Spate of Issues Facing Women Servicemembers](#), *Democracy Now*, 11 November

♣♣ [Drone Race to a Known Future: Why Military Dreams Fail -- and Why It Doesn't Matter](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 10 November

[U.S. Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe](#), Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, CSIS Conference, Washington, DC, 4 November

## IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

**Ideas, feedback, suggestions?** We want to hear from you. Please contact us at [info@iandavisconsultancy.com](mailto:info@iandavisconsultancy.com) with any feedback or suggestions.

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