BACKGROUND REPORT

NATO in the Middle East
1. NATO – Afghanistan

The beginning

On 11 September 2001 nearly 3000 people were killed during an Al-Qaeda suicide operation on the American soil. This act of terrorism made the leaders of the USA and NATO take an action. War against terror has begun. Therefore, the leaders agreed to invade Afghanistan and overthrow the Taliban regime ruling large parts of the country. Taliban is an Islamic militia group that supported Al-Qaeda and the terrorists responsible for 9/11 attacks.

The “Three Musketeers article”

Three weeks after the attacks, leaders of the Alliance confirmed that this action fulfills the criteria mentioned in article 5 of the Washington Treaty which stipulates that an attack against one member state is considered as an attack against all. This was the very first time in history of the Alliance that the 5th article was applied. Therefore, NATO decided to act. First steps undertaken by the Alliance than, were securing the American air space and sending guardian ships to the Mediterranean Sea to prevent terrorists from getting weapons. Besides NATO forces also from Russia, Israel and several other states have since participated in this operation.

Furthermore, on 20 December 2001 the UN Security Council UN adopted resolution number 1386 establishing military security mission in Afghanistan, the ISAF - International Security Assistance Force. The goal of this mission was to maintain security in the Afghanistan capitol – Kabul and surrounding areas and to support the president Hamid Karzai.

Taking over the reins

On 16 April 2003 all leaders of NATO agreed to take the lead in ISAF operation and, moreover, the UNSC extended the mandate of ISAF to the whole Afghanistan, not only Kabul and surrounding areas. Taking the lead was officially finished in August 2003, extending the mandate by the UNSC 2 months later. Important point is that this was the first time NATO did act outside the borders of Europe and North America.

But ISAF is not the only an international entity in Afghanistan. The other military mission the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF, main mission to fight Taliban and find
NATO in the Middle East

leaders of Al-Qaeda), which is led by the United States and many of its participants are also members of NATO. Another entity is the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) the goal of which is to help the infrastructure, education, support human rights etc.

A lot to do

Goals of the mission have also been extended. Nowadays, NATO is securing the cities, helping people, reconstructing the infrastructure, training the Afghan troops, helping to create stronger governance and development, fighting the Taliban and taking steps against the narcotics that are being grown in Afghanistan (it is the greatest opium producer in the world).

Time to go home?

During the Lisbon summit held in November 2010, NATO leaders agreed to start withdrawing the forces and set year 2014 as the year of complete withdrawal. But the year 2014 seems to be a bit too ambitious although it was suggested by the president of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai himself. Many experts think that by this year Afghanistan’s forces will not be skilled enough to secure the country, Taliban will spread again and the fragile system which has been built since year 2001 will collapse without the presence of the ISAF. Therefore many say this year is just a psychological motivation for the NATO but for the people of Afghanistan as well.

"We will not transition until our partners are ready. We will stay to finish the job ... The process must be conditions-based, not calendar-based. We have to make sure we don't leave Afghanistan prematurely", said Anders Rasmussen, the NATO secretary general.

How many men?

Throughout the last decade, the number of men in arms serving in Afghanistan rose from 5 000 to 130 000 troops from 48 countries including all NATO members. It is interesting that the number of men in arms is still increasing regardless of what has been agreed in Lisbon. The next year seems to be the culminating year concerning the number of troops in Afghanistan.

Along with the surge of foreign troops, also the number of Afghanistan’s own forces has been increasing. About 300 000 members of the police and the army serve today and it is estimated that this number will rise, hopefully up to 450 000 men which is the number necessary to maintain the country’s security, at least according to senator Joseph Lieberman and many experts. The question remains how long it will take to reach such a number, but it is highly unlikely to be reached in year 2014.

http://www.nato.int
http://www.guardian.co.uk
http://publica.cz
Zdroj: http://icasualties.org/oef/ 

2. NATO - Libya 

Coup d’état 

Muammar Gaddafi took over the country in a non-violent coup in 1969, when he overthrew the former king Idris and proclaimed himself a leader of Libya. Gaddafi was a strictly anti-western leader, he was supporting several terrorist groups such as the Black Panthers in the US or IRA in the Northern Ireland. This caused Libya to get on the list of countries supporting terrorism and weaken the bonds with the west – both politically and economically.

But after more than 40 years of Gaddafi's demagogic dictatorship, Libyan citizens could not stand it any longer and begun to protest. These demonstrations were violently suppressed and the conflict escalated to a civil war (see the Timeline part of this background)

Who is fighting who?

In the Libyan civil war there are three fighting sides – the pro-Gaddafi forces, the rebels and NATO.

The number of men fighting on the side of the rebels and Gaddafi is approximately the same – about 40 000. The difference is that Gaddafi’s forces are trained and equipped soldiers; the rebels are regular citizens, students, doctors who cannot stand the tyranny anymore. Therefore, only 1 000 to 3 000 men on the rebel's side are trained – mostly deserters from the army who also disagree with the regime.
Moreover, Muammar Gaddafi is paying mercenaries from other countries to fight at his side. These mercenaries often have experience from civil wars in other African countries and are capable of unbelievably cruel, savage acts against civilians. Fear they are spreading is another powerful weapon in Gaddafi’s hands.

On the side of western intervention led by NATO, we can find a few different attitudes. Some states are offering military support such as few vessels guarding the Mediterranean Sea. Some states are conducting only reconnaissance missions and patrol the area, but only 7 states really conduct the airstrikes. These are the USA, the UK, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and Canada.

How?

Now let us have a look at how the sides are fighting. Firstly, the rebels. They are mostly not trained, not equipped, not organized. The embargo imposed by the UN caused that not only Gaddafi, but of course also the rebel forces “cannot” get weapons. Therefore, the rebels have only very limited supply of ammunition and equipment (brought by the deserters from the government army).

But not even Gaddafi’s forces are well armed. Usually, they are using old weapons and vehicles mostly from the Eastern Europe.

The big difference is organization. Professional army is of course much more effective in fighting in cooperation. And moreover, Gaddafi’s forces are true loyalists capable of almost everything in the name of their beloved leader.

Another weapon Muammar Gaddafi is using is propaganda. It is the tool that helped him maintain the power over Libya for more than 40 years and he has learned to use it well. Through government controlled media Gaddafi not only shows himself as a perfect leader, but also tries to persuade people that the rebels are violent, they are destroying the country and tries to convince everyone to give up the fight and stop supporting the rebels. He also demoralizes the rebels and creates a picture of them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nato positions in detail</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Military involvement</th>
<th>Diplomatic position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes and sending military advisors to assist the rebels</td>
<td>Warming campaign toExtreme pressure on Chinese and Russia, Gaddafi must step down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes and sending military advisors to assist the rebels</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>Yes, has conducted air strikes</td>
<td>Iran/Col.Gaddafi must step down. Providing non-lethal supplies to the rebels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes</td>
<td>Backs the measures and supports claim the country is considering sending more planes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes</td>
<td>Backs the measures but has expressed surprise at the actions of the rebels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes</td>
<td>Rejects claim Gaddafis not doing enough. Warns focus is still on finding a political solution</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Yes, conducting air strikes</td>
<td>Has expressed opposition to arming rebels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Yes, involved in reconnaissance missions and sending military advisors to assist the rebels</td>
<td>Supports the fly zone but says it will not order its aircraft in Libya’s skies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Yes, involved in reconnaissance missions only</td>
<td>Supports the fly zone, but major involvement in ground attacks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Yes, involved in reconnaissance missions only</td>
<td>Another supporter of the no-fly zone, but the country is not clear what it wants to achieve.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Yes, recently opened ports and airports for NATO use</td>
<td>“Pull supports” current operations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Yes, has a key figure involved</td>
<td>A key humanitarian entrepreneur and former government minister is the key player</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>Yes, the rebels have access to weapons</td>
<td>Slovenia has said that the rebels have access to weapons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Yes, are vessel involved</td>
<td>Helps to support Gaddafi’s demands. Delivers Col. Gaddafi with weapons and military equipment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Abstains from voting on the UN resolution, but it supports the aims of the measure. Bereft of offensive action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Yes, navy ships and a submarine involved</td>
<td>Supports measures to protect civilians as defined by UN resolution. Resists offensive action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NATO, Edward Lengyel, IRE, Analysis, and IMI in Prague.
as enemies of peace. But through propaganda he is also influencing the western countries. Gaddafi is trying to convince them that rebels are connected with Al-Qaeda and other extremist Islamic groups.

The third party fighting is NATO. Equipment of the Alliance is of course far better than the Libyan, the units are well trained and also the organization of operations is perfected. But the competence of NATO is limited. As stated in the relevant UNSC resolution, they may not set foot on Libyan soil, therefore, the alliance can only control the Mediterranean Sea and the airspace and support the rebels by bombing Gaddafi’s ammunition storages and facilities.

Casualties

Approximately 10,000 people have been killed so far during the civil war (valid as of the middle of August 2011), from which about 4,000 were civilians not participating in the fights. According to the Libyan Health office more than 1,100 of the civilians were killed by NATO.

Motivation

There is no need to talk about motivation of the rebels or Colonel Gaddafi, but what are the factors that made NATO and the west intervene? Of course there is the humanistic view saying that we have to help the weak against the tyranny and not let the regime kill people. Then of course for the west it is a great opportunity to find a new strategic partner in the new government of Libya after the fall of anti-western Gaddafi.

Another point of view is that “the west” needs to demonstrate its power to potential enemies. They need to show that the Alliance is capable of acting uniformly. And furthermore, there are two stances of negativists who say that it is only about testing new equipment and weapons and getting access to the valuable oil supplies. Libya’s oil reserves are the biggest in Africa and 9th in the world and therefore these speculations are partly justified although the west denies them officially.
Background and timeline

15 February - The initial spark - after arresting a human rights lawyer Fathi Terbil, about 600 people demonstrated in Benghazi. The protest was broken violently by the government forces and 38 people were injured.

17 February – the day of revolt - several people were killed by Gaddafi forces. Heavy ammunition, including sniper guns and even helicopter fire was used against people to break another demonstration.

+ UNSC adopted resolution 1970 in reaction to the situation in previous days. This resolution institutes an arms embargo, bans Libyan leaders from travelling abroad from Libya and also freezes their bank accounts.

27 February - official resistance - Transitional Council, or the Libyan National Council is formed to represent the rebels on international field and coordinate resistance among the participating cities.

8 March – because of escalation of the conflict, NATO decided to deploy AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) in the Mediterranean Sea to control the Libyan airspace and have detailed information about Libya's current situation.

17 March - the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1973 that authorises all necessary means to protect civilians except for a "foreign occupation force", strengthens the arms embargo and travelling ban imposed by the 1970 resolution and imposes no-fly zone over Libya.

19 March – the USA, the UK and France have begun attacking the Libyan soil to enforce the resolution.

23 March - NATO launches an operation to enforce the arms embargo. This means that Alliance ships may control each ship near Libyan territorial waters suspected of carrying weapons and has the right not to allow the ship to enter these waters.

24 March - NATO decided to enforce the UN-mandated No-Fly Zone over Libya. All flights over the territory are banned, except for those with humanitarian and aid purposes. The purpose of this no-fly zone is to assure that government forces will not use aircrafts to drop bombs or chemical weapons on the civilians.

27 March - NATO decided to take on the whole military operation Unified Protector.

During the spring and summer NATO conducted over 17 000 air sorties and the situation was changing every week. Some cities in the center of fight were changing controlling sides almost each two weeks as one side was dominating over the other for a while.

1 August – Norway has withdrawn from the operation. Norwegian jets have carried around 10 percent of the airstrikes conducted in Libya.
3. NATO’s missions in the Middle East

NATO – Iraq

The joined attack of United States and United Kingdom on Iraq began in March 2003. States which were engaged militarily or verbally in fighting were gathered under the heading “coalition of the willing” (that term was highly used by former president of USA, George W. Bush). After overthrowing Iraqi leader Saddam Hussain, the joined forces had to fight asymmetric conflict and to struggle a civil war which provoked between sunnits and shiits.

NATO has been present in Iraq since 2004 but not in a combat mission. NTM – I (the NATO Training Mission-Iraq) purpose is to develop as well as help to build democratic regime with self independent security sector. The member states are sending their contingents to Iraq to train the policemen or for example the Iraqi Army. In July 2009 NATO signed a long term agreement with Iraqi governent to have a legal protection and to continue to train Iraqi Security forces for many more years.

Source:
http://www.aco.nato.int/page136952.aspx

4. NATO’s Cooperation in the Middle East

NATO’s Istanbul Cooperation Initiative

This initiative started in June 2004 at the Alliance's Summit in Istanbul. It was founded to provide security for the Middle East region via bilateral security cooperation with NATO Alliance. Till now, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates have joined the initiative, while Saudi Arabia and Oman expressed a potential interest as well.

Countries which want to join the Istanbul Initiative must share mutual interests with NATO and strive to fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The ICI can cooperate with the countries in several activities, such as counter-terrorism, participation in NATO exercises, training etc.

sources:
www.nato.int
NATO – Israel

The history of NATO-Israel cooperation was not as easy as it seemingly should have been. Even though Israel was probably largely inclined towards joining the NATO during the first decades of its existence, NATO was reluctant to make such an offer, worried that supporting Israel would drive Arab countries into Soviet arms.

The situation changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1994, Israel became a partner of NATO through the Mediterranean Dialogue. Since 2005, Israeli troops have participated in many NATO exercises, and in 2011, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen acknowledged the special partnership and noted that the cooperation is set to increase even more in following years.

There is an extensive debate whether Israel should or should not join NATO, but perhaps mainly for fear that this would lead to even less cooperation in the Middle East, no official decision or statement has been issued.

Sources:
www.nato.int
www.jerusalempost.com

5. NATO's other relations in the region

NATO-Iran

Another problem NATO currently faces is Iran. There is an evident long-term hostility between Iran and the United States, for which Iran would never take up on possible cooperation with NATO in counter-insurgency operations in the region. Moreover, Iran's disputed ability to create a nuclear bomb in near future creates another security threat in the region. The whole issue seems to be disrupting the integrity of the Alliance, as NATO Allies do not seem to hold the same stance on Iran's issue.

On top of that, the creation of one nuclear bomb would probably lead to a chain reaction. In June 2011, a Saudi Prince Turki Al Faisal said that if Iran built up a nuclear weapon, Saudi Arabia would have no other option than to exert similar efforts.

The future of NATO-Iran relations is not commented on yet by any side. However, in 2009, an Iranian diplomat an negotiator has held informal talks with NATO representative for the first time in 30 years which might signal at least a possibility of a positive dialogue.

Sources:
http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/iran-nuclear-threat-nato
Zpracování a redakční úprava: Šimon Presser, Kateřina Pleskotová, Rozálie Horká

Grafická úprava a tech. spolupráce: Zuzana Procházková

Vydala Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky pro potřeby XVII. ročníku Pražského studentského summitu.

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Model NATO

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