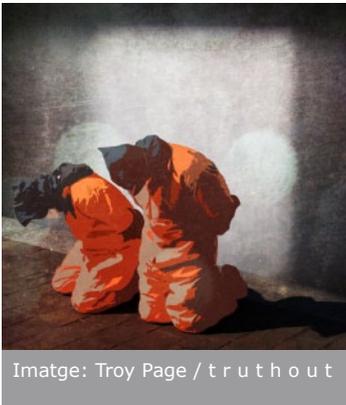


EDITORIAL

From the war on terror to the uprisings in the Arab world, an accelerated decade

Rafael Grasa

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Imatge: Troy Page / truthout

The optimism of the post-Cold War period, which began with the hope that some of the swords could be turned into ploughs as a result of the “peace dividend” (the allocation of part of international military expenditure justified by decades of East-West confrontation), ended abruptly a decade ago, with the attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington.

As shown by the articles and the interview in this monograph issue, the attacks started an accelerated decade, which was full of changes in both the domestic, foreign and security policies of the United States, as well as indirectly in international geopolitics. The impact of some of those changes is still being felt today.

Although things have gradually changed, particularly since President Obama took office, there is still a great deal of work to be done. There are two key factors in any overview of the decade. First, the overall situation in the fight against terror, highlighted by the instability of the Arc of Crisis (Iraq, AfPak, Iran, the Middle East) is structural and will not necessarily improve with the departure of US and NATO troops scheduled for 2014. Among other factors, this is due to the revival and capacity for action of the Al-Qaeda franchises with more local roots that are more distantly related to the central “brand.” Second, and more positively, the Arab uprisings that began in Tunisia have shown that people, despite decades of dictatorship and repression, can mobilise to meet basic needs as important as survival, dignity and freedom, regardless of their physical security, and confront the police and military. The Arab world has risen up for the first time in two centuries, and its people have made their demands against their own regimes and governments rather than against the neo-colonial and colonial powers, rendering worthless the thousands of documents suggesting that freedom is a value that is not understood by the Arabs.

These two factors allow us to draw a final conclusion: there are no shortcuts to solving complex problems, such as the political violence and terrorism (an extreme form of political violence) that are so prevalent in the twenty-first century, and which are far from being specific features of Islam or the Middle East (as the recent events in Norway and extreme right terrorism keep reminding us).

For this reason, it is necessary to emphasise the analysis and proposal made by Fred Halliday in 2004 regarding the fight against terror:

The central challenge facing the world in the face of 9/11 and all the other terrorist acts preceding and following it, is to create a global order that defends security while also making real the aspirations to equality and mutual respect that modernity itself has aroused and proclaimed but has spectacularly failed so far to fulfil. Terrorism, then, is a world problem in cause and in impact. It should be addressed in a global, cosmopolitan, context.

(The conflict will endure for decades and the outcome of which is not certain, but it must be fought)

In engaging with it, citizens need five things: a clear sense of history; recognition of the reality of the danger; steady, intelligent, political leadership; the building of mass support within European and global society for resistance to this new and major threat; and above all, our best defense, a commitment to liberal and democratic values¹.

1. Fred Halliday, “Violence and Politics”, in *Political Journeys. The Open Democracy Essays*, Londres, Saqui Books, 2011, p. 180.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	1	INTERVIEW	13
IN DEPTH	2	PLATFORM	14
INTRODUCTION	2	The Mapuche situation and social protest in Chile today	14
CENTRAL ARTICLES	3	Uranium weapons: two decades of uncontrolled contamination ...	16
Overview of a decade of the war against terror	3	Responding to the impact of explosive weapons	17
Changing Security Strategies Towards the Taliban from Bush to Obama	4	RECOMMENDATIONS	18
Internal security after 9/11: a perspective from the EU and the US	5	NEWS	21
NATO after 9/11	7	ICIP News	21
Future prospects for <i>AfPak</i>	8	International News	22
Freedom and security: consequences of 9/11 worldwide	9		
Llibertat i seguretat: una equació possible	10		
FINDING OUT MORE	11		

IN DEPTH

INTRODUCTION

9/11 in retrospect

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With this September marking the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, Shanksville and Washington, it is time for retrospect. Along with honouring victims in the attacks and remembering the horror as well as the heroic sacrifices made on 9/11, it is important to place the attacks in context and to gain some perspective on their impact and the challenges that we are still facing.

After all, while much attention and funding has been devoted to anti-terrorism programmes in the past 10 years, many unresolved issues remain. In addition to ongoing terrorist threats, problems exist regarding the use of torture in the war on terrorism, rising anti-Muslim sentiment in the West, the impact of data and intelligence sharing on fundamental rights, and ongoing problems in countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan – just to name a few. Critics are

often quick to point out inefficiencies of anti-terrorism tools and, while it is sometimes argued that not enough is being done, controversies have also been raised about the huge amounts of money involved in anti-terrorism programmes. Recently some have complained in Brussels, for example, about the 20-fold increase in EU funding devoted to anti-terrorism programmes over the past 10 years, arguing that this is inappropriate at a time of major budget cuts at the national level.

This edition of *Peace in Progress* brings together several articles about key issues in this respect. The first article, by Rafael Grasa, examines the evolution of the fight against terrorism in the last decade, touching upon the major changes that have taken place and the challenges that remain. Next, specific attention is paid to the US, with Judith Renner and Alexander Spencer comparing security strategies towards the Taliban by the Bush and Obama Administrations, and with Alicia Sorroza comparing anti-terrorism measures taken in the US with those in the EU. These different approaches taken by the EU and US after 9/11 have had an impact on the transatlantic relationship and on the role of NATO, which in response to the attacks of the 9/11 invoked the Article 5 collective defence clause for the very first time in history. The impact of the attacks on the organization's security strategy is therefore commented upon by Pere Ortega. Particular

attention is also paid to the theatre of operations of the war on terror in Afghanistan and Pakistan, with Ricard González reflecting on possible AfPak exist strategies. Furthermore, two contributions analyse the difficult relationship between freedom and security – a question which remains highly pertinent even 10 years after the attacks-, with Jaume Saura paying particular attention to the situation in Spain and Esteban Beltrán taking a more international approach.

Special attention to 9/11 is also given in the sections *Finding out more*, providing you with a list of useful tools for further reading and research on this topic, and *Interview*, in which Javier Rupérez talks about his experience as the former executive director of the UN Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Also touching upon other important topics, in this edition's *Platform* section one will find reflections on the situation of the Mapuche in Chile, by Blaise Pantel, on issues related to the banning of depleted uranium munitions, by Doug Weir, and on the question how to respond to the impact of explosive weapons, by Richard Moyes.

CENTRAL ARTICLES

Overview of a decade of the war against terror

Rafael Grasa

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A decade after the attacks of 11 September, the biggest changes in the world, at least in terms of direct consequences of the attacks, have been related to the domestic, foreign and security policies of the United States, which in turn have led to partial changes - internal and external - in other regions and countries of the world. Now, that some - a few - of these changes have changed themselves, particularly since Obama's inauguration as President, and in view of the preparation for the final departure of troops from Iraq and Afghanistan, it is necessary to take stock of what has happened.

The direction and speed of change was apparent in the press conference given by President Bush on 17 September, when he no longer talked about a "crusade" but instead declared a **war on terror, with no rules**, in the President's exact words, both beyond and within the country's borders. The first response of the United States was to attack Taliban-governed Afghanistan in an operation that was initially backed even by lawyers critical of American interventions such as Richard Falk. However, the intervention became more complicated: indiscriminate actions soon began (in the words of

experts, in breach of humanitarian law - often referred to as the laws of war), civilian casualties continued to mount, and above all, Bin Laden was not captured in the Tora Bora mountains in late 2001. From the very beginning, the United States was faced in Afghanistan with three challenges, which to some extent persist today: a) to establish a new effective political regime, which is trusted by the West, and which could act as a conduit for security policy; b) to continue the fight against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, with increasing regional impact, particularly in Pakistan, but also in Iraq and the Middle East; c) to find and eliminate Bin Laden and deal with the most complicated developments, namely the appearance of franchises around the world in the form of various local terrorist groups, with major offensive capacity (for example, Boko Haram, founded in 2002 and a "sleeper" unit until 2009, was able to attack the United Nations office in Nigeria in late August 2011).

At the same time, major changes were undertaken in domestic policies, with security prioritised over freedom. The phrase "axis of evil" was coined shortly afterwards. The countries in the axis varied, but it initially consisted of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and North Korea. All this led to substantial changes in foreign, security and defense policies: unilateralism, disdain for international law, the doctrine of "pre-emptive strikes", increased military spending, the return to covert operations and selective assassinations and the preparation for new wars (intervention in Iraq, 2003). The cornerstone of this philosophy has often been repeated: terrorism and terrorists must be fought everywhere, using mainly police and military measures.

As a result, after the 9/11 attacks there have been two major changes in the United States, and to some extent in the rest of the world after the Madrid and London bombings.

First, in domestic policies, there has been a clear restriction on freedom to support the fight against terrorism: we have seen "generously" defined and often controversial lists of potential terrorist groups; the creation of areas designed to circumvent the guarantees of the rule of law (Guantánamo); intrusion into citizens' privacy and communications, often with no control by judicial authorities; restrictions on basic civil rights; relativisation of the international prohibition on the use of torture or degrading treat-

ment; support for corrupt governments and dictatorships to ensure “stability” and to “fight” against terrorism; policies restricting movements or prevention policies based on the definition of risk profiles, which have led to prejudice and discrimination. This process has gone furthest in the United States, but no country has been unaffected, as is apparent by the attempts of autocratic regimes to include all their opponents on the terrorist lists and support for corrupt governments and restrictions on civil rights by many countries of the European Union. There are differences between the United States and Europe, but they are more of a quantitative than qualitative nature.

Second, in foreign, security and defense policies: disregard for the United Nations and for multilateralism in general, aggressive strategies and escalation in military operations, increased military spending (the United States has more than doubled its budget), support for corrupt and dictatorial regimes, and the a posteriori use - after unilateral interventions - of NATO for stabilisation operations. The differences between Europe and United States are greater in this area, partly due to the European Union’s status as a “civilian power” and the budgetary constraints associated with the process of creating an economic and monetary union.

Ten years on, things have started to change, though they have done so earlier and more intensely in the US than in Europe, since the beginning of the Obama presidency. A new international security strategy has been defined that abandons pre-emptive strikes, and maintains that fighting terrorism also involves fighting the roots that nourish its attempts to gain legitimacy. It also redefines the scope of the “war against terror” in a more limited manner: the elimination of Osama bin Laden, which facilitates the process of withdrawing troops from Iraq and Afghanistan without this looking like a defeat, is not enough. This withdrawal is scheduled for 2014, although the 2012 presidential elections would appear to have an obvious effect on ongoing operations.

There are many unresolved issues, however, such as the disregard for international law, which was highlighted in the extrajudicial and extraterritorial killing of Bin Laden, while appealing to the idea of “justice being done”, the constant increase in military spending, the closure of Guantánamo and, among other questions, the repeal of the various restrictions on civil liberties.

Nonetheless, a decade after the 9/11 attacks, I believe we should emphasise reflection on two points. First, the limited short-term effectiveness of the fight against terror, as is apparent in the lack of stability in Afghanistan (an average of 14 attacks every day by the rebels in 2011, which peaked at 43 on August 15) and the proliferation of paramilitary groups in the region and some degree of recovery of Al-Qaeda franchises, such as “Al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia.” Second, we should reflect on the anxiety arising from the fact that the United States is changing global strategies to combat terrorism more forcefully and more rapidly than Europe.

Will the anniversary be used to present symbolic changes? When, for example, will we see an end or a substantial change to the terrorist lists in the European Union?

Changing Security Strategies Towards the Taliban from Bush to Obama

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Apart from an increased interest in multilateralism and more respect for international law, one fundamental difference between the Bush and the Obama Administration is their consideration of reconciliation with the Taliban in Afghanistan. Shortly after 9/11 any kind of engagement, let alone reconciliation, with the Taliban was considered impossible. Under the Bush Administration, the “war on terror” was the preferred security strategy to react to any kind of perceived terrorist threat. Recently however, reconciliation with the Taliban in Afghanistan has become a possibility worthy of serious thought. Not only Afghan President Hamid Karzai has now pointed out that one of the most important strategies to ensure peace and stability in Afghanistan was “a vigorous reconciliation and reintegration programme aimed at the Taliban” as “[r]econciliation, in our view, is ultimately the most effective and lasting solution”,¹ the US Administration under Barack Obama has also announced that it is now willing to talk to parts of

the Taliban in an attempt to begin a reconciliation process in Afghanistan. This new strategy of the Obama Administration towards the Taliban is surprising, as it stands in a sharp contrast to the security strategy under Bush. It is therefore worth thinking about how such a change became possible.

From a discourse theoretical perspective, it can be argued that it was the changing construction of the Taliban which made this kind of policy turn possible. How an actor acts in the social world, is dependent on how he constructs the subjects, objects and practices of this world, and changing constructions thus make changing behavior possible. Indeed, looking at the constructions of the Taliban found in the discourse of the political elite in the United States, one can show that while reconciliation with both the Taliban and Al-Qaeda was considered impossible under Bush, the constitution of the Taliban changed during the Obama Administration and made engagement with them possible.

Under the Bush Administration following 9/11, the Taliban were discursively closely linked to Al-Qaeda, so that both groups became “virtually indistinguishable”.² President Bush frequently spoke about “the Taliban and Al-Qaeda” and constructed them as “the terrorists”,³ thus constructing both groups as representing one and the same “terrorist other”. Against such terrorists, Bush argued, war was the only possible strategy and the goal of the US would be to defeat these terrorist.⁴

Under the Obama Administration, however, the construction of the Taliban began to change, as Obama decoupled the Taliban from Al-Qaeda by differentiating between a radical, extremist core of the Taliban and a more moderate group of “Afghans” that were coerced into the Taliban and could still be integrated into the Afghan society. For instance, Obama now spoke about “Al-Qaeda terrorists” and “the core Taliban leadership” on the one hand, who still constituted as a terrorist threat to Afghanistan, the US and its allies. On the other hand, however, he spoke about “those who’ve taken up arms because of coercion”,⁵ who should be given another option that to fight. These Taliban, as Obama pointed out, should be negotiated with and eventually have the opportunity to reconcile with their country, if they agreed to break their ties with Al-Qaeda.⁶

Overall, an analysis of the construction of the Taliban found in the discourse of US elites suggests that the discursive construction of the Taliban changed considerably from the Bush to the Obama Administration. Talking to the Taliban has become a policy option worthy of serious thought. One may be sceptical whether reconciliation between the US and the Taliban is likely, however talking to each other is a good start. What implications this will have on the War on Terror remains to be seen.

1. Speech by Hamid Karzai at the 46th Munich Security Conference, 02 July 2010, available at: <http://www.securityconference.de/Karzai-Hamid.578.0.html?&L=1> [28.06.2011].
2. George W. Bush, Address to the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Headquarters, New York, NY, 10.11.2001, available at: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011110-3.html> [28.02.2011].
3. George W. Bush, Focus on Iraq: Address to the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies Washington, D.C., 13.03.2006, available at: <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/03.13.06.html> [28.02.2011].
4. George W. Bush, Remarks at the National Defense University, Washington, D.C., 09.09.2008, available at: <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.09.08.html> [28.02.2011].
5. Barack Obama, ‘Remarks by the President on a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan’, Washington, D.C., 27. March 2009, available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/ [24.02.2011].
6. Barack Obama, “US President speaks exclusively to BBC”, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-13442119> [28.06.2011].

Internal security after 9/11: a perspective from the EU and the US

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Based on the hindsight afforded to us by a decade that has gone by, we can draw certain conclusions about some of the consequences that the 9/11 attacks by Al-Qaeda have had for the internal security of the European Union (EU) and the United States, despite the comparative difficulties between them. However, it can be said that they are both benchmarks in the fight against international terrorism, and in their efforts to protect their territory from terrorist and other threats that endanger the welfare of their inhabitants.

Although opinions on the impact of terrorist attacks vary, it is difficult to deny that the mass terrorism attacks of 9/11 marked a turning point in the need to quickly assimilate the new risks that were emerging in the twenty-first century. In the light of terrorist threats, the decision was taken to take action in two directions. First, to protect the homeland, from a defensive perspective, by improving police responses, protection of critical infrastructure, preventing radicalisation, etc. Second, in more external and offensive terms, to fight Al-Qaeda terrorist groups or those linked to it and based in other countries, for which military force was used, as well as -albeit to a lesser extent- tools of cooperation and public diplomacy to try and limit some of what were considered to be the structural causes of terrorism.

However, the United States and Europe saw terrorist threats in different terms and they both responded according to their circumstances and historical, political and social factors, as well as the emotional and subjective impact of the attacks.

The European reaction was mainly judicial and focusing on policing, less consistent and effective than would have been desired, and involving a heavy dose of institutional and regulatory dispersal. It involved the implementation of complementary tools and measures and coordination with those of its Member States.

By contrast, the American reaction was directed mainly at offensive actions as a means of protecting the North American homeland, although there was also a major reorganisation of its capabilities and the creation of new structures to safeguard internal security. The United States declared a global war on terrorism, and the metaphor of “war” was both the diagnosis and the prescription.¹ Any more structured responses gradually took shape in various official documents.² The major impact and visibility of the most offensive and military aspect does not detract from the decisions and measures adopted in the domestic security field, which led to the largest government reorganisation undertaken in the last fifty years.

Shortly after 9/11, President Bush created the Office of Homeland Security and the post of Secretary of Homeland Security. This Office became the Homeland Security Council, a White House agency responsible for assessing the objectives, commitments and risks of the United States, and making the appropriate recommendations to the president. In 2009, the Obama Administration merged the staff of the Homeland Security Council and the National Security Council, to create the National Security Staff.

Another change was the creation of a new department (equivalent to a ministry) of the United States Federal Government. This department is accountable to the Secretary of Homeland Security, who is responsible for leading the combined efforts to secure America, preventing and deterring terrorist attacks and protecting and responding to the various threats that may arise. The Secretary is also responsible for protecting the national borders.³

A new National Security Strategy was announced in May 2010 and in late June 2011 President Obama’s National Anti-Terrorism Strategy made some conceptual changes compared to previous documents.

By contrast, the European efforts in this area, led by a group of countries that included Spain, were very important in strengthening the internal security of the EU Member States despite being limited and dispersed. The fight against global terrorism poses major challenges to a conventional state, and even greater ones to a heterogeneous body such as the EU, which has to take the sensitivities of its 27 Member States into consideration, as well as the underlying conflict between their efforts to retain control over their policies and the instruments inherent at the heart of state sovereignty.

The 9/11 attacks, and particularly the Madrid and London bombings, marked a turning point in the attention paid to terrorism within the EU. The traditional reluctance of the European partners was overcome by the seriousness of the events, which led to progress in this area.⁴

Despite its constraints, the EU has promoted major initiatives and has developed very important instruments, such as the European arrest warrant, Eurojust, Europol, joint investigation teams, the list of individuals and groups involved in terrorism, and the common definition of terrorism. The European Security Strategy (ESS) was approved in December 2003. This significant document was criticised from the perspective of internal security. Following the attacks in Madrid and London, a coordinator of the fight against terrorism in the EU was appointed, and in November 2004 the Hague Programme was adopted in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) which continued with the Stockholm Programme in late 2009. A European strategy to combat terrorism was adopted in December 2005.

The Lisbon Treaty also reinforced the AFSJ in the area of internal security,⁵ although it says for the first time that “in particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State” (Art. 4.2 TEU)⁶. It provides for the creation of a Standing Committee on Internal Security (COSI). The Internal Security Strategy was approved in February 2010⁷ and in November 2010, the Commission presented the Internal Security Strategy action plan.⁸

To conclude, it can be said that in the last ten years, both the EU and the United States have made significant progress in their efforts to strengthen internal security, although the Americans have undeniably made more substantial progress in this area.

1. Crenshaw, M., “The War on Terrorism: Is the US Winning?”, in Powell y Reinares (eds.), *Las democracias occidentales frente al terrorismo global*, Ariel and Elcano Royal Institute, 2008.

2. These include: the National Security Strategy of the United States of September 2002, the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism of February 2003 and September 2006, the National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terror of February 2006, and the renewal of the Homeland Security Strategy in 2006.

3. For more information, see www.dhs.gov.

4. Powell, C., y Sorroza, A. (2008), *La UE y la lucha contra el terrorismo global en las democracias occidentales frente al terrorismo global*, Ariel and Elcano Royal Institute, p. 289.

5. Bacquias, J. (2008), *Freedom, Security and Justice: the new Lisbon (treaty) agenda*, European Policy Centre policy brief, online. Available at: http://www.epc.eu/TEWN/pdf/873079151_Freedom,%20security%20and%20justice.pdf

6. House of Lords (2008): *The Treaty of Lisbon: an impact assessment*, online. Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldselec/lducom/62/62.pdf>

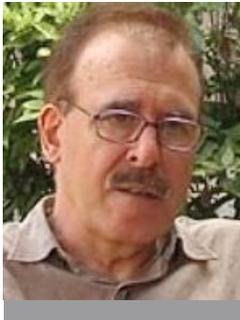
7. Available at: <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/es/10/st05/st05842-re02.es10.pdf>

8. *The EU Internal Security Strategy in Action: Five steps towards a more secure Europe* (COM(2010)673 final).

NATO after 9/11

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The attacks on the United States (US) of 11 September 2001 marked a change in global geostrategy. The US had been attacked on its own territory for the first time. This rocked the defence and security structures of the US and its allies. This shock also affected the Atlantic Alliance (NATO), a military organisation established to confront the USSR during the Cold War era and which had entered a period of uncertainty afterwards. The attacks of September 11 helped define a new NATO strategy.

Shortly after 9/11, the US approved a new National Security Strategy according to which the main threat is terrorism, followed by other risks such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed states, organised crime and energy dependence. It also defines two basic means of responding to these threats: maintaining military supremacy and the right to undertake preventive military action to defend peace and security worldwide. A crusade against terrorism began immediately, in which the US called on other NATO countries to help and for the fulfillment of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty concerning mutual defence, which states that in the event of an armed

attack on a member of the alliance, the other members will assist the country under attack, providing it with support and participating militarily in its defence. Finally, however, the US did not demand invocation of the article. In October 2001, attacks began in Afghanistan with Operation Enduring Freedom, led by the US with the help of an international coalition of other countries playing a minor role. Why did the US not demand the application of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty? Because it did not trust its allies and had reserved a subsidiary role for NATO, as became apparent shortly afterwards, in January 2002, when NATO was placed in charge of ISAF, an operation authorised by the UN Security Council to help reconstruction in Afghanistan.

There are precedents for this mistrust of the US towards European countries, which can be found in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in 1995-99, when NATO intervened after Europe had failed to solve the conflict in the Balkans, and during which the European countries had restricted by been their old alliances with the various Yugoslav republics, and provided support to various parties in the conflicts. Finally, when the situation had become intolerable, first in Bosnia, and then in Kosovo, it was the US, through NATO, which took responsibility for intervention. However, the lessons that the US learned from that war were that it cannot militarily intervene with allies that want to share military command, who constantly demand explanations about possible irregularities (the bombing of the Chinese embassy and the TV tower in Belgrade), or at least, want to be kept informed of military plans.

However, despite some disagreements, NATO also adopted the new approach by the US. And at the Prague Summit of 2002, it took two important decisions: to use military force to combat terrorism and to adopt the doctrine of pre-emptive strikes to prevent possible terrorist attacks. As a result, the creation of a rapid reaction force (the NATO Response Force) was approved. This Force is capable of involvement in preventive military operations with no territorial limits, missions involving terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, peacekeeping operations and crisis management. The doctrine of preventive attacks highlights the distance between the USA's approach and the UN Charter, which only authorizes the use of force within the principle of self-defence. It was a *de facto* breach of international law and demolished the fragile world order that had been created after the Second World War.

The same thing happened during the Iraq War (2003). The US did not trust NATO because of the disagreement among most "old Europe" NATO countries, France and Germany, which strongly opposed the US's war against Iraq. This led to an ongoing crisis in NATO because there is no stipulation requiring unanimity in NATO's founding Treaty. At that time, the US did not entirely trust its divided European allies and assigned a role involving post-conflict missions to NATO.

The unhappiness with the European allies became apparent in the continuous demands by the past and present US Secretaries of Defense (Donald Rumsfeld and Robert Gates) for an increase in European defense budgets for these countries to meet their commitments to military interventions alongside the US. As a result, Robert Gates, during his final trip to Europe before his retirement from the post of Secretary of Defense (June 2011), predicted an uncertain future for NATO and complained about the disloyal behaviour of the European allies regarding the Alliance's budget, claiming that in the last ten years the US's share of spending on maintaining NATO has increased from 50% to 75%, while the contribution of the Europe allies has fallen to 25%. This is a further reason for the distance between the US and its European allies. The US seems reluctant to take responsibility for maintaining an organisation that is not entirely loyal to it.

Another major question involves the global geopolitical map. Since the end of the Second World War, Europe has been the scenario for the great international political and economic game, first during the Cold War, when the enemy was the USSR, and afterwards, with the addition of Central and Eastern Europe to the capitalist economy. Throughout this period, it was a major geostrategic asset for the US because of economic reasons, as Western Europe was its major ally and the main market for its economy. However, this has changed in the last ten years as the world order has been reshaped,

with new actors emerging and the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), which have shifted the epicenter of geopolitical and economic growth to other areas. This is especially true of China, which with its steady growth has become the leading engine of the world economy. Europe is therefore beginning to lose its influence over the US's geostrategic interests.

As a result, the US feels that NATO has lost its initial significance, and despite the adoption of a new Strategic Concept that enables it to operate all over the world, some of the European allies are more of a hindrance than loyal partners. Meanwhile, NATO no longer has the political factor of its internal cohesion that it had during the Cold War. Although terrorism has taken over as the main enemy, it cannot replace the role of the former USSR. This is because NATO is a military organisation that can become involved in interventions and wars, but cannot fight an abstract enemy with no specific geographical location. Terrorism can only be fought in two dimensions; internally, using security and judicial policies, and externally, by means of cooperation measures to defuse the conflicts that give rise to the development of terrorism.

NATO is a military organisation that requires clear political objectives, which is something that the Atlantic Alliance today does not have and which suggests that its future is uncertain.

Future prospects for *AfPak*

Ricard González

Journalist and political scientist



During the days following the September 11 attacks, as Al-Qaeda's responsibility was confirmed, the focus of all eyes in the White House and the Pentagon shifted to Afghanistan. Ten years later, the war in Afghanistan has become the longest in US history, and it is still unclear whether the world's leading power will emerge victorious. Among other things, this is because the Afghan conflict is a real conundrum that also involves its neighbors, Pakistan in particular. As a result, for linguistic reasons, policy towards these two countries is known in the US State Department as "AfPak."

After a decade of sending thousands of soldiers into Afghanistan and flooding the country with millions of dollars, most Americans are completely fed up with the conflict and are calling for a withdrawal without delay. Many voices within the Democratic Party, prompted by the stagnation of the economy and the unemployment rate, are wondering why the United States needs to invest around 120,000 million dollars a year in the construction of the Afghan nation state. With the coverage provided by the death of Bin Laden, whose capture was the initial grounds for the invasion, even much of the Republican Party supports leaving Afghanistan as soon as possible.

President Obama, who always has one eye on the opinion polls and political circumstances in the United States, has already designed a withdrawal plan, which formally began last July and will continue until late 2014. The plan is based on the one applied in Iraq, a country from which in theory Washington will have withdrawn all its troops at the end of this year. The idea is to gradually transfer control of security in the provinces to the Afghan national army, as its capacity improves.

Since he arrived in the White House, Obama has been aware of the impossibility of defeating the Taliban militarily, as their deep roots in Afghan politics and society means that a political settlement is necessary. Indeed, the military escalation ordered by Obama, with an increase from around 35,000 U.S. soldiers deployed to Afghanistan in 2008 to 100,000 today, is aimed at forcing the Taliban to the negotiating table in a position of weakness.

At present, the strategy does not seem to be paying off. The Taliban movement has indeed lost many of its leaders and middle ranking officers. However, it has not had too much difficulty in replacing them with new recruits. Furthermore, now that they are aware of the United States' timetable for withdrawal, the most obvious strategy is to wait until 2014 before making any movement, when the Afghan government will be in a weaker position.

Pakistan is a key player in this scenario, not only because it supported the Taliban movement in its early days, but also because it has never entirely lost contact with its leaders. For example, the United States believes that the network of the Haqqani tribe, which controls much of eastern Afghanistan, is directly on the payroll of the ISI, the powerful Pakistani intelligence service. Islamabad's support for the Taliban is motivated by its fear of being encircled by allies of India, its great enemy, which has very good relations with the Afghan President Hamid Karzai, and with the warlords of the Northern Alliance in general. By supporting the Taliban, Pakistan therefore aims to ensure that they will play a major role in Afghanistan's political future.

The difficult nature of the peace negotiations has been complicated even further since the operation that ended with the death of Bin Laden, as relations between Washington and Islamabad are now at the lowest point in decades. Neverthe-

less, within the marriage of convenience between the governments of the two countries, it seems unlikely that either will be asking for a divorce because they need each other too much, and neither of the parties wants Pakistan to fall into the hands of Islamists. It should be borne in mind that Pakistan is the only Muslim country that possesses the atomic bomb.

There are two possible scenarios for Afghanistan for 2015. One involves a national agreement between the Karzai regime and the Taliban leaders being reached, sponsored by the United States and Pakistan, according to which the fundamentalist movement would join the political system, possibly with changes made to the current Constitution.

The alternative scenario involves a continuation of the present war, but with the Afghan army taking over a greater responsibility from NATO, and the possible presence of a small Western military contingent in aid work. As a result, the big question is whether the Karzai regime is capable of standing on its own two feet. It is too early to answer this question, but one possible scenario would be the Balkanization of the country based on its ethnic distribution, as support for the Taliban is particularly strong in areas in which the majority of the population belong to the Pashtun ethnic group.

Freedom and security: consequences of 9/11 worldwide

Esteban Beltrán

Director of Amnesty International Spain



Some people argue that the threat of terrorism is so serious that respect for human rights is an obstacle to security. This idea took shape after the attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York. Since then, with the help of other states, people have been arrested arbitrarily, held in secret, transferred to other countries with no legal guarantees, and subjected to prolonged detention without charge or trial, torture and ill treatment.

Since then, fear has been an excuse for the repression of political opposition. In **India**, opponents have been held without charge for more than the two years stipulated by law in Jammu and Kashmir. In **Turkey**, 12-year old children have been arrested under the anti-terrorism law for their alleged involvement in demonstrations by the Kurdish community. In **Pakistan**, members of Hindu and Baloch nationalist groups have been persecuted and repressed. And since 2009, **Saudi Arabia** has detained thousands of people in complete secrecy, subjected them to summary trials or killed them in supposed "clashes with security forces". Last July, Amnesty

International published a Saudi anti-terrorism bill that would allow peaceful protesters to be tried as terrorists. The authorities' response was to block access to our website.

For millions of people, the real sources of insecurity have been corrupt and incompetent police and justice systems, the brutal repression of political dissent, harsh discrimination and social inequalities. In **Tunisia**, after years of brutal repression of dissent, during which people were tortured in the name of the fight against terrorism, thousands of people took to the streets to protest against these repressive policies and the lack of economic opportunities. The jasmine revolution ended decades of Ben Ali's government, and spread to Jordan, Algeria, Yemen, Bahrain, Libya and Egypt, where it also put an end to decades of abuse by the Mubarak government.

Forced disappearances have increased over the past decade. They were unusual before 9/11 in **Pakistan** and **Yemen**. Since then, hundreds if not thousands of people have been victims of arbitrary arrest and secret detention.

Torture has been legitimised by governments, including that of the **United States**. After taking office, President Barack Obama said he would not approve the use of torture and other types of ill-treatment. This measure was received very positively, but to date not a single step has been taken to investigate the use of torture, despite former President George W. Bush's acknowledgement that he specifically authorised it. Instead, it has been justified in Guantánamo as providing information on the whereabouts of Osama bin Laden and his assassination without a trial.

Countries including **Spain**, **Italy**, the **United Kingdom** and **Sweden** have also failed to investigate these abuses, even when transferring detainees to countries with a long tradition of abuse. They did so, clinging to diplomatic assurances based on a "promise not to do it again." And although countries like **Spain**, **Lithuania**, **Macedonia** and the **United Kingdom** have acknowledged that they have not thoroughly investigated their participation in the CIA's programmes of extraordinary rendition and secret detention, other countries like Romania continue to deny the evidence of their collaboration.

In 2005, the then United Nations Secretary General, said that "in our struggle against terrorism, we must never compromise human rights. When we do so, we facilitate achievement of one of the terrorist's objectives." In fact, terrorist attacks on civilians have continued to take place over the past decade in the United States, Indonesia, Morocco,

Spain, Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, Afghanistan, Uganda, Egypt, and India, where last July, three blasts in Mumbai killed at least 18 people.

Despite Obama's announcement of Guantánamo's closure, 172 men are still in its cells two years later. Only one has been tried by a civilian court, and five by military commissions. The rest have yet to be tried. Even if it closes, hundreds of people are still detained without charge, trial or judicial review in the US airbase in Bagram, Afghanistan, alone. And in many countries around the world, freedoms continue to be curtailed in the name of the fight against terror. We must not allow the victims of human rights abuses committed by states or armed groups to be forgotten.

Freedom and security: squaring the circle

Jaume Saura Estapà

Professor of Public International Law (UB) and President of the Human Rights Institute of Catalonia



One of the main functions of the State is to provide its citizens with security. That is why in Hobbesian terms, we leave the state of nature and sign a social contract to create the Leviathan. However, security is not an absolute value in democratic societies and states. It must be linked to a respect for the rule of law and a guarantee of human rights. In an international context of growing concern about threats such as international terrorism and organised crime, this respect has not always been fulfilled.

It goes without saying that the plagues of terrorism and organised crime are themselves violations of human rights - of life, freedom and security. As a result, those intellectually and materially responsible for these crimes are responsible for the violation of human rights, even at international level, if the seriousness of the attacks means that they must be considered crimes against humanity. However, the institutional response to these illegal actions must be weighted against a respect for equally important values, such as freedom and human rights.

Professor Miguel Revenga, a Professor of Constitutional Law, has listed six ways in which tensions arise between security and freedom in the international arena: a) a disregard for international law, which has been and remains the cornerstone of peaceful relations between among States; b) the relativisation of the prohibition of torture and inhuman or degrading treatment (Abu Ghraib); c) the creation of areas beyond the remit of the law, such as Guantánamo, to try to circumvent the guarantees of the rule of law; d) the systematic invasion of citizens' privacy, beyond judicial control; e) the increase in restrictions on basic civil rights such as freedom of expression and freedom of association, and f) the establishment of new grounds for discrimination between nationals and foreigners, based on the definition of risk profiles using religious beliefs and ethnic characteristics.

The limitations on rights that is apparent at an international level can also be seen in Spain, according to the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the European Court of Human Rights. The regime of solitary confinement for 13 days, provided for by Articles 527 and 520 b) of the Criminal Trial Act, is not only a form of abuse in itself, but also fosters the use of torture and impunity and violates specific civil rights, such as the right to choose a lawyer, the right to medical care, and the right to have one's family and friends informed of one's arrest, etc. Moreover, torture is a continuing problem. Although not widespread, hundreds of cases are documented each year, and many of these take place in Catalan prisons. These cases receive little attention from the police, the government or the judiciary. In fact, the European Court of Human Rights has twice ruled against Spain (2004 and 2010) for failing to fully investigate credible allegations of torture. The tightening of immigration and asylum laws (2009) and the very existence of Foreigner Detention Centres, where we deprive people who have committed no crime of their freedom, and the prohibition of political parties and the initiation of criminal proceedings against media outlets such as the newspaper Egunkaria, basically for advocating the Basque Country's secession from Spain, are all part of the situation mentioned above.

However, the wave of withdrawals of civil liberties seems to have reached its high point. Guantánamo has been condemned by all and sundry and Obama has pledged to close it. The European Court of Human Rights has recently ruled against the United Kingdom for the murder and unjustified deprivation of liberty for civilians by the country's troops during the occupation of Iraq.¹ The Spanish Constitutional Court overturned the decision of the Supreme Court to prohibit the establishment of a political party, Bildu, which has scrupulously abided by the controversial Parties Law. And after arduous legal proceedings lasting over seven years, the editors of the newspaper Egunkaria were acquitted of any terrorist links. Meanwhile, Spain has ratified the Protocol for the Prevention of Torture, and Catalonia has established a National Authority for the Prevention of Torture, headed by the Ombudsman, which is now visiting all kinds of detention centres. If all this means that we understand that the legitimate aspiration to a secure life is not achievable without full respect for the rules of democracy, the rule of law and human rights, then it means that our situation is not as bad as all that.

1. Verdicts of the Grand Chamber, 7 July 2011.

PER SABER-NE MÉS

Materials produced by: Eugènia Riera, Léonie van Tongeren and Paola Aramayo

From the wealth of information about the attacks of September 11 and their aftermath that is available on the Internet, we have selected some of the most important websites, which include interactive maps and timelines with videos of the attacks, eyewitness accounts, and relevant academic and journalistic material.

9/11 Attacks. 102 minutes that changed America (<http://www.history.com/topics/9-11-attacks/interactives/witness-to-911>): this *History Channel* page contains a photo and video gallery, as well as some of the radio broadcasts from that day in the United States while the events were taking place. There is also this interactive map, which uses amateur video images to show how the attacks were experienced in various areas of Manhattan:



September 11: 102 Minutes (http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/nyregion/20020526_WTC/index_CHRONO.html): this interactive page of *The New York Times* contains a minute by minute timeline of the attacks, with graphics and details of what was happening on each floor of the Twin Towers. It shows the number of telephone calls made from each floor of the building, for example.

Inside 9/11 (http://channel.nationalgeographic.com/channel/inside911/ax/main_fs.html): website of the *National Geographic Channel*, including over 50 video interviews with analysts, journalists, relatives of victims, politicians responsible for anti-terrorism and intelligence services, including the former director of the CIA and former United States Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, and the coordinator of the U.S. State Department's fight against terrorism, Cofer Black.

The September 11 Digital Archive (<http://911digitalarchive.org/>): this digital archive contains over 15,000 images, 40,000 testimonies from witnesses of the attacks and more than 1,500 emails sent that day. You will also find videos, interviews, newspaper reports and official documents related to the attacks.

September 11 News Archives (<http://www.september11news.com/>): like the website above, this one contains a comprehensive archive of images and stories from before, during and after the attacks, a chronology of the main events, various articles from newspapers and magazines, speeches and reactions by world leaders, books and videos, and a wide range of data and statistics.

9/11 Commission (<http://www.9-11commission.gov/>): official website of the 9/11 Investigation Commission (*National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*), established by the United States Congress in November 2002. The Commission's final report is available in PDF format: *9/11 Commission Report* (<http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report.pdf>), and its main conclusion is that the attacks could have been prevented with improved operations

and coordination by the CIA and the FBI. The conclusions of the report have been heavily criticised by several organisations, under the umbrella of the *9/11 Truth Movement* (<http://www.911truth.org/links.php>), which accuses the United States of responsibility for the attacks.

Website of the United States Library of Congress (<http://thomas.loc.gov/home/terrorleg.htm>): this website was created in 2001, and contains all the laws and resolutions passed by the US Congress since 9/11. These include the controversial *Patriot Act*, passed fifteen days after the attacks, which gives more power to the United States security agencies. The law has been heavily criticised by human rights organisations because they believe it has enabled violations of civil liberties in the name of security.

World Trade Centre Cams (<http://www.earthcam.com/usa/newyork/worldtradecenter/index.php?goto=hof>): this website uses webcams, archives and aerial views to show the reconstruction of the World Trade Center and other recovery efforts in New York. It also provides information about the 9/11 memorial and museum.

Voices of September 11 (<http://voicesofseptember11.org/dev/index.php>): the website of an independent NGO providing information, support services and organising annual commemorative events for 9/11 families, workers who participated in the rescue operations and survivors. It remembers the lives and stories of 9/11 and provides information on resources for surviving relatives, reconstruction programmes and memory projects. It also includes interviews, photos and first-hand accounts by workers who participated in the rescue of survivors in New York, Shanksville and Washington.

Documentaries and interviews

Over the last ten years, hundreds of documentaries about the events of September 11 and their aftermath have been produced. Many of these audiovisual productions can be viewed on the website *9/11 docs* (<http://www.911docs.net/>).

In addition, there is also the series *The Rising: Rebuilding Ground Zero* (<http://dsc.discovery.com/tv/the-rising>), produced by *Discovery Channel*, which includes a dozen videos on the memorial which has been built at Ground Zero in New York; the documentary *9/11 The Conspiracy Files* (<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=6680224505086911340>), by BBC, which analyses the conspiracy theories about the attacks; and the new documentary from the American channel CBS entitled '9/11' (http://www.cbs.com/specials/911/the_project.shtml): an updated version of the documentary filmed in 2002 which premieres this September, on the tenth anniversary of the attacks.

Also of interest is the series of interviews on 9/11 produced by the *Foreign Affairs: How America Changed its Projection* (<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/discussions/audio-video/911-perspectives>) and *Bush's Freedom Agenda* (<http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-attacks/911-perspectives-bushs-freedom-agenda/p25516>).

Interesting articles

To find out more about everything that has been written about 9/11, we suggest taking a look at the ICIP Bibliographic Dossier Number 2 (web www.icip.cat, section Library/Thematic Dossiers), which includes a list of the most interesting articles on the subject recently published in the specialised journals in the ICIP Library.

You can also consult articles about terrorism issues by the *Transnational Institute* (<http://www.tni.org/taxonomy/term/102/%2A/feed>), an analysis and research centre about today's hot topics, which aims to foster encourage reflection and critical thought and suggests alternatives for a more sustainable, just and democratic world. The Institute, which is based in Amsterdam, has a section devoted to peace and security issues.

Other materials

To mark the tenth anniversary of the attacks, on September 8 the Barcelona Centre for Contemporary Culture (CCCB) will be inaugurating the exhibition 'Fragmented memory. 11 NY Artifacts in the hangar' (http://www.cccb.org/ca/exposicio-mem_ria_fragmentada-35962), by the photographer Francesc Torres. This is a photographic exhibition of the physical remains of the tragedy, consisting of more than 1,500 objects which are stored in hangar 17 at JFK airport. The exhibition will also be presented at the International Center of Photography in New York, the Imperial War Museum in London and the *Centro Palacio de Cibeles* in Madrid.

Other objects acting as a reminder of September 11, 2001 include the covers of the world's leading newspapers, which highlight the impact of terrorist attacks. On the next day, the American press featured headlines such as *War on America*, *Terror*, *U.S. Attacked*, *Bastards*, *Evil Acts* and *Acts of war*. You can consult the front pages of leading newspapers in the United States and around the world on this page (http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/default_archive.asp?fpArchive=091201) of the *Washington Newseum*.

INTERVIEW

Javier Rupérez, Spanish diplomat and former executive director of the UNSC Counter-Terrorism Committee

Eugènia Riera

International Catalan Institute for Peace



Javier Rupérez has been living in the United States for eleven years. He has lived in Washington, New York and Chicago: first as Spanish ambassador (2000-2004), then as Executive Director of the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee (2004-2007) and most recently as Consul General of Spain in Chicago (2007-2011). It has been an accelerated decade, in which he has witnessed the effects of 9/11 on American society and the changes in the international fight against terrorism.

You were ambassador to the United States in 2001. What are your memories of 9/11? Were you in Washington?

No, in fact I was in Madrid, where we had a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was one of those days when you remember perfectly where you were. It was three o'clock, there was a lunch and then Piqué - who was the minister at that time - said: 'there is some unusual news from New York, find out what's happening.' Then we saw the attack by the second plane live. I was unable to return to Washington for several days.

You are still living in the United States ten years later, although now in Chicago. Has American society changed a great deal since 9/11?

It is still a hard-working, disciplined, imaginative society ... but it has certainly changed in some ways because of the attacks. It is no longer the trusting society that it used to be. There is a vague perception, but one you see every day, that the country is not as invulnerable as they used to think it was, and there is some degree of discomfort about Islamic demonstrations. In addition, everything involved in the adoption of security measures and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, has affected the US budget. The Defense budget has more than doubled in ten years.

9/11 enabled the Bush Administration to introduce the concept to Axis of Evil and declare a unilateral war on Iraq. Did they do the right thing?

We should remember that everything began in Afghanistan, which at that time was practically ruled by Osama bin Laden, and there was an immediate US military response there, which had international support. 9/11 had a major effect on American foreign policy. It was necessary to restore security and there is no doubt that there would have been no invasion of Iraq without 9/11 ... There are a number of consequences that have affected the response against terrorism. The way things turned out, the intervention in Afghanistan was inevitable and I wouldn't say it was inevitable, but practically certain, that the US would take measures to prevent the presence of systems that I would call 'Arab-Islamic', which were a constant source of instability.

Do you think preventive wars are justified?

That's a complicated issue. From the standpoint strictly of international law, a preventive war is difficult to justify, but we have to consider the situation in each case, and whether a certain threshold has been passed which makes preventive war inevitable.

The war against terror also led to arbitrary arrest, dubious monitoring of communications, human rights violations in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo ... Is everything admissible in the name of security?

No, no, of course not. You cannot allow any violation of human rights in the name of security, but at the same time it is obvious that there is no freedom without security, as the Basques know only too well. They are difficult questions, and of course, the Americans have accepted limitations on their freedom of movement in the name of security. We should also remember that terrorism itself destabilises societies. It's a complicated world, where we must be very careful.

From Bush to Obama ... Has the counterterrorism struggle over the last ten years been effective?

In the US it has, obviously, because they have not had an attack similar to 9/11 for ten years, and that's not because terrorists haven't tried.

Has counterterrorism improved, then? The intelligence services failed to detect 9/11 and failed with the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq...

Obviously yes, it has improved. 9/11 showed that there was no communication between the FBI and the CIA. There was a kind of wall between them and that made it easier for terrorists to operate. We have made some improvements there, and a great deal of progress has been made on everything related to terrorists' financing. We know more about its roots, its modus operandi, connections...

Is the world safer now?

Yes, I think so. While making all possible provisos, we are generally better off now than we were before the attacks. There is more international collaboration, more awareness of the danger and more technical capacity. But it must also be said in Europe we have had the Madrid and London bombings, Beslan ... and they all had the same origin of Islamist terrorism. Not a day goes by without attacks in Afghanistan, Iraq, India ... in which thousands of people die. We should be relatively content, but also aware that there is still great deal to be done to reduce terrorism significantly everywhere, not just in the West. We cannot afford to let a single act of terrorism happen.

How would you assess your time as executive director of the CTC of the United Nations?

It was very interesting, but also very frustrating because the United Nations depends on the goodwill of many countries that do not always agree with each other... it is a world of national sovereignties. In the Committee we had to implement resolution 1373, which is kind of the *Magna Carta* in the fight against international terrorism. We worked for all the measures to be put into practice in all Member States. It took us three years and it is still in place today. For me it was a source of great personal and political satisfaction, but the work isn't all done. It is necessary to stress international cooperation and the need for each country to adopt the international laws.

Where would you say the biggest danger from terrorism is now?

Pakistan is certainly a black hole. And there are very dangerous identifiable branches in Yemen, Somalia, northern Mali, in the Sahara, in southern Algeria...

What does the future hold for Afghanistan? Will the withdrawal of U.S. forces help to stabilise the country?

Anything can happen. There has been relatively important progress in security and political stabilisation in Afghanistan, but even in 2014, when the last withdrawal takes place, I think some Western power should stay, to prevent the country becoming a nest of criminals as occurred after the Soviet withdrawal. And we might also need to rethink our military objectives, thinking in terms of more specific missions like the one with Bin Laden.

What does the death of Bin Laden mean? Is it a success for Obama?

It is a success for the United States, it is a national satisfaction from a symbolic point of view. But as regards the fight against terrorism, as we can see in the Middle East, the terrorists are still attacking because the seeds he planted have unfortunately spread too far.

Why it was necessary to kill him rather than arrest him?

It was an extreme situation. You have to put yourself in the position of the troops that were there and who had to make decisions on the ground. His demise is good news, full stop.

PLATFORM

The Mapuche situation and social protest in Chile today

Blaise Pantel

Citizens' Observatory, Chile

Civil Platform for the Freedom of Mapuche Political Prisoners, Barcelona



Two decades have passed since the end of the dictatorship and Chile's "democratic transition" in 1990, with four successive governments of the *Concertación* coalition of center-left political parties, and the current right-wing government of the businessman Sebastian Pinera. From an overall perspective, Chile has gained a positive image – there has been economic growth with a steady increase in GDP, a reduction of poverty and extreme poverty, institutional stability, and low levels of corruption. It has been thought of as the laboratory for North American capitalism, based on the doctrines of the "Chicago Boys" who were asked to create a neoliberal model governed by the law of the market. This involved privatised education, health and pension systems, minimum social and employment protection and privatisation of natural resources (rivers, lakes, the sea, minerals and subsoils), to give just a few examples.

Chile has become a major international producer of raw materials and industrial products such as copper from the mines in the north of the country, wood from the forests and plantations of pine and eucalyptus in the south, including the pulp industry, and salmon with the development of fish farming in rivers, lakes and the sea. The development of Chilean energy production has been focused on hydropower, using mountain lakes and rivers from the south of the country as far as Patagonia to generate electricity and explore new sources of energy, such as geothermal energy.

In fact, the image of a successful economic model and a triumphant democratic transition, culminating with the country's membership of the OECD in 2010, hides serious inequalities, exclusion, discrimination and violation of human rights, as well as large-scale social and environmental effects. The country's nine indigenous peoples, which in Chile account for at least 10% of the total population, and civil society in general, have over the years rejected the imposition of an economic model that is harmful to the environment, lucrative for a few, which prevents the effective participation of citizens in decision-making, and which aggravates the territorial plunder to which local communities are subjected, who are not guaranteed access to natural resources such as water.

As a result, over the last twenty years, the Mapuche, which is the most important indigenous group in the country because of its history and culture, and human rights and socio-environmental organisations in civil society have constantly protested and complained to defend territories threatened by mining industries due to their serious environmental, social and cultural impact. This market-based logic and privatisation of natural resources being imposed is one that threatens both the existing ecosystems and the inhabitants of the territories concerned, which in many cases, belong to indigenous peoples.

In this situation, the Mapuche people have played a key role in the defence of the threatened territories, claiming ancestral rights to natural resources that Chilean law grants as a concession to private individuals and to large industrial and energy companies from Chile and abroad. The case of the Ralco dam, in the Bio Bio region, is a prime example of how the multinational company Endesa received favourable treatment from the Chilean government and was allowed to build a hydroelectric dam that flooded Mapuche lands, with their cemeteries, leading to a pre-planned cultural massacre of these communities and irreversible damage to the basin. Despite the Indigenous Peoples Law enacted in 1993, which among other objectives aimed to protect indigenous lands, private economic interests prevailed over the rights of indigenous peoples. Over the last decade, the number of cases has increased sharply and Mapuche communities are on the frontlines against of these "new *conquistadores*."

In a classic case of a stick and carrot policy, with the implementation of superficial public welfare policies based on heavy doses of patronage, the other response of the Chilean state to the demands of the Mapuche people was to criminalise protest. For the last decade, special laws inherited from the dictatorship such as the Antiterrorism Law have been used as legal instruments to silence indigenous demands and stigmatise tens of Mapuche leaders as terrorists. This tactic has been denounced by many Chilean and international indigenous people's rights and human rights organisations. Furthermore, several United Nations agencies have expressed concern over the use of the Antiterrorism Law and its failure to meet international standards of human and indigenous rights. They have demanded that the Chilean government stops using these special laws within the Mapuche conflict and called on it to apply the international treaties ratified by the country, such as Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries.

As a result of this situation, the Mapuche leaders imprisoned and convicted under the Antiterrorism Law staged two hunger strikes in 2010 and in 2011, to denounce the ongoing criminalisation of their demands and the violent police repression to which their communities are subject, involving deaths that unfortunately all go unpunished.

It is in this context that various citizens' groups and support groups for the Mapuche people have demonstrated recently in Spain, and in Catalonia in particular, to raise the profile and condemn the situation of the Mapuche people and to question the construction of enormous hydroelectric plants in Chilean Patagonia within the controversial HydroAysén project. Since May 2011, there has been a broad-based plural and diverse movement of citizens, students and indigenous people, which is calling for major structural changes in the country: a new constitution to replace the Fundamental Charter inherited from the dictatorship; greater participation by citizens in decision-making; the release of Mapuche political prisoners; and free high quality education, among other demands. If these great opportunities are available in Chile today, let us ask ourselves about the political will to implement them in the future.

Uranium weapons: two decades of uncontrolled contamination

Doug Weir

Coordinator of the International Coalition to Ban Uranium Weapons



It is 20 years since the first major use of depleted uranium munitions in the 1991 Gulf War, which resulted in significant contamination in areas of Iraq and Kuwait. Two decades on, and in spite of a global outcry against their use, the controversial armour-piercing weapons, fired from armoured vehicles and aircraft, are still employed or stockpiled by around 20 states¹ A by-product of uranium enrichment for the nuclear industry, radioactive and chemically toxic depleted uranium has been shown to be a human carcinogen and its use is carefully managed and regulated in those same states that produce and use the weapons. The UK and US militaries both acknowledge that depleted uranium is hazardous, and since 1991 have warned their troops to ensure that exposures to contamination are avoided wherever possible. However, time and again this principle has not been extended to civilians forced to live in areas affected by the munitions.

The health impact of the weapons is still hotly debated, with the users denying any harm, against a background of reports from health professionals across Iraq and elsewhere of increases in cancers and birth abnormalities. Critics argue that no wide-scale epidemiological survey has shown a causal link to ill health, while fully aware of the considerable difficulties inherent in this kind of research in post-conflict environments. These difficulties include, but are not limited to: population movements, the collapse of health services and registration, security problems, lack of technical expertise and equipment, a lack of transparency concerning where the weapons have been used and competing health priorities.²

Uranium weapons are not currently banned by Arms Control Law. However, as their use clearly runs counter to several principles of International Humanitarian Law, there is a growing acceptance among states and policy makers that a solution is required to outlaw their use. This may require a shift in thinking away from the simple cause and effect impact of landmines and cluster munitions towards a new paradigm based on precaution.

Progress towards this goal is underway, as shown by the introduction of domestic bans in Belgium and, earlier this year, Costa Rica. The growing disquiet over uranium weapons was also reinforced by a third landslide resolution at the UN General Assembly last year, where 148 states backed calls for more transparency over where the weapons have been used.³

Full transparency is a crucial issue when seeking to minimise the hazards to civilians from the use of uranium weapons. While varying in their approach to the risks from depleted uranium, the World Health Organisation, International Atomic Energy Agency and United Nations Environment Programme all highlight the importance of hazard awareness and remediation work on contaminated sites. The failure by users to make targeting data swiftly available makes a mockery of these recommendations. For example, transparency is urgently needed in Afghanistan where US denials over the use of uranium weapons have been challenged by Afghan President Hamid Karzai, who recently alluded to radioactive contamination from US operations in the country.

The use of US A10 aircraft in the intervention in Libya has also thrown the issue of transparency to the fore. While speculation was rife that bombs and cruise missiles used in the conflict were contaminating the country, detailed analysis of these weapons has found no evidence to support these assertions.⁴ Indeed, so much attention was focused on these weapons that many missed the real story: the potential use of uranium rounds by the US A10 and Harrier aircraft employed in the early stages of the conflict. As with Afghanistan, the US denied that the A10s were using uranium rounds, instead being armed only with high explosive rounds.⁵ If this is true, it could indicate that the US has finally acknowledged that the use of uranium weapons in what it claims are *humanitarian interventions* is counterproductive. It is notable that the Gaddafi regime swiftly sought to generate propaganda from the allegations.

The veracity of the US's recent claims is still in question but the growing international opposition to uranium weapons is not. The uncontrolled release of radioactive materials in warfare places a heavy financial and political burden on states recovering from conflict, presents a health threat to civilians, spreads fear and runs counter to the most basic radiation and environmental protection norms. This unacceptable practice must, and will, be stopped.

For more information visit www.bandedpleteduranium.org or watch our introductory animation *When the Dust Settles* at www.youtube.com/user/ICBUW. Keep updated at: www.twitter.com/ICBUW.

1. DU users and stockpilers: <http://www.bandedpleteduranium.org/en/i/21.html>
2. A Question of Responsibility: <http://www.bandedpleteduranium.org/en/docs/134.pdf>
3. 148 states call for transparency over depleted uranium use in UN vote: <http://www.bandedpleteduranium.org/en/a/364.html>
4. Claims that DU is used in missiles still appear to lack foundation: <http://www.bandedpleteduranium.org/en/a/404.html>
5. US denies depleted uranium use in Libya, but refuses to rule out future use: <http://www.bandedpleteduranium.org/en/a/402.html>

Responding to the impact of explosive weapons

Richard Moyes

Coordinator International Network on Explosive Weapons (INEW)



The use of explosive weapons in populated areas tends to cause high levels of harm to individuals and their communities. Whether it is the shelling of market places in Mogadishu, air strikes in villages in Afghanistan, car bombs in Iraq or children killed by mortars in Gaza, the combination of explosive force and dense populations produces a predictable pattern of suffering. Such incidents have often been considered a normal, if unfortunate, part of conflict or political violence. A new NGO partnership, the International Network on Explosive Weapons (INEW) – founded by Action on Armed Violence, Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, IKV Pax Christi, Medact, Norwegian People's Aid, Oxfam and Save the Children UK - believes that this pattern can be challenged and deaths and injuries prevented.

Explosive weapons use blast and fragmentation to kill and injure people in the area where they detonate, as well as to damage objects, buildings and infrastructure. They encompass a broad spectrum of weapons, from small hand grenades to large air-dropped bombs and multiple launch rocket systems. Despite this diversity in functioning and size, these weapons share the technical characteristics of blast and fragmentation around the point of detonation.

These weapons are also treated as a broad category in the common practice of states: they are generally excluded from use in domestic policing. Although the police may have recourse to lethal force in the form of firearms, and other force options such as chemical sprays, explosive weapons are rarely considered acceptable as tools of policing because of the risk they present to people who are not the targets. So for states, the transition to the use of explosive weapons indicates a shift from 'policing' to a more aggressive orientation, where bystanders will be exposed to potentially deadly risk.

Media monitoring by the UK-based NGO Action on Armed Violence, has identified the use of explosive weapons in populated areas in 59 countries and territories between October 2010 and May 2011. Of the 13,406 people killed and injured in those incidents, 87% were civilians. Save the Children has highlighted the particular impact of this pattern of violence on children.

Beyond these direct deaths and injuries, destruction of infrastructure vital to the civilian population, including water and sanitation, housing, schools and hospitals, results in a pattern of wider, long term suffering. Victims and survivors of explosive weapons can then face long-term challenges of disability, psychological harm, and social and economic exclusion.

The incidents that produce this pattern of harm include attacks by both state and non-state actors, some are part of established 'armed conflicts,' others are not. The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has expressed increasing concern at this pattern of suffering, and in his 2010 report on the protection of civilians in armed conflict he urged increased cooperation by states to make available data on harm and on their own policies in this area.¹

In response to this pattern of harm there are three tracks of response that can be worked through:

A first track can raise questions about the acceptability of certain explosive weapons when used in populated areas. Weapons that are particularly inaccurate or have substantial area-effects, if used in areas where civilians are known to be concentrated, are very hard to reconcile with the moral obligation to keep civilian harm to a minimum. For example, Amnesty International have said in response to the use of "Grad" rockets in Misratah that, "these rockets are indiscriminate weapons which cannot be directed at a particular target and their use may amount to war crimes".² Previously, Human Rights Watch has highlighted the indiscriminate effects of heavy artillery in populated areas.¹ The broad pattern of concern identified by INEW member organisations provides a platform for asking questions about the acceptability of such systems and calling on users of explosive weapons to justify continued use far more rigorously than they have to date.

A second track should recognise that use of explosive weapons by a state amongst its own population is an indicator of a form of crisis unfolding. Such incidents illustrate an orientation by the state to its citizens that accepts their exposure to high levels of risk, and that is at odds with normal standards of protection enshrined in national legislation and human rights law. The use of explosive weapons should be explicitly adopted into the array of indicators used for purposes of early warning, conflict prevention and prevention of grave violations, because it suggests a trajectory of violence escalating and protection being weakened.

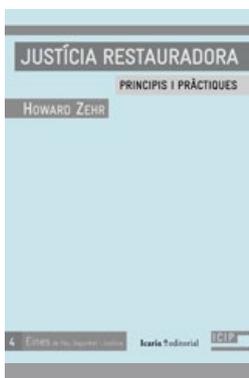
Finally, concern at the impact of explosive weapon use in populated areas can provide another lens through which to view certain patterns of violence that are otherwise seen in political terms, often under the label of terrorism. This categorisation based on 'motivation' is open to political manipulation – with different groups using the label to suit

their own ends. The problem of explosive weapons in populated areas does not come loaded with that same political baggage. Yet it allows us to see an international pattern of harm from such violence that should be recognised as a significant humanitarian concern.

In 2011-2012, INEW will be building up a wider civil society partnership to work on these themes, and is calling on states and other actors to take action to address this pattern of harm.³

1. *Report of the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict*, 11 November 2010, S/2010/578, paras 48-51.
2. Amnesty International, *Libya: Renewed Rocket Attacks Target Civilians in Misratah* at <http://www.amnesty.org/es/news-and-updates/libia-nueva-lluvia-cohetes-contra-civiles-misrata-2011-06-23>, 24 June 2011; see also Amnesty International Public Statement, 23 June 2011 (IOR 63/002/2011), African Union must prioritize the protection of civilians in conflict situations, "Pro-al-Gaddafi forces used inherently indiscriminate weapons including those banned internationally such as anti-personnel mines and cluster bombs, and artillery, mortars and rockets in residential areas".
3. Further background information can be found on the website of the United Nations Disarmament Research Institute project on explosive weapons: www.explosiveweapons.info.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Restorative Justice

Howard Zehr. *Justicia restauradora. Principis i pràctiques*. Barcelona: ICIP-Icaria, 2011

What does justice mean when a crime has been committed? The criminal justice that prevails in Western societies has shown that a crime is a violation of the law and that justice requires that guilt is established and a punishment imposed; in short, that miscreants ultimately get what they deserve.

Restorative justice considers crime as a violation of the law and of human relations, and focuses on the needs and obligations arising from misdeeds. The questions it asks are: Who has been harmed? What are their needs? Whose are the obligations? Providing restorative justice involves us considering the harm done to the victims and their needs, offenders being called to account to repair the damage they have done, and victims, offenders and members of the community being involved in the process.

As its title suggests, this book provides an overview of restorative justice. The author, one of the founders of restorative justice and one of the authors who has contributed most to developing the concept, outlines some of the theory and practice involved, while clarifying its principles and philosophy.

E.G.



Costs of War

<http://costsofwar.org/>

There is no doubt that after 9/11 an enormous amount of resources has been allocated to the fight against terrorism. But how much has it cost exactly? And what are the human and political costs of the counterterrorism measures taken? Additionally, what are the benefits of the post-9/11 wars and what are alternative (less costly and more effective) ways to prevent further terror attacks?

Answers to these questions are provided by an interdisciplinary research group coordinated by Brown University's Watson Institute –made up of more than 20 academics with backgrounds in Economics, Anthropology, Political Science, and Law.

Their website is definitely worth a look, as they have certainly come up with some interesting results. For example, the Costs of War project puts the wars' ultimate cost to the US at up to \$4 trillion, pointing out that "many of the wars' costs are invisible to

Americans, buried in a variety of budgets, and so have not been counted or assessed."

Particularly appealing is their distinction between economic, human, and political costs, and the fact that they don't just list numbers of civilian deaths, refugees and internally displaced people, but also analyse more complicated issues such as environmental costs, the wars' implications for women, and erosions in civil liberties and human rights violations. Additionally, apart from statistics, figures and charts you will also find interesting videos and information about the research methodology used.

L.v.T. & J.A.



United Explanations: the easy way to understand international affairs

www.unitedexplanations.org

United Explanations is a website, created in November 2010, which aims to analyze and explain international affairs in a clear, simple and easy way to understand. Wanting to bring the international reality closer to ordinary people, the website looks for connection points between the public and international events, showing that, as opposed to what many people think, international policies can have real consequences in our daily lives. The idea behind the initiative is that people's lack of interest in international affairs is often related to its complexity and that this difficulty of understanding leads to indifference and passivity. They therefore see helping people understand international affairs as the first step to raise awareness, and then to action.

Being a social entrepreneurship initiative, United Explanations is a website free of charge and accessible to all, written in several languages (including English, Spanish, Catalan, French, and Portuguese). It is a non-profit project and as such contributions are written on a voluntary basis (referred to as "donations"). The initiative relies on a team of 15 editors and around 90 voluntary contributors (referred to as "donors"), with a background in peace and security, politics, environment, culture, economics, gender, development, human rights, international law, and people and society.

L.v.T.



3D interactive timeline on Arab revolutions

Garry Blight; Sheila Pulham. *Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests*. Guardian.co.uk
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>

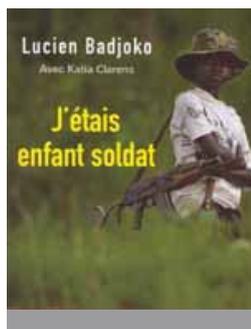
The recent downfall of Muammar Gaddafi is only one of the many interesting events of the Arab revolutions that we have seen in the past couple of months. For those that might be losing track of the order of events, British newspaper The Guardian provides a very useful interactive timeline in which they have catalogued nearly ever major incident since the uprisings began in Tunisia, when Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest after police confiscated his fruit and vegetables street stall.

police confiscated his fruit and vegetables street stall.

Allowing you to trace key events by scrolling vertically through the 3D timeline, icons with different colours points out protests and government reactions against protest to protests (green), political moves (orange), regime change (red), and international and external responses (blue) in 17 different countries. Additionally, by rolling over the icons you find more information about the events as well as links to relevant news paper articles.

Apart from being very informative, the timeline is visually highly attractive with interesting interface and interaction elements and, although the timeline was already launched in March this year, it is regularly being updated, making it a very useful tool to better understand the continuous events of the Arab uprisings.

L.v.T.



I was a child soldier

Badjoko, L., & Clarens, K. (2005). *J'étais enfant soldat*. Paris: Éditions Plon.

He likes the sounds of war. He thinks he is playing, until he realises it's not a game. It's too late. He was a child from a wealthy background, until one day his life changed. He wants to be a hero, to fight for his homeland, to have a uniform, the feeling of power, until one day ...

He thinks about action films, and suddenly finds himself enlisting ... And then comes the first night, the first beatings, the fear, the blood, the anxiety, the death of the first children ... He won't forget it.

But after a few days, he has become one of them, a soldier, a child soldier, a *kadogo*. His goal is to survive. He suffers from nightmares. And hate.

And he starts to like the life. Alcohol, singing, dancing. The beatings continue, but he is no longer scared. Physical exercise, moral lectures, God, rage against the enemies, battle techniques ... He learns to obey orders, to ask no questions. He imagines a future paradise like the one that inspires Islamic suicide bombers.

Children who lose their friends because they tread on a mine. Friends who become enemies in the next war. They may be acquaintances in the future. Friends without arms asking the enemy for mercy.

One day he becomes a commander and they don't hit him any more - now he is the one doing the hitting. And killing and torturing becomes easier all the time. Revenge. Hutus, Tutsis. Revenge. And the nightmares return. Systematic and distressing. The fear returns.

Military discipline. Disease. Scars. Children with no feeling in their eyes. Children who never complain. And more friends blown up by mines. Contradictions.

The war makes him change sides and he goes through all its phases. He is also taken prisoner and tortured and is lucky to stay alive. But he no longer wants to live. Will he kill himself?

This book constantly highlights his ambiguous dual personality: a boy and a soldier. A relentless soldier. A boy who falls in love. It is a duality that is difficult to conceive, told with a passion and narrative quality that is hard to label. It is a life from a film that is intertwined with the recent history of the Congo, including civil wars and coups d'état. All this is told in a first person account. In almost childish language. It makes your hair stand on end.

J.A.

NEWS

ICIP NEWS

ICIP commemorates the International Day of Peace

ICIP is commemorating the International Day of Peace once again this year on 21 September, at an institutional event attended by the President of the Institute, Rafael Grasa, who will read a statement of the commitments made by the Institute for the new year, the Vice President of the government of Catalonia, Joana Ortega, and the president of the Parliament of Catalonia, Núria de Gispert.

The event will take place at ICIP's Gran Via office and the catalogue of the ESCOLTA public art project will be presented this year. The project, produced by the Institute, has been carried out in 2011. The catalogue contains the photographs that the artists Josep Asunción and Gemma Guasch (A+G) have taken of hundreds of participants in a process involving listening to their heart, and which also includes letters exchanged between partners as part of the *Correspondence* initiative. Moreover, the video *Esborrar-se de mots* [Cross out words] by the artists A+G will also be screened during the event.

New: the ICIP Peace in Progress Award

In order to provide recognition for the work done by leading individuals and organisations in the field to promote and build peace, ICIP's Board of Governors has approved the creation of the ICIP Peace in Progress Award, which is awarded annually by means of a call for nominations, the conditions of which will be published shortly on the website www.icip.cat.

In addition, the ICIP Board has also decided that an award, on an extraordinary basis, will be granted to the Parliament of Catalonia for representing and symbolising the continuity and legacy of two institutions created by the people of Catalonia in order to make the ideal of peace a reality: the Peace and Truce of God, and the Consulate of the Sea. The presentation of this extraordinary ICIP award will take place in the Parliament of Catalonia on 24 October, on the same day as the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the speech by Pau Casals to the United Nations.

Seminar on businesses in situations of conflict

ICIP will be holding a seminar on "Companies in Conflict Situations" in Barcelona on 20 and 21 October to discuss the causes, dynamics and consequences of the participation of businesses in armed conflict. The discussions will analyse the role and responsibilities of businesses in relation to the international arms trade (particularly with regard to the trade in small arms and conventional weapons), the provision of military and security services, and the exploitation of and trade in natural resources.

The seminar, which will be closed to the public, is being organised by Professor Antonio Pigrau, Professor of International Law at Rovira i Virgili University, Professor Bruce Broomhall, a member of the Department of Law at the University of Quebec, and Maria Prandi, researcher at the School for a Culture of Peace of the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

ICIP starts monitoring the work of the United Nations

The ICIP website now has a section monitoring the work done by the various bodies of the United Nations in the fields of security and conflict resolution. It contains the most important documents concerning the work done in 2010 by the United Nations Security Council, the UN Human Rights Council, the Peacebuilding Commission and the Committee on Disarmament and Security of the United Nations General Assembly. There is also a section on the Universal Periodic Review, a Human Rights Council support mechanism, which was created in 2006 in order to periodically review the implementation of human rights in the 193 UN member states.

All information is available in Catalan and Spanish, and has been grouped in order to facilitate research work by those interested in learning about the UN's work in the security field. The space will be updated annually and can be viewed at the 'Library / Thematic dossiers' section of the website www.icip.cat.

All ICIP materials in one catalogue

The 'Materials Catalogue', a document featuring all the materials produced by ICIP since its inception, is now available on the Institute's website. It contains, amongst others, information about publications, exhibitions and audiovisual material.

In the Publications section you will find books published in the various ICIP collections, the *Working Papers*, the *Policy Papers*, and reports and documents. The Exhibitions section contains information about the photographic exhibits *Paraules descalces* [Barefoot words], *Dones fent Pau* [Women making Peace], *Srebrenica, memòria d'un genocidi* [Srebrenica, memory of a genocide] and *Iraqians* [Iraqis]. Finally, the Audiovisuals section includes information on the documentary *Om Mohammed* and *Srebrenica, 15 anys després* [Srebrenica 15 years on], *Vida diària a Kabul* [Everyday life in Kabul], the series of clips *Iraq: Resistències* [Iraq: Resistance] and the episodes of the Canal 33 programme *Latituds* [Latitudes] produced by ICIP.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The International Arms Trade Treaty takes shape

The Arms Trade Treaty negotiations took a big step forward this summer after the Third Preparatory Committee met in New York last July. The meetings were attended by diplomats from all over the world and 140 civil society organisations, including ICIP, and the conference closed having made significant progress thanks to the support of many countries, including the five members of UN Security Council (the United States, United Kingdom, France, China and Russia), which account for 88% of the global arms trade. In addition, a group of international banks and investors with assets of over 1.2 billion dollars also declared that it was in favour of the Treaty, which it believes will end irresponsible arms transfers.

The Treaty, which will regulate imports, exports and transfers of weapons worldwide, is expected to be signed at the United Nations headquarters in the summer of next year. There are still many issues to discuss, such as the possibility that the Treaty could also regulate the munitions trade and the number of ratifications required for the text to take effect. Talks will continue over the coming months.

More information at the ICIP website.

A new competition for the Luis Valtueña Humanitarian Photography Prize

Once again this year, the *Médicos del Mundo* Association is awarding the Luis Valtueña Humanitarian Photography Prize, which pays tribute to the aid workers Luis Valtueña, Flors Sirera, Manuel Madrazo and Mercedes Navarro, who were murdered in Bosnia and Rwanda while undertaking humanitarian work in 1995 and 1997.

The prize is being awarded for the fifteenth time this year, and the deadline for entries is 15 October. The first prize is worth 8,000 euros, which will be invested in a working grant for the winner to undertake a photographic project based on subjects related to the work of *Médicos del Mundo*.

The winner last year was a series on child prisoners in prisons in Sierra Leone, by the Basque photographer Fernando Molerés.

For further information see <http://www.premioluisvaltueña.org/es>

A new Libya without Gaddafi

After six months of war, Libyan rebels have taken power in Tripoli, the capital, and forced Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi to flee. Forty-two years after his seizure of power, the dictator's whereabouts are unknown, and an uncertain future for Libya, involving democratic transition and reconstruction, is therefore beginning. At an international conference in Paris, the international community has announced its intention to free the funds Libyan stored in banks and properties worldwide in order for them to be passed on to the National Transitional Council (NTC), the rebels' political body. However, the reconstruction of Libya will first require an end to the war, which is still continuing. NATO is planning to continue its bombing missions while Gaddafi continues to pose a threat to civilians.

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