

NATO Observatory

No.12 – August 2010

Welcome to NATO Watch's 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 **

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NATO Watch Shadow Summit II

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15-16 November 2010

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NATO Watch Editorial:

Dutch army first to remove finger from wikileaking Afghan dyke:

How long before the floodgates open?

Dr. Ian Davis, director of NATO Watch

In the 'legend of the dyke', a Dutch boy saves his country by putting his finger in a leaking dyke. The boy stays there throughout the bitterly cold night until the adults of the village find him and make the necessary repairs. In a contemporary twist to this story, however, after four years of dykeplugging in Afghanistan, the Dutch people have had enough. Last weekend the Netherlands became the first NATO country to end its combat mission in Afghanistan.



The boy with the finger in the Dyke - Entrance to Madurodam, Dutch miniature park. Photo credit: kara_vanmalssen/flickr

The Dutch force suffered 24 fatalities in the fouryear deployment, including the son of Dutch military chief Gen Peter van Uhm in a roadside bomb explosion. General van Uhm told a news conference that tangible results had been achieved "of which the Netherlands can be proud". However, it was a mission that was deeply unpopular at home and even brought down the coalition government in February this year. NATO's request to extend the Dutch troops' deployment until August 2011 was politely refused.

In the short-term, this new leak in the central Afghan province of Uruzgan will be plugged by troops from the United States, Australia, Slovakia and Singapore. But as was made clear at the recent Kabul conference, the aim is to have predominantly Afghan fingers in the security dyke by the end of 2014. Which is just as well, since Canada is expected to withdraw its forces next year, Poland in 2012, and the UK in 2014 or 2015. Whether the Afghan army and police will be ready by then is another matter, which is partly why the

United States continues to send mixed messages about its own intentions and strategy.

US Defence Secretary Robert Gates has now suggested that the US, which now makes up roughly two thirds of the international force in Afghanistan, would only withdraw a small number of troops after the July 2011 deadline set out by President Obama. This would be consistent with the conditional withdrawal in Iraq, where 50,000 US troops are expected to remain in 'a noncombat' role until the end of 2011, probably as part of a rebranded longer-term occupation that will rely heavily on private military companies. In Afghanistan, the challenges are even more acute. And as the counterinsurgency struggles, US forces are reportedly turning more towards a strategy of targeted killings of Taliban leadersagain, with little or no apparent consultation with allies or consideration as to how this counterterrorism approach squares with the socalled, 'hearts and minds' counterinsurgency strategy that the rest of NATO and other ISAFtroop contributing countries are supposedly pursuing.

The Dutch contingent, in contrast, became wellknown for attempting to connect with local leaders, and sometimes patrolled without body armour and on bicycles. Given the constant flipflopping in US war aims and strategies, it is hardly surprising that the Dutch are packing up their bicycles and going home. As a founding member state of NATO with a long and proud military tradition (its standing army dates back to the 16th Century), the Royal Netherlands Army has been a key member of several contemporary peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations. Having supplied just a small percentage of NATO forces in Afghanistan, the Dutch pull-out of roughly 1,900 combat troops may not make a significant military difference in the short-term, but their presence will be missed and contribute to growing doubts in other Alliance capitals.



A joint patrol of Australians, Dutch and Afghan National Army soldiers in Oruzgan Province, September 2009. Photo credit: isafmedia/flickr

Such doubts were fuelled the previous week by the website WikiLeaks leaking 76,000 classified US government documents to *The Guardian, New York Times* and *Der Spiegel* (a further 15,000 are being reviewed by Wikileaks to make sure that informers are not named). These documents, which cover the period from 2004 to the end of



Photo credit: alexcovic/flickr

2009, came from relatively low-level American military and intelligence officers and do not reveal many new 'known unknowns' about the war. However, the raw intelligence amassed in the documents does add considerable detail to confirmed facts on the ground: that the Taliban is getting stronger and is being actively assisted by the ISI, Pakistan's top military intelligence agency; that the Afghan government is corrupt, and that the US and NATO allies have killed civilians. Indeed, according to Wikileaks, 20,000 civilian deaths are to be found within the crude data. Significant shifts in the nature of how the war is being fought are also revealed, with escalating Special Forces operations—like those of Task Force 373, a death-squad that goes after identified individuals on a kill-or-capture list-and drone attacks.

But rather than focus on the substance, the overwhelming official response has been to seek to shoot the messenger—quite literally in the case of one US Congressman, who wants the whistleblower tried and executed for treason. Many others, including US Defence Secretary Gates and Admiral Mike Mullen, the chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have criticised Wikileaks for putting soldiers and Afghans in danger. As

founder and editor-in-chief of WikiLeaks, Julian Assuage, says the hypocrisy in these statements is extraordinary. July was the deadliest month for the US military in Afghanistan to date with sixty-six deaths. But it was also a devastating month for many Afghans, with more than 270 civilians killed and some 600 wounded. None of this carnage can be attributed to Wikileaks.

In holding back many of the documents and working through three respected international newspapers (who chose to publish selected excerpts that had been redacted to remove identifying information), other Wikileaks exercised a laudable degree of caution. And the scope and conduct of the war in Afghanistan—with questions attendant corruption, extrajudicial killings and ineptitudeclearly is a topic of public debate. The quality of discussion is enhanced transparency. And that can, in turn, lead to greater security.

The Wikileaks disclosures have also led to renewed public interest in government secrecy issues. NATO information policy in particular needs to be transformed in favor of increased openness and accountability. Any knee-jerk response to renew barriers against information dissemination as a result of the Wikileaks should certainly be avoided. There will be cases where some information will need to remain confidential, at least in the short term, but there are many cases of excessive secrecy and over-classification within the Alliance.

To quote an old British poet and moralist, "where secrecy or mystery begins, vice or roguery is not far off". Wikileaks has confirmed that vice and roguery exists in abundance in Afghanistan. The cost of the challenge in stabilising Afghan society after 30 years of war—in Afghan blood, in US and NATO military blood, in billions of dollars and Euros needed for jobs in Europe and North America and real reconstruction in Afghanistan—is simply greater than our political commitment to do so. The Dutch are well out of it.

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

News

Targeted Killing Is New U.S. Focus in Afghanistan, New York Times, 31 July

Afghan Women Fear the Loss of Modest Gains, New York Times, 30 July

July is deadliest month of Afghanistan war for US - American forces have experienced their deadliest month in the nine-year-old Afghan war, with 63 US service members killed in July, BBC News, 30 July



FBI to help investigate leak of documents on Afghan war, BBC News, 30 July

Taliban congratulates Dutch on Afghan withdrawal, *Radio Netherlands Worldwide*, 29 July

Dutch troops to leave Afghanistan, AFP, 28 July

Petraeus: 'Fight hard' in Afghanistan but 'be a good guest', *AFP*, 28 July

Tongan soldiers to serve in Afghanistan, *Matangi Tonga*, 28 July

House approves \$37 billion war-funding bill, Washington Post, 28 July

Day turns to night in Afghanistan, April 2010 - photo credit: US Army/flickr

WikiLeaks disclosures unlikely to change course of Afghanistan war, Greg Jaffe and Peter Finn, Washington Post, 27 July

NATO fired rocket that killed Afghan civilians: Karzai, AFP, 26 July

Nato feared Taliban could tap its mobile phones, Simon Tisdall, The Guardian, 25 July

Top U.S. officer warns Afghan war will get worse, Reuters, 25 July

Doubts about U.S. tactics shadow war in Afghanistan, USA Today, 21 July

NATO Secretary General visits two Afghan provinces, NATO News, 20 July

Afghan President Karzai approves plan for local defense forces, Washington Post, 15 July

NATO launches Afghan intelligence-sharing drive, Reuters, 15 July

Afghans to Form Local Forces to Fight Taliban, New York Times, 14 July

Three British servicemen killed by Afghan soldier, BBC News, 13 July

U.S. Rebuilds Power Plant, Taliban Reap a Windfall, *Wall Street Journal*, 13 July - the US-funded upgrade of the Kajaki dam in southern Afghanistan has provided electricity to areas directly controlled by the Taliban, where locals pay their monthly bills to the insurgents

Fox details £256m Afghan spend, defencemanagement.com, 8 July

British combat role in Afghanistan 'could be over in three years' - Ambassador Sir William Patey sees need for long-term partnership between the two countries, *The Guardian*, 8 July

Afghan corruption doubled since 2006: survey, AFP, 8 July - the report is available here

Afghan Companies Say U.S. Did Not Pay Them, The failure of American companies to pay for contracted work has left hundreds of Afghan workers unpaid in southern Afghanistan, and dozens of factories and small businesses so deep in debt that Afghan and foreign officials fear the fallout will undermine the United Statesled counterinsurgency effort to win the support of the Afghan people, *New York Times*, 7 July

Broadly, we see a similar picture in the three media. What we do see is quite a different political perspective. From the New York Times' point of view...it was interesting to see that the relationship with Pakistan was a political priority. With us, we're more concerned about the casualties, I think. We're troubled more, a European audience, by the toll this war is taking on innocent people.

David Leigh, The Guardian, interviewed by *Democracy Now*, 27 July British troops to withdraw from Sangin in Afghanistan - US forces to replace British in district of Helmand province where about a third of all UK casualties have occurred, *The Guardian*, 6 July

NATO airstrike accidentally kills 5 Afghan troops, Associated Press, 4 July

Commentary and Reports

Julian Assange Responds to Increasing US Government Attacks on WikiLeaks, *Democracy Now*, 3 August

♣♠ Here Be Dragons - MRAPs, Sprained Ankles, Air Conditioning, Farting Contests, and Other Snapshots from the American War in Afghanistan, Ann Jones, *TomDispatch.com*, 1 August

Video: Endgame in Afghanistan: 'It's taken a year to move 20km'. As the war in Afghanistan enters its final chapter, Sean Smith's brutal, uncompromising film from the Helmand frontline

shows the horrific chaos of a stalemate that is taking its toll in blood, The Guardian, 29 July

WikiLeaks Founder Julian Assange: "Transparent Government Tends to Produce Just Government", - interviewed by *Democracy Now*, 28 July. The uncovering of almost 92,000 United States military war logs by WikiLeaks provides further evidence that NATO is failing to make headway in Afghanistan. Full coverage of the Wikileaks disclosures is available in three newspapers that received advance notice of the leaks:

- Afghanistan the War Logs (The Guardian)
- The war logs (New York Times)
- The war logs (Spiegel)

WikiLeaks and the Afghan War, George Friedman, Stratfor, 27 July

Leaked Afghanistan War: Old bad news revealed at a new bad time, Michael Clark, *RUSI Comment*, July 2010

Congress's response to WikiLeaks: shoot the messenger, Christan Science Monitor, 27 July

Four Myths About Afghanistan, Amitai Etzioni Notes, 27 July:

- ♦ Viewpoint: Why Afghans fear village defence forces, Hekmat Karzai, Head of the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies in Kabul, BBC News, 27 July
- ◆ The Great Myth: Counterinsurgency, Conn Hallinan, Foreign Policy in Focus, 22 July

The International Conference on Afghanistan, Kabul, 20 July:

We share the ambition expressed by President Karzai to see the Afghan National Security Forces take lead security responsibility all over Afghanistan by the end of 2014. This provides us with a timetable, but of course the whole process must be conditions based. We will not leave Afghanistan until we know for sure that the Afghans can take care of their own security. NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, NATO supports roadmap for transition to Afghan security lead, NATO News, 20 July

- Communique: A Renewed Commitment By The Afghan Government To The Afghan People; A Renewed Commitment By The International Community To Afghanistan
- The Kabul conference, natochannel.tv, 20 July
- Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Kabul Conference
- For more details see the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan
- Riding with ghosts Meet 'Team Canada' the last major aid group remaining in Kandahar takes a uniquely daring approach to the struggle for Afghanistan, operating almost invisibly on a mission to put tens of thousands of Afghans to work, Mitch Potter, *The Star*, 18 July
- ▶ Developing expectations in Kabul, natochannel.tv, 16 July
 Afghans on the streets of Kabul talk about their expectations for development ahead of the Kabul conference

Q&A with Ambassador Mark Sedwill - NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan Mark Sedwill answers

questions from members of atlantic-community.org, 16 July

District 8, natochannel.tv, 15 July – US soldiers and Afghan police work together to try and bring peace and stability to District 8 of Kandahar City

Weekly press briefing by NATO Spokesman James Appathurai and Ambassador Mark Sedwill, Senior Civilian Representative for Afghanistan, 14 July

- Death on Your Doorstep What Sebastian Junger and Restrepo Won't Tell You About War, Nick Turse, TomDispatch.com, 13 July
- The "Ten-Dollar Talib" and Women's Rights Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation, Human Rights Watch, 13 July. This 65-page report addresses the potential challenges to women's rights posed by future government agreements with insurgent forces. The report describes how in areas under Taliban control, women are often

In 2010, the troop increase in Afghanistan will cost \$2.5 billion per month: to hire every worker in Afghanistan would cost \$1 billion per month

The Pentagon's bad habits, Frida Berrigan, Asia Times, 22 July

subjected to threats, intimidation and violence, girls' education is targeted, and women political leaders and activists are attacked and killed with impunity

Afghan female officers, *natochannel.tv*, 12 July – 30 Afghan females are being put through their paces at the country's first ever course for female army officers

Why Are We in Afghanistan? As Petraeus Takes Over, Could Success Be Worse Than Failure? Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 12 July

Michael Steele may be right about the war in Afghanistan - The Republican leader is under attack from his party for saying the US cannot win in Afghanistan, but he may have a point, James Antle, *The Guardian*, 7 July

Afghanistan's not-so-free press, Nasim Fekrat, Foreign Policy, 7 July

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog, "Several tracks in Afghanistan", 7 July Iran in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Hillary Mann Leverett, *Foreign Policy*, 6 July

Department of Defense Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Background and Analysis, Moshe Schwartz, Specialist in Defense Acquisition, US Congressional Research Service, 2 July – the US DOD workforce in Iraq and Afghanistan has 19% more contractor personnel (207,600) than uniformed personnel (175,000)

Arms Control:

CFE: Overcoming the Impasse, Ulrich Kuehn, Russia in Global Affairs, 7 July

Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management:

The Srebrenica Massacre, After Fifteen Years, David Gibbs, Foreign Policy in Focus, 30 July

Complex Operations: NATO at war and on the margins of war, Christopher Schnaubelt (ed.), NATO Defense College – Rome, *NDC Forum Paper 14*, July 2010

Counter-Terrorism:

NATO promotes counter-terrorism training in Afghanistan, NATO News, 7 July

Cyber Security:

U.S. Plans Cyber Shield for Utilities, Companies, Wall Street Journal, 8 July

Defence Budgets & Procurement:

New contract for airlift capability, NATO News, 28 July

A Way Forward: Reexamining the Pentagon's Spending Habits, Frida Berrigan, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 8 July

France and Italy to Cut Defence Budgets, Defence IQ, 7 July



NATO AWAC - photo credit: NATO

Energy Security:

SDA Policymakers' Dinner - Is Europe's Energy Security Policy a Reality or an Ambition? Security and Defence Agenda Report, July 2010

Intelligence:

Real spooks worry about expenses, not espionage - A guide to the spies of central Europe and their potential competitive edge - all based, of course, on inference and gossip, *European Voice*, 8 July

France/Germany/United Kingdom - "No Questions Asked" - Intelligence Cooperation with Countries that
Torture, Human Rights Watch, June 2010



(photo credit: NATO)

Czech Republic ready to host US missile warning centre: PM, AFP, 31 July

NATO missile defence capability passes key tests, NATO News, 19 July

Missile defense critic to get recess appointment, Josh Rogin, The Cable (Foreign Policy), 7 July

ThalesRaytheonSystems awarded NATO contract to make enhanced Ballistic Missile Defense capabilities operational this year, Thales Press Release, 5 July

NATO Enlargement & Partnerships:



Secretary General promotes deeper partnership with Pakistan, NATO News, 21 July - During a visit to Islamabad the NATO Secretary General held talks with President Zardari, Prime Minister Gilani (pictured) and Foreign Minister Qireshi, as well as the senior military leadership. (photo credit: NATO)

Baku's NATO International School summer session focuses on financial security, NATO News, 20 July - From 4 to 11 July, the NATO International School of

Azerbaijan (NISA) brought together in Baku young politicians, researchers and academics, as well as NGO, government and media representatives to discuss financial security.

North Atlantic Council encourages Bosnia and Herzegovina to step up reform process, NATO News, 14 July

NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

Report of the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group (GSM) Meeting in Rome, 27-28 June 2010, Seminar in Rome, Italy – published by NATO PA July 2010

Northern European Perspectives on Security, Economic and Environmental Challenges, Report on the 74th Rose-Roth Seminar in Helsinki, Finland, 17-19 June 2010 – published by NAT PA July 2010

Regional Developments in the South Caucasus: Challenges, Opportunities and Prospects, Report on the 73rd Rose-Roth Seminar in Yerevan, Armenia, 11-13 March 2010 – published by NATO PA July 2010

NATO-Russia Relations:

NATO and Russia discuss ways to deepen military-to-military cooperation in Moscow, NATO International Military Staff, News Release, 24 July

Russia inside NATO? Jonathan Power, TFF, 22 July

Europe should be wary of the Russian bear's embrace, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Former Polish Defence Minister & a former Vice-Chairman of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, *Europe's World*, Summer 2010

Tsarist and Soviet ambitions are long dead. We all face common threats now, Vagif Guseynov, *Europe's World*, Summer 2010

Making the NATO-Russia Council a substance-based forum, NATO News, 7 July

Nuclear Weapons: (photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

Perspectives on Extended Deterrence, edited by Bruno Tertrais, *Recherches et Documents no. 3/2010*, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, May 2010

Strategic Concept:

Assured security, dynamic engagement, reform and transformation: the drivers of NATO's new strategic concept, Harlan Ullman, *Europe's World*, 7 July



NATO Secretary General discusses Summit, strategy and reform in Lisbon, NATO News, 2 July

Upcoming Events:

7th Pan-European Conference, Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR), European Foreign Policy in transition: New IR/EI approaches to EU foreign policy, Stockholm, Sweden, 9-11 September

Protecting the global commons, SDA Roundtable, Brussels, 16 September - In cooperation with the Atlantic Council of the United States and NATO ACT, this roundtable will take a hard look at how to secure the natural elements that make up the global commons while maintaining access for users around the world

Global Leadership Forum 2010 - A conference co-organised by RUSI and the Princeton Project on National Security, London, 17 September

Drone Wars - A day conference exploring the growing use of armed drones, University of London Union,

London, 18 September

A day conference exploring the growing use of armed drones

Saturday 18th September University of London Unior Malet Street, London



NATO Defence Ministers Meeting, 14 October

Redefining NATO and the transatlantic relationship, SDA Roundtable, Brussels, 27 October - The long-term effects of the ongoing Afghan conflict on NATO and on the transatlantic relationship are yet to be fully understood. This roundtable will look at this relationship in light of the looming US mid-term elections and at the validity of the counterinsurgency strategy as an answer to asymmetric conflict

Waterside Security Conference, The NATO Undersea Research Centre, Carrara, Italy, 3-5 November

NATO Parliamentary Assembly's 56th Annual Session, Warsaw, 12-16 November

NATO Watch Shadow Summit, Brussels, 15-16 November NATO Summit, Lisbon, Portugal, 19-21 November

Security News from NATO Member States:

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

Canada

Conference Paper: Canadian Power and Purpose from Suez to Afghanistan, Karsten M. Jung, *atlantic-community.org*, 8 July

Germany

Germans Express Solidarity with the Troops - The Atlantic Initiative teamed up with Germany's best-selling daily newspaper BILD to encourage readers to write personal messages of support to German soldiers stationed in Afghanistan in an effort to boost morale.

soldiers stationed in Afghanistan in an effort to boost morale, atlantic-community.org, 28 July





Norway 'al-Qaeda' bomb plot: Three arrested in Oslo, BBC News, 8 July

Slovak Republic

Visit to NATO of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic - Joint press point by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the Slovak Prime Minister, Iveta Radičová, 13 July

Turkey

Plot Col. Çiçek and two naval commanders to be expelled at YAŞ, Today's Zaman, 20 July

United Kingdom

George Osborne: Trident costs will be met by defence budget - Defence secretary Liam Fox rebuked by chancellor, who says there are no exemptions for his budget, *The Guardian*, 30 July

Continuous At-Sea Deterrence - Costs and Alternatives, Malcolm Chalmers, RUSI Briefing Note, 28 July - The analysis says that the UK's current commitment to maintain a nuclear-armed missile submarine on deterrent patrol at all times (Continuous At-Sea Deterrence), is driven as much by institutional and political momentum as by strategic necessity. Plans to order a new generation of submarines after 2015 now threatens to necessitate further reduction in conventional forces as the British defence budget is slashed

Fox in Treasury wrangle over Trident, Financial Times, 15 July



Classified documents reveal UK's role in abuse of its own citizens - Previously secret papers show true extent of involvement in abduction and torture following al-Qaida attacks of 2001, Ian Cobain and Owen Bowcott, *The Guardian*, 14 July

A Trident nuclear submarine could be cut to save costs, BBC News, 13 July

Britain should rethink nuclear weapons policy - poll, Reuters, 13 July

Long-range Taranis drone unveiled - An unmanned combat aircraft capable of striking in another continent has been unveiled by the Ministry of Defence after three-and-a-half years of research, *Daily Telegraph*, 13 July

United States

photo credit - twicepix/flickr

US spying spawns a dystopian epidemic, David Isenberg, *Asia Times*, 3 August

Panel: Military Unaffordable -- And Too Small, Sydney J. Freedberg, National Journal.com. 29 July - A congressionally chartered panel (see its report) that the current US military is simultaneously too expensive -- to an "unsustainable" degree -- and too small. Chaired by former Defense Secretary William Perry and former National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley, the panel of 20 national security luminaries was chartered by Congress to provide an alternative to the Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review, delivered in February and itself a congressionally mandated



report. While the 2010 QDR focuses on the current conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Hadley-Perry "alternative QDR" deliberately looks 20 years out and particularly emphasizes building a larger Navy to counter the rising power of China

Top Secret America, Washington Post, July 2010 - The government has built a national security and intelligence system so big, so complex and so hard to manage, no one really knows if it's fulfilling its most important purpose: keeping its citizens safe

Over-classification covers up more waste than anything else I've encountered

Dumbing down Intel - Bigger isn't better in spy game, Ralph Peters, New York Post, 20 July U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF): Background and Issues for Congress, Andrew Feickert, Specialist in Military Ground Forces, US Congressional Research Service, 16 July

Hope and Change Fade, but War Endures - Seven Reasons Why We Can't Stop Making War, William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 8 July

Homeland Security: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Border Surveillance, Chad C. Haddal (Specialist in Immigration Policy) and Jeremiah Gertler (Specialist in Military Aviation), US Congressional Research Service, 8 July

Air Force UAVs: The Secret History, Thomas P. Ehrhard, The Mitchell Institute for Airpower Studies, July 2010

IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

Ideas, feedback, suggestions? We want to hear from you. Please contact us at <u>NATO Watch</u> with any news and stories for the *Observatory*, as well as feedback or suggestions.

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