



Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

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Welcome to NATO Watch's monthly *Observatory*: the only online publication dedicated entirely to news and independent commentary on NATO policy-making and operational activities. The clips are drawn from a wide range of subscriptions, feeds and alerts covering a substantial part of the major English language newspapers and other periodicals worldwide. If you are short on time – go straight to the recommended reading, marked ♠♠

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NATO Watch Editorial:

How good is NATO after Libya?

A common cliché in sport is that you are only as good as your last game. Of course, your reputation should actually be the sum total of all your actions, but the most recent of these actions is by far the most important in forming opinions. The same applies in a very real way to international affairs.

NATO's reputation only a few weeks ago was less than stellar. As the intervention in Libya dragged on, from "days and weeks" to months, criticism of the mission grew on all sides. Many Western liberals and peace activists, as well as political leaders in powerful non-NATO states, such as Russia, China and India, charged that this was yet another US-led coalition fighting a third war without proper authority and for doubtful ends (it was all about securing preferential access to Libya's vast oil reserves according to some detractors). Meanwhile, mainly US conservative critics censured NATO (and especially European NATO) for doing it too slowly and with inadequate resources. Others, including this author, who initially supported the intervention under the principle of [Responsibility to Protect](#) (R2P), [grew more restless](#) as the 'protection of civilians' morphed into 'regime change'.



(Children, playing around the remains of battle...19 May – photo credit: Internews Network/ flickr)

Now, with the downfall of Gaddafi (if not yet an end to the fighting or the uncertainty of what comes next) it signals that NATO's strategy was at least partly a success. But has NATO really turned from 'serial choker' to 'gold medallist' in the space of a few weeks? An interim review of lessons learnt—the 'Libyan game' is still in added time and the revolution is ongoing—reveals a mixed bag of positives and negatives. This is only to be expected given the hard and complex questions that arose before and during NATO's midwifery of Libya's liberation from dictatorship.

In a new briefing paper, NATO Watch addresses the following questions:

- What were the motives for the intervention?
- Did NATO intervene in a civil war?
- Did the intervention go beyond the UN mandate?
- Will the intervening forces withdraw promptly?
- Has NATO caused wanton damage, unrelated to the needs of the mission?
- Does the Libyan 'victory' assure post-conflict peace and stable, democratic rule?
- What was the impact of the ICC indictments against Gaddafi?
- How useful a template is Libya for future R2P missions?
- Has NATO emerged from the Libya campaign stronger or weaker?

Download the briefing paper: [here](#)

9/11: Ten Years After

The horrendous crime of 11 September 2001 traumatized the Western world and propelled the US and many of its NATO allies into costly wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, 9/11 changed the world somewhat less than we instinctively think. The issues and trends having most impact on our world today—the ecological 'limits to growth' and climate change, the global shift in economic power eastwards to China and India, the 2008 financial crash, shifting demographics of western societies and the growing wealth divide both within and between states—were hardly influenced at all by 9/11. Having said that, 9/11 clearly did shape international (and especially 'Western') geopolitics for a decade, but it no longer looks as transformative an event, as say, 1917, 1945, 1989 or even the Arab Spring of 2011.

What really changed the geopolitical scene was less the 9/11 attack itself, nor the Afghanistan war—which had broad international support and some legitimacy in international law, even if its prosecution was and continues to be seen by some (including this author) as misguided—but the illegal war with Iraq. If Osama bin Laden and the 9/11 terror attacks sought to promote a 'clash of civilisations' between the Islamic world and the west, the war in Iraq and broader 'war on terror' narrative certainly took the bait and thoughtlessly upped the ante. Thankfully, 10 years on, bin Laden's vision of fear and conflict is much diminished—partly as a result of the Arab Spring, which is doing more to marginalise Islamist extremism than any outside interventions.

However, one disturbing legacy of 9/11 is the increasing use of lethal counter-terror tactics, including targeted assassinations with drones, by a small but growing number of governments. Such

tactics wrongly assume that alleged terrorists have no rights. This is a slippery slope for all sorts of moral and legal reasons and is of questionable efficacy, given the high number of 'collateral' civilian deaths among the drone attacks and the recruiting value this has for terrorist groups. And with at least 40 other countries—from Belarus and Georgia to India, Pakistan, and Russia building, buying and deploying drones, how long before this current brand of vigilante justice proliferates?



(belarus_minsk, 11 September 2011 – photo credit: waynek007/ flickr)

Status of the current global terror threat and the US and NATO response

The capacity of a few murderous fanatics to seriously harm large and powerful countries in the West was always limited. Aside from rousing a few miserable souls into suicide terrorism, al-Qaida failed to awaken the Muslim masses. However, overreaction to al-Qaida did assist the proliferation of relatively small numbers of terrorist cells in and around the conflict zones where western military and ideological excesses took place.

Terrorism has always been with us and likely always will be. What to do with those who are suspected of terrorism, how to establish their guilt and, by corollary, what are the rights of 'alleged terrorists' are problems that pre-date 9/11. However, the 'Global War on Terror' set up unrealistic expectations of a military victory against non-state actors, and the apportioning of counter-terrorism resources in the United States and many NATO allies has reflected that flawed approach.

Military attitudes and values not only dominated the alliance's counter-terrorism strategy in the last decade, but now penetrate deeply into the civil societies and

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

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the torture and abuses at Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib (among others), and the whole 'black box' war on terror narrative adopted by the United States and many allies has been a costly mistake. The illegal war in Iraq and an unnecessary 'war of choice' in Afghanistan alienated and destabilised potential allies and even a whole continent. One [study](#) has concluded that US involvement in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan has cost up to \$4 trillion over the past decade and at least 225,000 people, including civilians, troops and insurgents have died as a result of the conflicts.

The increased use of covert attacks and Special Operations Forces to target terrorist groups is part of a wider transformation in the way the United States and NATO conducts war. It also signals a further blurring of roles, with alliance and partner militaries expanding their special operations and intelligence gathering roles and intelligence agencies (especially the CIA) placing increased emphasis on paramilitary operations around the world. This blurring of lines between soldiers and spies will make it even harder to achieve proper accountability and oversight of secret military missions abroad, whether under a NATO, national or 'coalition of the willing' flag.

In Libya, for example, documents found in Tripoli [show](#) how the CIA worked with the former Gaddafi regime on the highly controversial 'rendition' programme, while MI6 supplied details of exiled opponents. Yet, it was these same Western agencies and other 'special forces' that later played a [pivotal role](#) in toppling the Libyan dictator. Both episodes were carried out behind the backs of parliamentarians and the public, and with only limited knowledge even within senior government circles.

(9-11 Tribute in Lights 2010 Photowalk – photo credit: KzAkabueze - ONEin12/ flickr)



If the ethics of this approach leaves something to be desired, the efficacy is also in doubt. Research by the RAND Corporation into the case histories of 648 terrorist organisations that carried out attacks between 1968 and 2006 found that only 7 percent were successfully eliminated through direct military force. This is in contrast to 43 percent who dropped their violent activities after some form of political accommodation and 40 percent who were broken up successfully through some combination of local community policing, infiltration, and prosecution.

The death of bin Laden ought to have opened a political space in America and Europe that enabled the 'war' on terror narrative to be wound down and replaced with a civilian-led counter-terrorism approach of a scale and magnitude in keeping with a much diminished threat. It also provided new opportunities to reconceptualise and reapply long-standing ideas of justice and morality that were put on hold during the 9/11 era.

President Obama seemed to recognise this at the start of his presidency when he emphasized in a speech the need for "security that can only come through the rule of law" and stressed that "a campaign against extremism cannot be won with bullets and bombs alone". Regrettably, however, the US counter-terrorism agenda in Afghanistan and Pakistan has continued to deliver mainly bullets and bombs under his watch.

Are there any rules that NATO should follow in the fight against terrorism?

Of course there are. In seeking to promote a world in which everyone renounces violence against other peoples and their own, all states should uphold the highest standards of international and humanitarian law. Torture, for example is illegal and self-defeating. It is a crime in both peace and

war that no exceptional circumstances can permit. Those who break laws should be judged in court: terrorists and torturers alike.

Targeted assassinations are the devices of criminal gangs and not civilised states. The UN's special rapporteur for extrajudicial executions has warned that the practice of using armed drones for counter-terrorism operations amounts to "a licence to kill without accountability". The future

Western counter-terrorism focus should be on civilian-led policing methods to hunt down arrest and process suspected al-Qaeda (and other) terrorists through properly constituted courts of law.

(The 9/11 Exit Signs, New York, 6 September – photo credit: bkabak/ flickr)

In general, the response to terrorism needs to be more proportionate and

calibrated by working to be effective against those who mean harm without eroding human rights and the rule of law. As the RAND study indicates, long term efforts to address conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism are an essential part of an effective and comprehensive strategy to combat and prevent terrorism.

A return to matching deeds with values may also help to reduce the root causes that drive some people to radical violence. Finally, specialised counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism forces within NATO member states need to have clearly defined doctrines, rules of deployment and engagement, and effective parliamentary oversight. The possible use of air power or Special Forces to target specific terrorist training camps remains an option that should be used sparingly and in accordance with international law.



News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

News

[Afghan Jails Accused of Torture; NATO Limits Transfers](#), *New York Times*, 6 September - NATO forces have suspended the transfer of detainees to at least eight Afghan-run prisons, after a forthcoming UN report revealed "commonplace and systematic" torture and other abuses at the facilities

(photo credit: Stitch/ flickr)



[Afghan police defecting over pay](#), *McClatchey*, 6 September

(Garmsir District, Helmand province, Afghanistan - Students with the Afghan Local Police academy fire their AK-47 rifles during a marksmanship class, 29 August – photo credit: isafmedia/ flickr)

[The secret soldiers](#), Rafael Epstein, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September - Squads of elite Australian troops are on missions to hunt down leading insurgents in Afghanistan with orders to capture or kill them

[More Afghan soldiers deserting the Army: NATO](#), *ZeeNews*, 4 September - at least one in seven Afghan soldiers have deserted during the first six months of this year



[ISAF Commander sets his priorities to see through Transition successfully](#), *NATO News*, 2 September - General John Allen is six weeks into his command of ISAF and US troops in Afghanistan: "We will prevail in this campaign because the forces are well entrained and [we have] the right combination to do that."

[Pakistani fertilizer fuels Afghan bombs](#), Chris Brummitt, *Associated Press*, 31 August - according to US officials, as much as 80% of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) used in Afghanistan utilise the fertilizer calcium ammonium nitrate, which is manufactured by one company in Pakistan, Pakarab. Enough of the product to make 140,000 IEDs is smuggled into Afghanistan each year

[Afghanistan at risk of arming beyond its means, warns Nato](#), *The Scotsman*, 31 August

[CIA Strikes Strain Ties With Pakistan Further](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 29 August

[Al-Qaida's No. 2 Reported Killed by US in Pakistan](#), *Associated Press*, 27 August - a US drone strike on 22 August reportedly killed al-Qaeda's second in command, Atiyah Abd al-Rahman, in North Waziristan. Relatively little is known about Rahman, although he is believed to have been born in the Libyan city of Misrata, and joined al-Qaeda in the early 1990s after fighting against the Soviets in Afghanistan and alongside Islamist rebels in Algeria

[In helping Afghanistan build up its security forces, U.S. is trimming the frills](#), *Washington Post*, 26 August

[Billions Spent on Afghan Police but Brutality, corruption Prevail](#), *Reuters*, 24 August

♣♣ [Afghanistan set to get huge supply of military gear](#), Joshua Partlow, *Washington Post*, 23 August - between now and March 2012, Afghanistan's security forces will receive nearly \$2.7 billion in military equipment that NATO planners call the "iron mountain," including new vehicles that have never been deployed to the country, aircraft, and tens of thousands of guns

[NATO shifts training focus to Afghan needs](#), *Reuters Canada*, 18 August

[Insurgent Attacks Taking Toll on Afghan Civilians](#), *New York Times*, 18 August

[\\$360M lost to insurgents, criminals in Afghanistan](#), *Associated Press*, 17 August

[US firm fell short on Afghan police trainers: audit](#), *AFP*, 16 August –an audit by the US State and Defense Departments found that the firm DynCorps International had failed to provide nearly 60% of the trainers for Afghan police that it had promised in a \$1 billion contract signed in December 2010

[U.S. military awards contracts in Afghanistan to get money away from insurgents](#), *Washington Post*, 16 August

[U.S. Links Pakistani Aid to Performance](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 15 August - White House Is Basing Billions in Assistance Funds on Islamabad's Ability to Meet a 'Scorecard' of Security Objectives

♣♣ [In Afghanistan's Garmser district, praise for a U.S. official's tireless work](#), Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Washington Post*, 14 August – profile of US official Carter Malkasian, a State Department contract worker who was able to build trust among locals in the volatile Garmser district of Helmand province after staying in the area for over two years



[Afghanistan's future murkier as Karzai disavows third term](#), *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August - Afghanistan's President Hamid Karzai announced he would not run in 2014 elections; Taliban peace talks aimed at a final political settlement have reportedly stalled

(US Air Force Tech. Sgt. Angela Pollard, a medic attached to the Laghman Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT), 7 September – photo credit: US Air Force/ flickr)

[Afghanistan Raids by U.S. Commandos Almost Triple Since 2009, NATO Says](#), *Bloomberg*, 12 August

♣♣ [Drone War Exposed – the complete picture of CIA strikes in Pakistan](#), Chris Woods, Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 10 August

- [Investigation Finds U.S. Drones Strike Pakistan Every Four Days, Killing 775 Civilians Since 2004](#), *Democracy Now*, 15 August
- [C.I.A. Is Disputed on Civilian Toll in Drone Strikes](#), *New York Times*, 11 August
- [The civilian victims of the CIA's drone war](#), Clive Stafford Smith, *The Guardian*, 11 August - a new study gives us the truest picture yet – in contrast to the CIA's own account – of drones' grim toll of 'collateral damage'



[Official: Afghan police clash with NATO troops](#), *Associated Press*, 10 August - firefights broke out between NATO forces and Afghan police in two parts of Afghanistan, with four Afghan officers killed in one of the incidents, officials said

(Soldiers, civilians and contractors enjoy some golf clubs, 29 August – photo credit: 401st_AFSB/ flickr)

[US drone strike kills 21 suspected militants in Pakistan](#), *The Guardian*, 10 August

[Will Afghanistan return to an era of warlord rule after NATO leaves?](#) *The Christian Science Monitor*, 8 August - though efforts have focused on democracy, US forces still rely on Afghan strongmen to wield local influence. But power built on personalities are vulnerable to collapse

[Attack on U.S. copter signals declining security in Afghanistan](#), *Seattle Times*, 7 August - the harsh reality is that even now, at the height of the NATO troop presence and not far from Afghanistan's capital, large stretches of the country are perilous and heavily infiltrated by insurgents

Commentary and Reports

Final Report to Congress: [Transforming Wartime Contracting - Controlling costs, Reducing risks](#), August 2011 - at least one in every six dollars of US spending for contracts and grants in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past decade, or more than \$30 billion, has been wasted, according to the bipartisan US [Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan](#); also see: [War and Private Contractors: Can't Live with Them, Can't Live Without Them](#), David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 2 September

♣♣ [Details of Secret Pact Emerge: Troops Stuck in Afghanistan Until 2024](#), Tom Engelhardt, *AlterNet*, 23 August - if you thought President Obama was ending the war in Afghanistan, think again. Your children will be fighting it in 2024 if the Pentagon has its way

♣♣ [Counting the cost of the 9/11 wars](#), Jason Burke, *The Guardian*, 22 August - the global conflicts that have raged since 9/11 have seen no clear winners but many losers – at least 250,000 people have been killed

[Feud Splits the Taliban](#), Ron Moreau, *The Daily Beast*, 17 August - is the Afghan insurgency starting to disintegrate? An argument over money provokes tit-for-tat hostage-takings between guerrilla commanders.

[Visualizing violence](#), Paul Goodman, *Foreign Policy*, 17 August – Internews, an international media development organization, and Development Seed mapped the conditions on the ground that journalists face in an effort to highlight the issue and better inform journalists on the situation in Afghanistan. The results can be found at data.nai.org.af



♣♣ [Seeking Solutions for Afghanistan: Third Report on the Abu Dhabi Process](#), East West Institute, 9 August - a report based on talks between Afghan and Pakistani leaders held in Abu Dhabi

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

[eDialogue Summary Report: Security Sector Transformation in North Africa and the Middle East](#), Geoff Burt and Mark Sedra, The Centre For International Governance Innovation, 5 August - the Arab Spring taking root across the Middle



East is bringing unprecedented economic change and a high level of instability to the region. An edialogue held by CIGI and the United States Institute for Peace provided a forum for a lively exchange of ideas on the application of security sector reform (SSR) in Africa and the Middle East. This report summarizes some of the questions and discussion prompted by the edialogue, and considers possible entry points and policy directions for reform

[NATO's Partnerships and the "Arabellion"](#), Karl-Heinz Kamp, *Atlantic-Community.org*, 22 July - for decades, NATO favoured stability over freedom in the Arab world. Now, the Alliance should support its partner countries with expertise to make their armed forces more effective in a democratic environment, especially in human rights training, international law, defence planning and border security

Counter-Terrorism (and reflections on 9/11):

[Let's Cancel 9/11 - Bury the War State's Blank Check at Sea](#), Tom Engelhardt, *Tom Dispatch.com*, 8 September

[Reflections on 9/11 - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen](#), NATO You Tube Video, 7 September

[NATO and the days after 9/11](#), NATO You Tube Video, 7 September

[After 9/11, global solidarity short-lived](#), *Washington Post*, 6 September



(9/11 Headlines from Around the World – photo credit: jareed/ flickr)

♣♣ [Was There an Alternative? Looking Back on 9/11 a Decade Later](#), Noam Chomsky, *TomDispatch.com*, 6 September

[World is safer 10 years after 9/11: EU, NATO](#), *AFP*, 5 September

Cyber Security:

[Dutch study possible Iran hacking of government web sites](#), *Reuters*, 4 September

[Can NATO Handle the Emerging Cyber Threat from China and Beyond?](#) *DefenceIQ*, 11 August - Cyber law expert Peter Sommer of the London School of Economics speaks with Defence IQ about how NATO will take on new cyber challenges; the Pentagon's 'missiles down chimneys' approach to cyber attacks on US property; and how to predict and stop the growth of hacker groups like Anonymous and Lulzsec

Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

[Do defence cuts threaten Europe's post-Libya NATO role?](#) Daniel Mason, *Public Service Europe*, 31 August

[NATO's teachable moment](#), *New York Times* Editorial, 29 August

[Libya's lessons for NATO – and US defense cuts](#), *The Christian Science Monitor* – editorial, 24 August - NATO airstrikes were critical to Qaddafi's fall, but behind the scenes, the weakness of Europe's militaries and its leadership revealed problems for the US in its prime alliance – and in coming defense cuts

[Europeans Retreat on Defense Spending](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 24 August

[Canada withdraws from NATO RQ-4 program](#), *Flight Global*, 18 August - Canada has become the second country to withdraw from the Northrop Grumman RQ-4 alliance ground surveillance (AGS) program, but the remaining NATO partners are "very close" to signing a contract

[Bulova Technologies Group, Inc. Provides Update on Bulova Technologies Europe](#), *Market Watch* (press release), 11 August - program for refurbishment of mortar ammunition for NATO allies has progressed since its inception in November 2010

[NATO drifts into irrelevance](#), J.L. Granatstein, *Ottawa Citizen*, 11 August

[Norsat Awarded \\$1.3 Million Satellite Based Communications Equipment and Services Program](#), *Market Watch* (press release), 9 August - Norsat International Inc. ("Norsat") , a leading provider of broadband communications solutions, announced the award of a new satellite based communications equipment and services program valued at \$1.3m from the NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency ("NC3A")

Enlargement and Partnerships:

[An EU military HQ would undermine Nato](#), Geoffrey van Orden, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 September

[The State of South Sudan and NATO](#), *Sudan Vision*, 8 September

[NATO woos India, says ties important](#), *The Asian Age*, 2 September

[Nato seeks greater engagement with India](#), *Times Of India*, 2 September

[NATO seeks India's cooperation to tackle terror, piracy](#), *Hindustan Times*, 1 September

[Statement by NATO Secretary General on the elections in Abkhazia, Georgia](#), NATO Press Release, 26 August - NATO does not recognise the elections held on August 26 in the Georgian region of Abkhazia

[NATO Partnerships: Strengthening Ties with Asia](#), *Atlantic-Community.org*, Atlantic Memo No.33, 18 August - the proposals call for NATO to engage with China as a partner rather than as a rival, to develop a multilateral plan for stability in Central Asia and Afghanistan, and to strengthen existing regional partnerships. All policy recommendations in this document were developed by members of the Atlantic Community

[Macedonia Eyes Its Future in Antiquity](#), Plamen Pantev, *ISN Insights*, 15 August

[Joint statement by heads of mission of EU, NATO, OSCE and US in Skopje on tenth anniversary of Ohrid Framework Agreement](#), OSCE Press Release, 12 August

[Abbas: "Future State Will Be Under NATO Security Forces Headed By The USA"](#), *International Middle East Media Center*, 12 August - Palestinian President, Mahmoud Abbas, stated that the future Palestinian state will be under the security responsibility of a third party, NATO forces, led by the United States of America

Exercises:

[Consequence Management Exercise "CODRII 2011"](#), NATO Press Release, 18 August - the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) conducted the consequence management field exercise "CODRII 2011" from 27 August to 2 September 2011 in and around Chisinau, the capital of Moldova

Kosovo:

[Nato official warns of strife in Kosovo's Serb minority area](#), *Gulf Times*, 7 September

[Kosovo: NATO's Violation Of Its UN Mandate – Analysis](#), Gerard Gallucci, *Eurasia Review*, 20 August - KFOR's imposition of Pristina's trade blockade and General Buhler's role in 'negotiating' political agreements both exceed NATO's UN mandate; a mandate that the Quint countries – led by the US and Germany – have chosen to disregard



[NATO labels north Kosovo Serb leaders "criminals"](#), *B92*, 17 August - NATO has labelled North Kosovo Serb National Council President Milan Ivanović and Democratic Party of Serbia official Marko Jakšić as organizers of riots

[Germany rules out Kosovo partition on ethnic lines](#), *Reuters*, 11 August

(side of preschool bldg – photo credit: Advocacy Project/ flickr)

Recommendations: To Resolve the Name Dispute and Advance Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic Integration

- Skopje should accept the UN mediator's proposal for using "Republic of North Macedonia" or a similar formula with a geographic qualifier as the name of the country for all international purposes; promptly after it does so, NATO should admit Macedonia, and the EU should begin membership negotiations.

- Athens should acknowledge the national identity and language of its northern neighbour as "Macedonian"; Skopje should reverse its decision to rename its airport after Alexander the Great and desist from similar moves certain to provoke Athens, especially within the context of its Skopje 2014 project.

[Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict](#), International Crisis Group Report, 11 August

[Russia calls on EU, Nato over military actions in Kosovo north](#), *The Times of India*, 10 August - Russia has called on the EU, NATO and the UN to prevent a possible attempt by Pristina to regain control over Serb-populated regions in Kosovo by force

[Roadblocks removed as tense calm settles in at Serb-Kosovo border](#), *Deutsche Welle*, 8 August - Serb officials in northern Kosovo have agreed to remove roadblocks as per a NATO-brokered deal between Pristina and Belgrade

[Kosovo – the politics of partition](#), *TransConflict*, 8 August

[Serbs remain at barricades despite Belgrade's agreement with NATO](#), *Adnkronos International*, 8 August

Libya:

NATO Operational Media Update, 7 September

Mission

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



Air Operations

Since the beginning of the NATO operation (31 March 2011) a total of 21,893 sorties and 8,220 strike sorties* have been conducted. (*Strike sorties are intended to identify and engage appropriate targets, but do not necessarily deploy munitions each time).

Arms Embargo Activities

A total of 14 ships under NATO command are actively patrolling the Central Mediterranean. 2,521 vessels have been hailed, 262 boardings and 11 denials have been conducted since the beginning of arms embargo operations.

Command and Control

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

More information on Operation Unified Protector:

www.jfcnaples.nato.int
www.manp.nato.int
www.nato.int/libya

(Tripoli Street, Misrata's former fruit market, 22 May - photo credit: Internews Network/ flickr)



News, Commentary and Reports

[Heat-Seeking Missiles Are Missing From Libyan Arms Stockpile](#), *New York Times*, 7 September

[Post-Gaddafi Libya – a liberal peace project](#), *TransConflict*, 7 September

♣♣ [Special report: The secret plan to take Tripoli](#), *Reuters*, 6 September

[Assessing NATO's Mission In Libya](#), *NPR*, 5 September - Lt. Gen. Charles Bouchard has been overseeing operations in Libya since March. He talks about the toppling of Gaddafi's regime, how the mission has changed now that the TNC is in power and whether NATO has any clues as to where Gaddafi may be

Libya operation coming to an end', NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [Video Blog](#), 5 September; also see: [Monthly press briefing](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 5 September

[Libya's Dark Lesson for NATO](#), Steven Erlanger, *New York Times*, 3 September

[U.S. Top Figure Told Gadhafi How to Beat U.S. and NATO](#), *International Business Times*, 3 September

[NATO after Libya - A troubling victory](#), *The Economist*, 3 September - the alliance's performance in Libya confounded critics and raised awkward questions

[Analysts Debate Success of NATO Mission in Libya](#), *Voice of America*, 2 September

[Libya warned smugglers are looting Gaddafi's guns](#), *The Guardian*, 2 September - West fears heatseeking surface-to-air missiles will fall into terrorists' hands

[How power shift will change NATO air campaign](#), *Flight Global*, 2 September

[We will complete our mission, NATO Secretary General says](#), *NATO News*, 1 September - the NATO Secretary General attended the International Conference on Libya in Paris on 1 September. During the meeting, he emphasized that "we are determined to continue our mission for as long as attacks and threats continue, but not a day longer than necessary"

[Figuring European Rivalries Into NATO's Libyan Air Campaign](#), Keith Mallon, *Defence IQ*, 31 August

[How NATO could find itself protecting Qaddafi loyalists in Libya](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 31 August - NATO's mandate in Libya is to protect civilians, and with rebels now promising to attack cities loyal to Qaddafi, the alliance could be called on to protect civilians there

[NATO keeps bombing pro-Kaddafi forces in Libya](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 31 August - the continued airstrikes again call into



question whether NATO is taking the rebels' side or just following the UN mandate to protect civilians

(Libya, 7 August – photo credit: physicians for human rights/ flickr)

[NATO Propaganda Leaflets Found in Tripoli](#), Marc Herman, *The Atlantic*, 31 August

[Nato exposed in Libya](#), *Daily Telegraph* Editorial, 31 August - the defeat of Gaddafi might prove to be the alliance's last hurrah

[Tripoli Divided as Rebels Jostle to Fill Power Vacuum](#), *New York Times*, 30 August

[Documents reveal Gaddafi plans to embark on an anti-Nato PR campaign in Britain](#), *PR Week*, 30 August

[Defence: Lessons from Libya](#), James Blitz, *Financial Times*, 30 August

[Libya: A Premature Victory Celebration](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 30 August

♠♠ [Libya: the toll Nato didn't count](#), Hamit Dardagan, *The Guardian*, 29 August - the justification for the bombing of Libya was to protect civilians. So why aren't casualties recorded?

[A liberated Libya remains haunted](#), Marwan Bishara, *Al Jazeera*, 29 August - a new Libyan government should devise policies that benefit the Libyan people, instead of avenging Gaddafi's legacy

[Libya: A Small War With Big Consequences](#), François Heisbourg, *New York Times*, 29 August

[Leading article: Libya was never going to be easy](#), *The Independent*, 28 August

Libya – views from NATO member states and partner countries

African Union

[AU meets to play catch-up on Libya](#), *Independent Online*, 25 August

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Who to believe?

Neither the United States nor NATO is involved in this manhunt

US State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland, 26 August

I can confirm that NATO is providing intelligence and reconnaissance assets to the NTC to help them track down Colonel Gaddafi and other remnants of the regime

UK Defense Minister Liam Fox, 25 August

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[Did Wikileaks just reveal the US blueprint for Libya?](#) Ali Abunimah, *The Electronic Intifada*, 26 August

[US flies a quarter of all NATO sorties in Libya](#), *AFP*, 22 August

[U.S. sends two more Predator drones to Libya](#), *Reuters*, 17 August

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Six months is not a long time to bring down a 42-year dictatorship
Ben Rhodes, President Obama's deputy national security advisor for strategic communications, [interview](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 23 August

NATO's top commanders may have acted under color of international law, but they are not exempt from international law. If members of the Qadhafi regime are to be held accountable, NATO's top commanders must also be held accountable through the International Criminal Court for all civilian deaths resulting from bombing. Otherwise, we will have witnessed the triumph of a new international gangsterism.
Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio), [a statement released by his office](#); also see: [NATO's Libya generals should be hauled to court, says Dennis Kucinich](#), *Politico*, 23 August

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It's a timely reminder that Twitter, 24-hour rolling news channels and satphones are still useless against the fog of war
Rob Crilly, *The Daily Telegraph*, 23 August

The Qadhafi regime is clearly crumbling. The sooner Qadhafi realises that he cannot win the battle against his own people, the better -- so that the Libyan people can be spared further bloodshed and suffering

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(Rebels enter Gaddafi's compound, 23 August – photo credit: Magharebia/ flickr)

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(Libyan protesters burn Gaddafi's Green Book outside the Libyan embassy in Cairo, 22 August – photo credit: Maggie Osama/ flickr)

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NATO)



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(photo credit: Missile Defence Agency)

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(photo credit: helliothomas/flickr)

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(Save Darfur – photo credit: marrngtn (Manuel)/ flickr)

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[America's lost ally](#), George Will, *Washington Post*, 18 August

Upcoming Events:

[Public Launch Event: Charter For the Recognition of Every Casualty of Armed Violence](#), 15 September, London - public launch of a new charter calling for the recognition of every casualty of armed violence. This

charter will be the first to set out clear casualty-recording requirements for the international community that are grounded in international law. The event will be chaired by Sir Adam Roberts, President of the British Academy, and Emeritus Professor of International Relations at Oxford University.

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

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

[Re-thinking Europe's security priorities](#), SDA Conference, 7 November, Brussels - With keynote speeches by: Radoslaw Sikorski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland; Gérard Longuet, Minister of Defence, France (tbc); Michel Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services



Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland; Gérard Longuet, Minister of Defence, France (tbc); Michel Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

NATO Chicago Summit: 15-22 May 2012

- [Commitments - Capabilities - Connectivity: NATO's agenda in the run-up to the 2012 Chicago Summit](#), NATO News, 30 August - addressing a group of young leaders from Croatia and the Western Balkans, NATO Asst Secretary General for Public Diplomacy Ambassador Kolinda Grabar highlighted the Alliance's key themes in preparation for the Chicago Summit in May of next year.
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(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

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Turkey (also see 'Missile Defence' section)

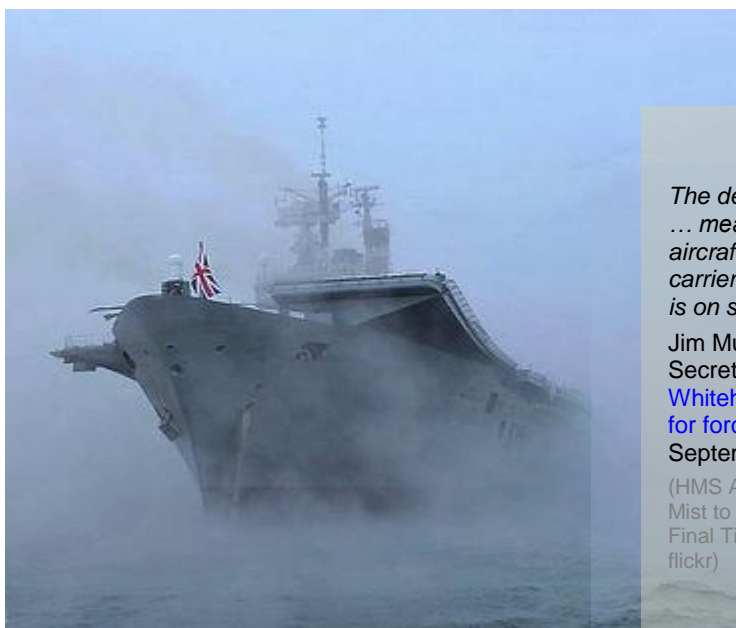
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[Turkey says it had killed up to 100 Kurdish fighters in Iraq air strikes](#), *The Guardian*, 23 August - cross-border attacks on PKK guerrillas in Iraq may trigger civil unrest and ethnic violence in Turkey, warns opposition

[Turkish Delight: A Chance to Realign With the West](#), James Brian Taylor, *Atlantic-Community.org*, 23 August - Turkey's relations with the United States and Europe have been strained over the past two years, despite a rich history of cooperation. But the ongoing upheaval in the Middle East provides a golden opportunity for Turkey to realign itself with the US and Europe, beginning with a reconciliation with Israel

[Turkish PM to extend grip on armed forces](#), *Financial Times*, 7 August – Erdogan's government is to follow up its purge of the senior ranks of Turkey's armed forces with constitutional changes to bring the previously powerful military firmly under civilian control



United Kingdom

The decision to scrap Ark Royal ... means Britain does not have aircraft carrier. France has a carrier off the coast of Libya, ours is on sale online

Jim Murphy, Shadow Defence Secretary, quoted in [War in Whitehall and an uncertain future for forces](#), *The Guardian*, 1 September

(HMS Ark Royal Emerges from the Mist to Dock in Portsmouth for the Final Time – photo credit: UK MoD/flickr)

[Whitehall alarm as secret papers from Libya link UK spy agencies to torture](#), *The Guardian*, 5 September - Tripoli revelations bring pressure for tougher scrutiny by MPs of British intelligence

services and the rendition of prisoners

[MI5 former chief decries 'war on terror'](#), *The Guardian*, 2 September - Lady Eliza Manningham-Buller uses BBC lecture to criticise 'unhelpful' term, attack Iraq invasion and suggest al-Qaida talks

[UK banks fund deadly cluster-bomb industry](#), *The Independent*, 16 August

United States

[CIA shifts focus to killing targets](#), *Washington Post*, 2 September - the shift over the past 10 years at the CIA from being a primarily analytical organization to one directly engaged in large-scale kinetic operations and the killing of counterterrorism targets. The CIA's Counterterrorism Center (CTC) has grown to approximately 2,000 employees, controls a fleet of 30 armed Predator and Reaper drones, and has become, in the words of an unnamed former intelligence official, "one hell of a killing machine"



(AT-PD imperial assault droid (lego) – photo credit: solo/ flickr)

[A Spotlight On "Top Secret America"](#), Steven Aftergood, *Secrecy News*, 1 September

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[Hypersonic "Global Strike" Glider Faces Key Test](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 10 August - a planned test flight of a US hypersonic drone aircraft might determine whether the system remains one potential component of a planned capability to deliver non-nuclear warheads to any location in the world within an



hour; [Falcon HTV-2 is lost during bid to become fastest ever plane](#), *The Guardian*, 11 August - US military loses contact after 36 minutes with rocket-launched carbon fibre spaceplane designed to fly at 13,000mph

[When secrecy gets out of hand](#), William Leonard, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 August - far too many government documents are wrongly classified top secret. The White House needs to sanction those who inappropriately classify information and take greater care in what it labels secret

[Offensive Cyber Tools To Get Legal Review](#), Air Force Says, *Secrecy News*, Volume 2011, Issue No. 77, 10 August - even the most highly classified offensive cyberwar capabilities that are acquired by the US Air Force for use against enemy computer systems will be subject to "a thorough and accurate legal review," the US Air Force said in [a new policy directive](#)

(9-11 Memorial, Sep 2010 – photo credit: Ed Yourdon/ flickr)

IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

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