

Project supported by:



NATO Public Diplomacy Division



Royal Norwegian Embassy to Macedonia

Regional Post – ISAF engagement

Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia

Lessons learned and
a legacy for A-5
countries future
expeditionary
missions

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Introduction

At the 2010 Lisbon Summit NATO made decision to end its most significant operational commitment ever-the International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) mission. During the 2012 NATO's Chicago Summit held in May Heads of states and Governments of states contributing to ISAF mission, once again confirmed that the mission will end by 2014. The end of ISAF however does not mean end of NATO engagement in Afghanistan.

According to the NATO official records ISAF currently comprises approximately 102,000 troops from 50 different countries deployed throughout Afghanistan. The essence of its mission is

- to expand the authority of the Afghan central government;
- to create an environment conducive to the functioning of democratic institutions and the establishment of the rule of law and with that
- to prevent Afghanistan from once again becoming a safe haven for terrorists.

Political decision expressed in the non binding general framework (Chicago Summit Declaration signed by over 50 Heads of state and Governments) dictates that the closing of ISAF mission should be accomplished with the gradual transition of security responsibility from ISAF troops to the Afghan army and police forces. In practice Beyond 2014 NATO should fulfill its commitment to support Afghan Government with training, advising, assisting and contributing funds to sustain the Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF).

In addition NATO leaders are fully aware that political and economic transition in Afghanistan in 2014 is as important as security transition. According to the Chicago Declaration wider International Community's support will include building upon existing mechanisms against corruption. These mechanisms will also distinguish between funding for the army and the police as well as for further capacity development within the relevant Afghan ministries and security institutions. Even though not explored widely it is clear that NATO commitment considers political and economic along with security transition.

The ten year commitment granted under the timeline for continued engagement in Afghanistan sent significant message for people in Afghanistan, the armed opposition and the region that International Community will not abandon it. The focus during this transition will be on Afghan government growth. To achieve this nevertheless NATO partner nations and wider International Community is fully aware that Afghanistan needs strong civil society.

The US commitment to the future transition will shape the NATO and partner nations civilian commitment too. This logic steams from the US contribution to the overall NATO budget and current dynamics inside financial sector among NATO members and partners. From the current dynamics it is clear that if the US engagement downplays it will lead to the parallel actions of NATO members and partner nations.

Progress in post ISAF Afghanistan is possible only if NATO members, partner nations and wider International community provide proper resources. So far however, there are no clear designated sources of the required funds, founding profiles, projects about civil involvement or even the model of military command engagement. In this context Tokyo conference on Afghanistan clearly supports Chicago summit by emphasizing the importance of development. Furthermore it is more than clear that if NATO wants to see success in Afghanistan its Post ISAF engagement must closely coordinate civilian efforts.

Afghanistan needs development of different civil sectors. Although there is significant improvement in sectors such as education, transportation infrastructure and public health Afghanistan's civil and public sector have long way to go. Enabling civil authority is one of the lines of operations that NATO should continue to support through different mechanisms. Nevertheless, post ISAF Afghanistan will not turn in to successful story if its populace lacks social skills.

Afghanistan needs strong civil society to survive in the future and avoid post Soviet scenario. Ranging among the poorest countries in the world Afghanistan will not be self – sustainable and self – sufficient in transformation decade that comes after the 2014. Therefore investing in development of social skills among Afghan populace must be considered as one of the crucial line that rests under future NATO commitment in Afghanistan.

One of the keys to success of the NATO post ISAF engagement is political stability and reconciliation. This will not be possible without inhibiting the power of destructive opposition forces that tend to sink Afghanistan in stagnant era cheered by Taliban and their supporters in Afghanistan. Even though wider or total reconciliation is out of the table there is still hope when it comes to a lower level insurgent foot soldier and some commanders. However if there is no alternative to offer (i.e. social skills and thus civilian profession) it is very likely that reconciliation efforts will fail even at this levels.

Thus among other efforts in post ISAF NATO and partner nations engagement contribution with civilian sector is more than welcome. Given the recent military contribution to the ISAF operations that so far the countries from the Adriatic charter have given it could be argued that necessary requirements for post ISAF engagement could be also expected.

The Adriatic Charter partnership, also known as the US-A5 countries and Serbia (A5 countries include: Macedonia, Albania, Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia is an observer country) has been so far used as a crucial mechanism for promoting and enabling Euro-Atlantic integration. Based on the A5 countries aspiration to NATO this association has so far launched several projects. All of the A5 countries have given significant contribution to the ISAF efforts and some (like Macedonia for example) have even pledged their commitment for NATO post – ISAF engagement. Along with their engagement and commitment to NATO, A5 countries have also built credible legacy by contributing to Afghanistan security, closely cooperating not just with its NATO allies and among themselves, but also with Afghan populace and its security forces.

Considering that Adriatic charter initiative so far is prove as any effective tool, the question is how can this association contribute further to its and NATO's benefit. The A5 contribution in NATO post ISAF engagement holds potentials for win-win scenario for several reasons:

- First of all, it will serve to the core of the association (i.e. will reinforced NATO integration by further A5 countries commitment to NATO post ISAF efforts)
- Second, it will foster regional cooperation by future cooperation in potential post ISAF engagement and
- Third, it could stimulate greater social stability by deploying civilian component as a post ISAF contributor in Afghanistan. In accordance with this logic this could also develop business bonds with future civilian sector (public or private) in Afghanistan.

Many experts have recognized future challenges in post ISAF engagement. Given that even NATO has not yet come with the real plan of how to ensure and overcome some of the above mentioned challenges (in the post ISAF development) credible initiatives and studies toward this direction are more than welcome. A5 countries have proved to be successful with military contribution and some have even confirmed their post-ISAF military participation. This is very important because military presence will be necessary in transition and enabling ANSF in the post-ISAF deployment. Nonetheless the question that needs to be asked is whether and how A5 countries could participate with civilian sector in the post ISAF engagement.

These initiatives are also benefit for NATO due to the fact that from just followers such as A5 countries in ISAF, NATO could potentially receive proactive proposals and leaders. Although we are fully aware about the capacities that A5 countries have the US partnership and joined efforts sound promising for future civilian post-ISAF engagement. Furthermore lessons learned from the current ISAF involvement dictate that with smart and intelligent proposals A5 countries could built credible legacy for post ISAF engagement.

To fully understand these capacities Euro-Atlantic council of Macedonia supported by its partners from A5 countries and Serbia has launched an in-depth research project. This project supported by NATO Public diplomacy division and the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Macedonia set up a goal to investigate whether public, business and civilian sector of the A5 countries have general knowledge and know – how capacities for future post ISAF engagement.

In order to provide sustainable work of the project EACM established a research team to work towards the project goals and objectives.

Within the project timeline, the research team undertook in-depth review and analysis of the currently established and undergoing policies within NATO and the A5 countries. The project team has conducted the research through visiting the A5 countries including Serbia and has employed the method of interview in its field work to build on the experience and relevant knowledge on the subject matter, experts and real time practitioners within (representatives from MoDs, ATA representatives and representatives from the NATO teams).

Also, interviews were conducted with defense and military personnel from the A5 countries with experience in expeditionary operations, especially ISAF experience, meetings with experts from the field of research and meetings with the civil society organization which work in this field.

Moreover, the research has taken into consideration the Lisbon and Chicago Summit conclusions towards Afghanistan.

We are grateful to those who have partnered with us on this project, opened their doors for cooperation and contributed to our work: Ministry of Defense and the President of the Republic of Macedonia; US Embassy's in Skopje and Podgorica, and our partners, the Atlantic Councils from Albania, Montenegro and Serbia.

Our sincere gratitude goes to NATO Public Diplomacy Division and the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Macedonia for extending their support to this project. Their support to the mission of the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia in the past several years has been of immense importance to our projects and to our mission of launching security debates and implementing the Euro-Atlantic ideas and values in our society.

Thank you!

Research findings

Albania

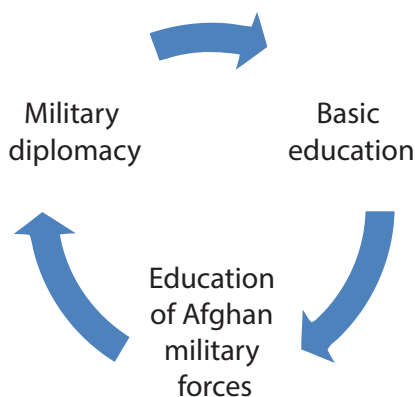


Republic of Albania is recognized as troop contributing nation since 24 July 2003. The total contribution of Albanian Armed Forces from 2003 over the years in ISAF operation in Afghanistan is 2900 military personnel. Albania's first contribution in Afghanistan was in August 2002 and included 23 people from the commando regiment was in August 2002. The current contribution with troops is 211. Republic of Albania is also present in the Regional command Capital and RC West in Afghanistan.

Engagement and Security

According to the data collected from the questionnaires from the Republic of Albania, results showed conclusion that NATO is considered as major factor in the extended post conflict rehabilitation in Afghanistan.

The results related to the NATO representation after 2014 showed that the engagement should be focused on the education of the Afghan military forces. The education should not only involve training, but also to start from the basic education of the military aspect. And the last pillar of involvement should be focused on the establishment of military diplomacy.



The general opinion is that the military presence should be decreased, but should be compulsory by NATO.

Republic of Albania should take part in Post – ISAF engagement with military presence, medical personnel, CSO's, exchanging experiences, institutional support, police training and also scholarships for prospective Afghanistan students in Albania.

Most of the experiences from the region about post conflict rehabilitation process that can be used in post – ISAF engagement are building the judicial institutions as a basic factor for development of the economy and civilian society; by respecting local values and introducing the internationally accepted human values and rights.

Companies Capabilities

The results from the research are showing that most of the companies in Albania are capable to take part in a postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan. It will enlarge their competency and will open the door to the Albanian companies to be included as contractor and subcontractor. Also this can help the capabilities to “export” the knowledge and experience that can allow them to have human resources in their applications.

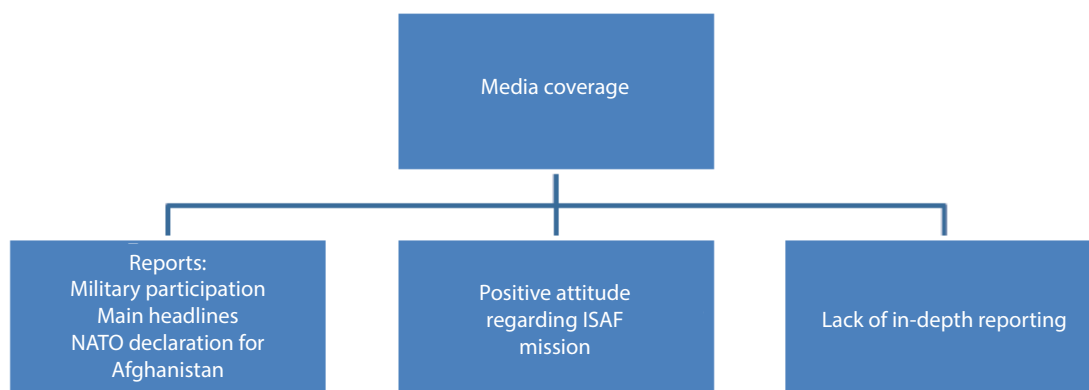
Private sector can act in joint venture through reconstruction, transportation, medical support, media and education. Companies from Albania can offer a lot of opportunities such as offering knowledge and communication with the locals especially in reconstruction, education, medical support.

The disadvantage that Albanian companies have is the lack of information and experience on application's procedure. However, the private sector is familiar with the NATO requirements for investments.

Media coverage

The ISAF mission is very well covered from the Albanian media, especially with participation of troops and contingents. However the media should be focused on the hard task and the performance achieved by the Albanian Armed Forces in this mission.

The opinion about the media views towards ISAF in Afghanistan in general is positive. The lack of in-depth reports regarding the ISAF mission goals and perspectives is noticed.



Regarding the NATO Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, directions were not reported in details just the main headlines and regarding the NATO Summit. Also the Albanian representative's comments and statements have been covered by the Albanian media.

Civil society, youth

The civil society sector in Albania can help the companies to take part in the post war reconstruction through organizing activities such as conferences, seminars, discussions among the youth and governmental bodies and study visits to Afghanistan. All of these activities will raise the awareness of the public opinion for the capacities and contribution of the Albanian Armed Forces in ISAF mission. There is not any CSO in Albania that does not support the Albanian engagement in Afghanistan and ISAF mission in general.

Academic community

There are public and private educational institutions dealing with ISAF issues. Most of them are Armed Forces Academy, Defense Academy; Albanian Diplomatic Academy; State Police Academy, Tirana University, European University of Tirana, etc.

The military operations and human rights are the most interesting for the academic research in Albania, while the country engagement is the most important. The involvement of NATO and the international community has a key role in meeting the security objectives and the development of the country.

However there are no recommendations of academic researchers yet, towards post ISAF engagement of NATO. On the other hand it should be considered that some issues might be related to the sustainability of capacities built up during the transition period with the support of international security. Referring to the diversity of opinions for and against, there are no academic institutions and professors in Albania, who are publicly strongly against the engagement of Albania in ISAF mission.

Bosnia and Herzegovina



Different sectors, different capabilities. This can be pointed out as a first image of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding its future engagement in Afghanistan. But another thing which should be pointed out is the country's opportunity to implement its experience in complex and security critical environment. Even though various problems exist, Bosnia and Herzegovina has the capacity for comprehensive approach towards a more secure future in Afghanistan after 2014.

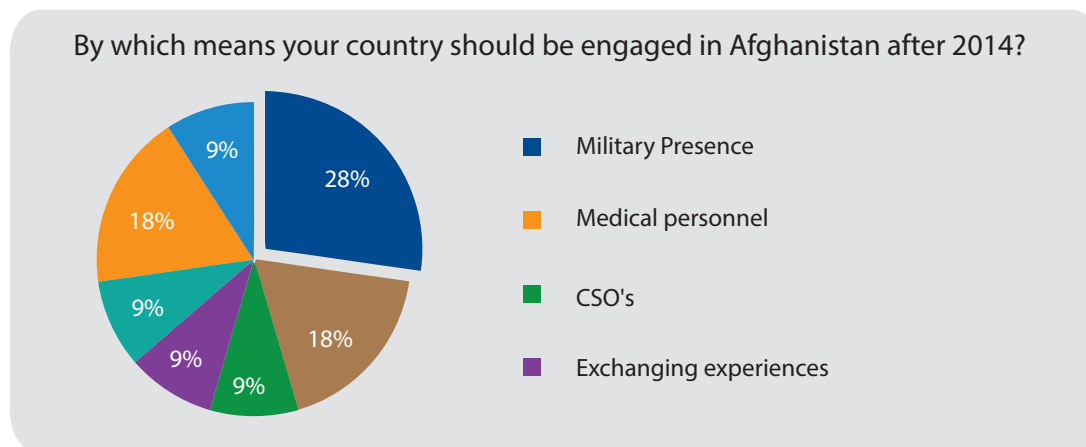
Engagement and Security

First we have to make clear that on official level there is no particular strategy regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina's engagement of any kind in Afghanistan after 2014. Furthermore, discussions on future plans related to Afghanistan are still classified.

Authorities as well as the majority of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina support the country's presence in Afghanistan. Its presence in Afghanistan is seen as beneficial to the homeland security and the process of euro-atlantic integrations as well as the image and status in international community. Working together with member countries of NATO is great opportunity for the Armed Forces of B&H to become fully interoperable with the armies of NATO member countries.

Therefore, authorities and the majority of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are consent about the need to increase B&H presence in International Security Assistance Force mission.

Having in mind what happened to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, this country can offer Afghanistan its own experience in rehabilitation in different security related sectors as well as important practical recommendations about the process of cohabitation of different ethnicities in one single security entity.



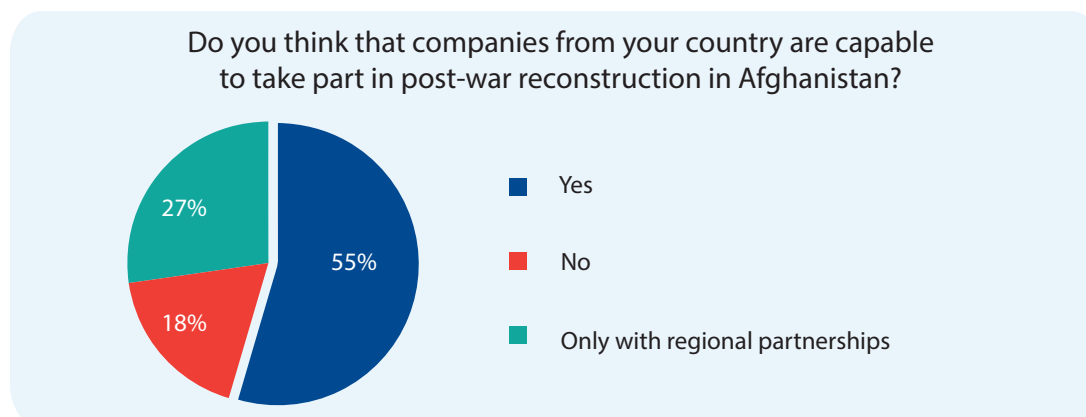
According to the research provided in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the military presence is seen as the most adequate form of engagement in Afghanistan after 2014. Bosnia and Herzegovina as Troop Contributing Nation is present in Afghanistan from 2009¹. This result shows that people and institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina are satisfied with the level of engagement regarding the military presence.

The military presence in Afghanistan is seen as an opportunity for B&H AF to become interoperable with NATO forces but also to actively operate in security sensitive environment?

Non military forms of engagement are additional way of how Bosnia and Herzegovina can contribute to the security in Afghanistan after 2014. According to these results, there is no doubt about the importance of taking a comprehensive approach towards participation in Afghanistan. Future involvement in ISAF mission will not be complete if there is no comprehensive approach which will include every affected institution. Complete involvement in the ISAF mission will unify diverse institutions and that will result with integration and better functioning at home.

Companies Capabilities

Companies can be involved in reconstruction of Afghanistan after 2014. Bosnia and Herzegovina has long tradition in construction works from the time of Yugoslavia when companies participated in advanced construction projects in many different countries in Africa and Asia.



¹"Troop Numbers & Contributions", <http://www.isaf.nato.int/troop-numbers-and-contributions/bosnia-and-herzegovina/index.php>

² Hadzovic, The Costs and Benefits of Bosnia and Herzegovina joining NATO (Sarajevo: CSS), 2009.

<http://css.ba/images/docs/troskovi%20i%20beneficije%20pridruzivanja%20nato%20eng.doc%201.pdf>

The only possible way to participate in the Afghanistan reconstruction for Bosnian companies is to cooperate with similar companies from the region. We should note that big construction companies from the region have experience of cooperation, so that is not something unthinkable. Companies from the region can use this example of cooperation and use it in order to be able to compete with the big companies from developed NATO member states.

The big disadvantage of the companies in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the limited technology they can offer which is a serious problem standing on the way for the Bosnian companies to compete with the companies from the developed states.

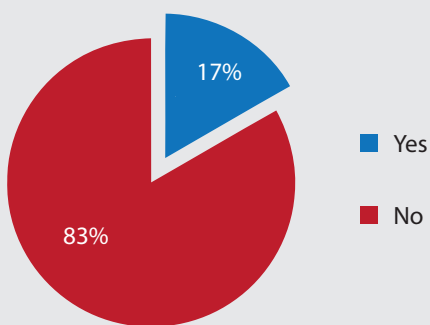
The most suitable way for Bosnia and Herzegovina to achieve this goal is to put an emphasis on education development. Educational system should take into consideration contemporary economical and political processes. This adaption should be trilateral. Thus, Bosnia and Herzegovina will have one modern system of collaboration between these three systems which will lead to improved position to compete with companies from abroad.

Furthermore, the government should provide support, establish legal basis and analyze the capabilities of Bosnian companies and encourage them to cooperate with the companies from the region in order to be more competitive in Afghanistan tenders after 2014.

Media coverage

There is one obvious thing that no one in Bosnia and Herzegovina denies. That is the lack of media information about what happens in Afghanistan.

Are you pleased with the level of media coverage, in your country, about the ISAF mission in Afghanistan?



The media mainly reports on arriving and departures of the Bosnian contingents but other articles related to Afghanistan are poor and limited. In most of the cases news articles are copied from international agencies. There is no media or journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have ambitions on further and advanced reporting on ISAF.

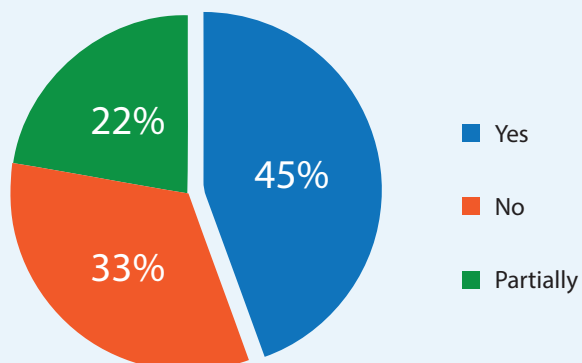
The media approach towards ISAF is balanced, but there are some ideological differences between the media in Republic of Srpska political entity and the media in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Regarding the post ISAF engagement, no discussion on future Bosnia and Herzegovina inclusion in Afghanistan have occurred in any media in the country. The media are often dependent on reports given by the Ministry of defence because they do not have even one reporter or journalist in Afghanistan who can independently report of Afghanistan and the status of B&H AF contingent.

Civil society, youth

The lack of cooperation between CSO and government is one of the key problems regarding further civil society role in the eventual POST ISAF involvement. Government has no practice to consult CSOs for "big" questions and this prevents further involvement of the civil society. The level of cooperation between the Government and the CSOs is limited on conferences and booklets that have low influence on their targets.

Do you think that civil society sector in your country can help companies to take part of post war reconstruction?



Nongovernmental organizations can offer complex consulting services to the companies interested to participate in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, but no such cooperation was registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to enhance their cooperation, the nongovernmental organizations and the Government should seriously reshape their mutual relationship.

When it comes to the cooperation between the civil society and the security sector, it is important to note the activity of Centre for Security Studies and Atlantic Initiative for their efforts to establish the abovementioned relationship.

On behalf of the young people, there is limited interest about ISAF and future Bosnia and Herzegovina involvement in Afghanistan. Young people count on ISAF as an enhancer of their country image, but they are not interested to gain advanced knowledge about ISAF and their country's future presence in Afghanistan. On the other hand, young people are highly curious about opportunities to work in Afghanistan because of the high level of unemployment and poverty in their home country.

Academic community

Security related studies are popular in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the exception of Peace Support Operations Training Centre which is not part of any university, no particular academic institution or scholar works on questions about ISAF at advanced level. ISAF mission and its future are not seen as a scientific challenge and they are marginally mentioned in low amount of university textbooks.

One reason for this is because the universities and the scholars are not involved in the decision making process about ISAF as they should be, so their information and interest about the mission is on very low level. In order to be more capable to offer theoretical and practical solutions, the academic community should be more involved in different levels of cooperation with the government bodies by granting access and grants to scholars to do in depth and field researches about ISAF and future possibilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post ISAF period.

The cooperation between the academic community and the Government lack's an encouraging legal framework and because of this problem the cooperation is inconsistent and varies with the political will of the current set of decision makers in the Government.

Another serious problem is the antagonism between the academic community and the Government. There is lack of confidence between the two, so the academic community doubts the credibility and the knowledge of the government personnel and on the other side the Government doubts the credibility and practical applicability of the knowledge of the country scholars. This results with lack of confidence between both sides which is another obstacle in developing advanced cooperation.

Experiences from the previous system when academic institutions had good cooperation with the state institutions can be used by academic community, government and even the business sector in order to improve their cooperation. This will strengthen the academic community and their ability to offer real and applicable solutions to the sector which would like to involve in post ISAF period.


Bosnia and Herzegovina has strong academic capacity, experience and potential. With good coordination between affected institutions this potential can be exercised in a way that will allow Bosnia and Herzegovina and even Afghanistan to benefit from it.



The accession of Croatia to NATO took place in 2009. Previous to that Croatia entered NATO's Partnership for Peace in 2000, with which they began the process of accession into the Alliance. The country received an invitation to join at the 2008 Bucharest summit and became a full member on April 1, 2009.

Engagement and Security

Croatia is a well prepared country for taking big steps in the international community. It has been shown with the research of possible POST-ISAF engagement of the country in Afghanistan. By its strategic position in the Balkans and the capability to enforce the other countries as a leader, Croatia can contribute a lot in the POST-ISAF period. That engagement is useful not only for the country but for the rest of all other countries in the Balkans to present itself as a leader.



Croatia's history is giving us the clearest picture for the needs which can be given by the country. With its military personnel and the warfare experiences which Croatia survived in the period of the homeland war, the new learned things from there can be implemented in other societies used as a way for solving the security problems. The country has passed the rehabilitation process and by the reforms which were made in these last years we can use the utilities of that experiences. Providing of security and engagement is conditional by the administration of the country. The administration of the country actually provides everything in and out of the country. We say this because we know that what every country is concerned for is the security. The security presence is the only way of normal acting of the states and it is a phenomena which is 100% needed inside and outside the countries. Of course, it is regulated with the system of the International Law and the International Community, but the implementation must and can only be provided by the administration of the country. What we said till now for Croatia is valid for all other countries. When countries are not capable of "taking care" of themselves, other countries of the international community with experience are helping in providing security and improving in the crucial society areas. From this text we can see that a country must provide first its inner peace and then transfer it to other communities as an essential element of the society's utility.

By its own experience this country can contribute a lot in the implementation and the improving of the democracy as a country which is governed by democracy. Security and engagement is possible only by sharing the experience which actually is groundwork for other activities. Croatia is a opened democratic society. That is giving us the information for the society – it is democratic, it has the same basis of all other democratic communities and the picture is quite clear. Willingness to share experience, contribute in world peace, protecting the international law and the human rights are provided inside the country to be transferred outside the countries for the common interest of the societies.

Companies Capabilities

By the liberation of the market the space which is inherent with the democratic structure, in the community Croatia as a modern and democratic country, the opportunity and the capability of the companies to pass the knowledge on other countries for development of the companies is on a high level. The liberal way of working of the society in the economic sector creates conditions for competing with the other countries. The country improves its capabilities by receiving experiences from other countries and giving them to other countries. Croatia can contribute in giving experiences and receiving them in the foreign countries. The POST-ISAF engagement is a great opportunity for that and Croatia has the right to do so because the country is well developed, with high standards of working of the companies ruled by the international laws which are implemented as NATO standards for all countries involved in that process. Every society needs development inside itself. As we said, only high developed, or more developed societies can provide help in the undeveloped countries which is a base of the rules of the international law community. The development is destined of the political system in the society, the economy inside that society controlled by that system and the freedom for acting in the international community. Because these countries have standards, Croatia as one of them is obligated to help other countries in developing their segments of the society such as the economic sector. Standardization can be provided only by the countries which have it implemented in their countries and then pass it on other as an only and legitimate way. The point here is that development for the other countries must be "taught" by others to take stand in the general will of the society to implement it as only sufficient and effective way of ruling and cohabitation inside and outside the countries.

Croatia can contribute a lot in the enlarging of the framework for companies which are willing to implement the standards given by NATO, consisted in Croatia to be passed on other countries.

Media coverage

Information transferred by media, feed-backed with the public opinion are the weapon which destroys the bricks and the wall of a society which is closed from inside or is on the way of it. Croatia's freedom of speech for media coverage about POST-ISAF engagement is not on a high level and by this Croatia can contribute to itself with the help of the other countries. Why is this? Because of some politicians personal interests, the informations which are given, or should be given are incorrect or never appear in the media. If they do it is happening on the sub channels of the country and the needed information cannot penetrate to the public. The problem is the influence of the policy. The media sometimes disables the objective reports about ISAF and the public opinion is that the media companies are owned by network corporate and political interests with certain (often harmful) ideologies.

There is a serious lack of dept-analyses which are contributing to the opposite part of the public opinion, criticizing ISAF and NATO in general as an undesirable way of progress inside and outside the countries. The public opinion should win its war by giving the clear picture and representing the grounds of the democracy and the way of cohabitation in the world together with the POST-ISAF engagement. Of course Croatia is not on the bottom of the countries and definitely can provide and help other countries to increase their level of media coverage. At least they know what should be used and how can that be used in the media policy. Although they cannot use it 100% inside their country they can provide help to other countries to use it in sufficient and effective way.

Croatia is a country where the freedom of speech is daily increasing and is on a good way of fulfilling its goals.

Civil society, youth

The question about POST-ISAF and the facts which can contribute for achieving NATO goals in the civil society is ignored. What concerns civil society definitely is not the POST-ISAF engagement and we must say that the same phenomenon is represented in a lot of other countries. The first main and biggest problem is the financial power of the people which is restricting them to make progress on this topic. Also this problem is contributing to the misunderstanding of the importance of the POST-ISAF engagement by the problem that it is seen only as a way of doing business. Although it undertakes making money by moving corporations to other countries we mentioned, it is a way of creating better life in the world which people must understand as an effective and sufficient way for cohabitation and collaboration between people and countries.

The promotion of POST-ISAF engagement to the public in the countries, helped and realized by the media coverage will contribute to the development inside and outside the country. By that the civil society and its members are getting the freedom to realize their own guaranteed rights to move and search for better place to live as humans. When the civil society realizes their rights in the framework of the international law, the international community is increasing its effectiveness and achieving its goals. This is only possible in the opened societies ruled by democracy which are showing willingness to share, receive and give opinions and experiences. The civil society and the youth must not be infected by the misunderstood picture given by the media that POST-ISAF is a kind of war, or that the societies are battlefields. The major problem of course at first are the finances, the power which is ruling people's minds and then the bad picture given by the media.

Implementation of democracy by sharing the common values of human rights can help the civil society and youth to head for the main goal and achieve the exactly determinate aim of the possibilities given by NATO and the POST-ISAF engagement as a way of providing help to the countries which need it.

Academic community

The academic community is a complex segment of the society. Through the academic community we are receiving the information and the perception about the topics we discuss at the moment is determined of them. The academic society pulls roots from the past and in Croatia still are not fully open-minded. The main problems are the old understandings about life and living in a society because of the differences from the previous system in Croatia, the Yugoslavian Federation. The academic community still possesses or we can say that few people still possess few of the most important positions which are crucial for progress but cannot progress because of the misunderstanding of the democratic society and the POST-ISAF engagement. Actually here we are speaking for old habits, xenophobia and fear to change something in the academic circles. These three elements are crucial and must be overtaken by people who understand democracy as a way of sharing common values between the countries in the world. The academic society is tied with the changes in the world, in the foreign societies which later are transferred to the home society. The academic community must be in step with these changes to keep the society from falling apart. There is no room for fear; closing of the society because of fear of external phenomena will destroy the society etc.

Even the academic community survives and develops itself by cooperation between the countries. What should be done about POST-ISAF engagement by Croatia is showing will to contribute in the foreign academic circles using this as a way of promoting its quality of the new comprehension about democracy, cooperation and development in the international community.

Macedonia



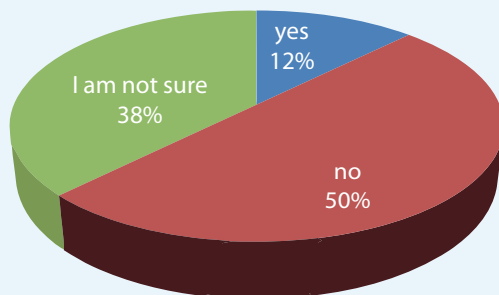
The Republic of Macedonia began its participation in the NATO-led ISAF operation in August 2002. In many occasions, the country and the engaged personnel received words of appreciation for the dedication and the contribution to ISAF mission³. The Minister for foreign affairs, after he participated the meeting with his fellows from the ISAF participating countries on December 5th 2012, announced that Macedonian soldiers remain engaged in Afghanistan even after 2014⁴. Their task will be training of the Afghan security forces. The Minister of defense has also appointed that Macedonia remains engaged in Afghanistan, no matter of the modules that will be additionally set⁵.

³ See more at "White Paper of Defense" 2012, available at <http://www.morm.gov.mk/data/file/morm/bela%20kniga/BELA%20KNIGA%20NA%20ODBRANATA.pdf>

⁴ See more at <http://vlada.mk/node/5254?language=en-gb>

⁵ See more at <http://vlada.mk/node/5509?language=en-gb>

Engagement and Security



Do you think that Afghanistan will be safer place after the NATO military forces withdrawal at the end of 2014?

Analyzing the data that have been received, there is a wide unanimity that Afghanistan will not be a safer place after 2014. That's why, 75% of the examinees believe that NATO should be a part of extended post conflict rehabilitation. This further NATO engagement is seen through different forms and levels. The most answers received are focused on the need of support and training for Afghan security forces and institutions in general. Small military presence is also considered as an advantage, but mainly with cooperative and instructive role. Institutional support should be provided to all branches of Afghan government, first and foremost in order to fight with governmental corruption. Sizable Special Forces contingent should be left as well to deal with missions and tasks that are threat to international security or ones that ANA and ANP cannot handle properly.

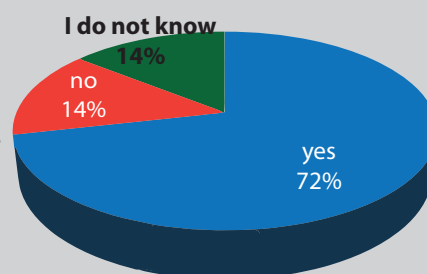
The military presence of Macedonia should be decreased proportionally, compared with the other countries that have participated into ISAF mission. This is most probably considered because of the belief that as a result of the military involvement in Afghanistan, there are probable security risks for Macedonia. Still, there are other means through which Macedonia can remain actively engaged in Afghanistan: institutional support, police training, exchange of experience, medical personnel, CSOs, as well as scholarships for prospective Afghan students in Macedonia. Additionally, some of the lessons learnt and experience gained from the post conflict and reconciliation processes in Macedonia and in the region can be used in Afghanistan, although special post conflict rehabilitation process should be developed. The international presence and support is a must. It is of crucial importance that the members of the various missions are sufficiently trained to be able to understand the language and the life style of the local inhabitants, because otherwise they will never be welcome and the arbitrarily guarding and tutoring will never turn into peaceful and cooperative process of (post) conflict capacity building. That is one of the problems recognized among the soldiers that were part of the missions which took place in the crisis regions after the Balkan wars in the 90's. This especially addresses the nation building process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the reconciliation through the Ohrid framework agreement. Particular lessons that can be learnt go through different aspects: Dis-armament operations can be one helpful tool to control the post conflict weapon remains; National reconciliation; Re-socialization for the individuals that have been engaged in hostilities; Post conflict institutional and capacity building; Security sector reform and institution and capacity building.

Companies Capabilities

In accordance with the data got through the interviews, Macedonian companies are capable to engage in the post conflict reconstruction in Afghanistan. This is especially applicable for the case of large enterprises, but even for them, the bid conditions may be considered challenging. There is a huge consensus that the construction companies can offer the most, but they are not the only – food manufacturing companies, pharmaceutical industry as well as any industry that is somehow connected with the infrastructure building and maintenance, can find their place in Afghanistan. Among the companies in Macedonia, there is lack of information and knowledge on the possible legal barriers and the whole post conflict situation in Afghanistan, as well as the local mentality, language, and habits.

The interviewers have agreed that the companies possess technology, equipment, knowledge and labor force that can retort the challenges imposed.

Do you think that companies from your country are capable to take part in postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan?



In accordance with a survey conducted by the Macedonian daily newspaper “Dnevnik”, the companies can reach NATO’s tender requirements only in theory. “Although Alliance’s regulation allows participation of companies from Partnership for Peace countries in the system of public procurements, that never happens in practice”- they say from Macedonian Chamber of commerce in the article. This statement has been confirmed by the representatives of NATO’s Agency for maintain and procurements. In order to be able to participate on the tender call, there are specific criteria and standards that should be accomplished in order companies can enter the list of procurators.

“...This can only be done in case of subcontracting with companies from NATO member states. We are asking the Government to find a solution, due to the fact that our country sends soldiers in NATO missions although we are not yet member state.”-say from the Chamber of Commerce for the daily newspaper “Dnevnik”.

Due to the fact that in past 20 years Macedonia has experienced brief armed conflicts, and was constantly surrounded by the armed crisis in the region, companies in Macedonian may be equipped with the knowledge of how to operate in conflict or hot zones, and also have more experience with Islamic cultures and traditions.

The research that has been conducted showed that there is a lack of information in this area. None of the participants in the research has answered that he/she is familiar with the tender requirements. All target groups that have been included have shown minimum or lack of information in this section. However, there has been almost a consensus that joint participation would lead to easier achieving of the imposed bank guarantees that are required for participation on international bids. Joint ventures are mentioned as an asset. Instead of trying to get tenders separately, small companies can join which will increase their technical and material capabilities and this combined with experience to do business in fragile post-conflict settings might give them advantage over other companies. This also goes for cooperation between the companies within A5 countries.

The region’s labor force is experienced and cheap and that is considered as an asset. The companies from the region, especially from the construction business, can benefit in this way. Other businesses that can enter the post conflict reconstruction of Afghanistan are the transport companies, food production and export, as well as pharmaceutical industry and drugs production. Cooperation has been proposed as a tool during the bid applying process, logistic support, process of planning the postwar reconstruction tenders as well as exchanging experiences and knowledge between the companies. What is considered as a must is setting of a communication platform between the companies from the region in order this possibilities to be considered and well understood. Creating a joint platform for discussion would lead to a consultative process and networking that would increase knowledge and efficiency.

Another possibility is the cooperation and subcontracting with USA and European companies that are larger in any sense.

Media coverage

When it comes to national media, the amount of time spend covering Afghanistan and ISAF is too short. There is no clear picture of what is happening there. There is no clear picture of what and how ISAF is planning to achieve in Afghanistan, they give only “poster headlines”. The information that is coming from different sides of the world and internationally influential media are opposing. Afghanistan is labeled as the “Forgotten War”, which sufficiently explains the media coverage about Afghanistan and NATO’s involvement.

The research has shown that there is a lack of in-depth information on the situation in Afghanistan and the role of the ISAF mission itself. There are almost no information on what will follow after 2014 and the withdrawn of troops. The reports are poor and short. The experience so far showed that editors in chief do not consider reporting on Afghanistan to be a question that deserves great attention; therefore it is sidelined all the time.

There is a lack of in-depth reports which results with many misunderstandings and wrong interpretations about the issues and the activities of the coalition forces in the ISAF mission. Better media coverage of the positive practices and results of the missions is essential. Most of the information that has been transmitted through the media were dedicated on numerous incidents and loss of civilians, which seriously overshadows the positive results of the work of the missions. News that is coming regarding the national participation in Afghanistan are dedicated either on the way the military participation contributes towards NATO accession of the country or on the security of the national forces that are deployed.

The journalists that have been part of the research indicated that there is need for greater openness of the defense ministry and the army in providing information. The governmental institutions have also expressed the need for highlighting of the topic as well as organization of more public debates and expert’s analysis about operation ISAF and afterwards. As a solution, national briefings with journalists from countries participating in the mission should be organized in order to establish contacts and provide more sources of relevant information.



Civil society, youth

There is a huge amount of consensus on the thesis that civil society organizations and companies would benefit from eventual cooperation in this field. The CSO's can prepare the terrain for companies and workers, providing them with information on Afghan habits and traditions. The CSO's in the country and the region in general possess excessive experience in the field of post conflict rehabilitation and society restoration, as a result of both the armed conflict in 2001 and regional cooperation with neighboring countries in undergoing post-war reconstruction. Potential cooperation with the Afghan CSOs is also considered as an opportunity for both sides. The main fields concerned would be: intercultural training, explaining about the life and culture of Afghanistan, reason for the conflict there, as an asset that would prepare the companies for potential work there, and networking with Afghan youth CSOs in order to exchange know how, curricula and best practices, as well as organizing joint events, would support the establishing of strong civil society in Afghanistan.

The research has shown that there is a lack of information also within the general public according the Macedonian CSO's that cover ISAF and NATO related issues. Although there is a huge number of CSO's within the country, the number of CSO's working in the field is very limited.

Only activities related to the field are the lectures provided at some of the universities as part of the academic curricula for the faculties that have programs dedicated to security issues. Possible activities that should be conducted are those related to expertise, research and joint communicational platforms between all possible partners (both individuals and institutions) concerned. Various seminars, trainings, round tables, discussions, essay competitions and similar activities should be organized in order awareness and knowledge to be raised, especially dealing with the national presence in Afghanistan after 2014. Additionally possible A5 regional CSO meeting where think tanks, CSOs and governments can discuss the possible regional approaches after 2014.

The research has shown that it is not clear if there is a lack of interest or lack of knowledge on the issue among the young people. The reasons for this current understanding are seen within different stakeholders, such as institutions, government and media as well as the fact that they are heavily influenced by everyday economic problems and the educational system.

The support for Macedonian engagement in Afghanistan is pretty high. Very limited numbers of CSOs and social movement initiatives have stood firmly against any kind of engagement in Afghanistan, mostly due to antimilitary reasoning and ideology in general. Additional argument that has been given was that the country is not a NATO member, so engagement of this type should not be part of that agenda. They also point out that the engagement will bring the country up to the unnecessary risk for the soldiers and unnecessary financial expenditure in times of financial crises.

Academic community

The data acquired through interviews showed that the academic community has not yet worked on the specific issue. The academic curricula and research that has been done so far was dedicated to more general security issues, or to different aspects that can be somehow related to the topic, but not on ISAF mission itself. However, the academics are more than willing to conduct ISAF related researches and policy papers, if they get institutional support and budgeting. The main beneficiary of such projects would be the Government and the affiliated institutions. The whole process should be supported by the Ministry of Education and Science through scientific research projects that will be later on used by the decision makers through the process of policy creation and implementation.

Academic institutions can assist and catalyze the post war process in Afghanistan with expertise, experience and best practice sharing and policy making processes.

Mostly, the faculties that deal with security issues have provided some basic academic debate on the events that occurred in Afghanistan in the last decade and the ISAF mission itself, but there have been lack of research and policy recommendations. Lectures and presentations that address issues related to ISAF have taken place at the Faculty of Security. Questions, like the justification and continuance of macedonian military troops in Afghanistan, have been debated within the curriculum of few courses. There have not been specific recommendations delivered. The positive aspect is that there are not many academics that are against the engagement of the country in Afghanistan in general. Those who are against are on that opinion because of their general ideological anti-military base. The way ISAF mission is treated inside the academic community mostly goes to the line of the way it influences the country's euro-atlantic integrations.

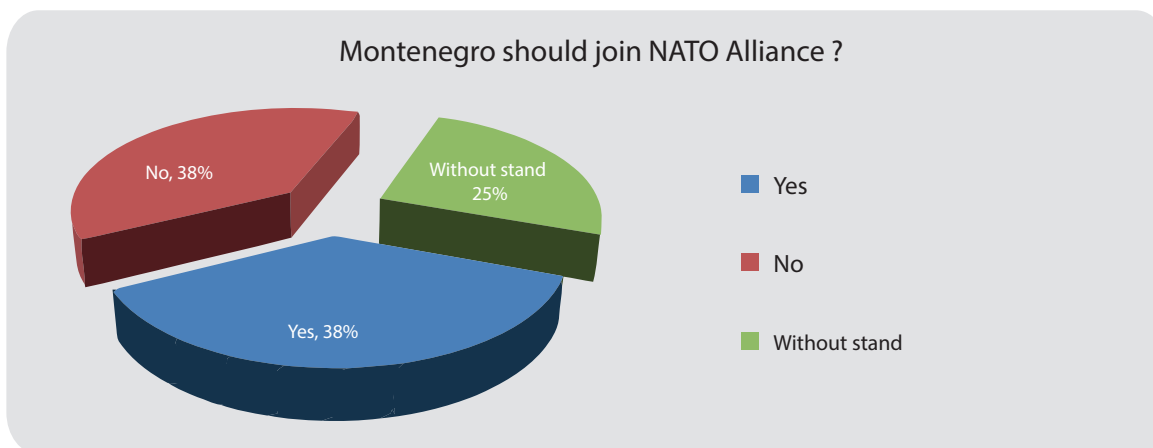
Another challenge is the way of accepting of the academic recommendations and the general relations between the academic community and governmental bodies, which can be considered at least, as selective.



Ever since Declaration for independence, Montenegro is straight focused on partnering and becoming a NATO member state. Since February 2010, when the first contingent was sent, Montenegro is fully committed to the participation in the ISAF mission. At the moment their contribution in Afghanistan is 36 soldiers, 2 policeman, and the number of military stuff in Montenegro is only around 2 200 personnel.

Engagement and Security

The results from the last surveys this year on the question about NATO accession were: 37 % pro; 38 % of the population against and 25 % without stand.⁶



The main reason for this low percentage of support lies in the fact that just 13 years ago, NATO bombed the territory of Montenegro, than as a part of Yugoslavia. Most of the public also think that Montenegro as a relatively new independent country has its own internal problems that have priority to be solved, and because, there is no need of spending public money by sending young soldiers "in the middle of nowhere" to fight for someone else's interest. But despite all this there are still pro-western citizens appreciating the euro-atlantics values. The ISAF supporters are mostly globalist, who believes that know what the future may bring, and that NATO Alliance is Montenegrin's right choice for future security and stability. Majority of the population in Montenegro as a result of the lack of information about ISAF connected this mission strictly with NATO military operations.

The incumbent governmental and all viable state institutions in the country are trying to bring the whole idea for NATO membership closer to the public. The 15th of November 2010 was a start of a campaign with clusters all around the country with the motto "Together in Europe, safer in NATO". Segments of the campaign were organizing debates, put in order special websites for this manner, opening info centers and clubs where NATO and ISAF mission topics were included, but, because of the fact that all of this is mostly in English, a language not familiar for most of the "old aged" group of citizens, there is no vitally involvement of that demographic category in this matter.⁸

On the last elections held this autumn in Montenegro, pro NATO option won the majority in the Parliament. The first statement by the leader of the winning side at those elections was that the NATO integration of the country is one of their primary goals.⁹ Former Minister of Defense on the semi-annual briefing stated the clear Montenegrin position on the question of participation in the ISAF mission after the 2014th.¹⁰

Companies Capabilities

The information about Montenegrin companies' capabilities for investments, attain during the visit by the project team and by interviews realized there.

⁶ Okrugli sto "NATO iz zenskog ugla", last modified 20 March, 2013, http://www.alfacentar.org/arhiva/09_11_okrugli_sto.html

⁷ "Danas se završavaju tribine o NATO", Pobjeda, 19 November 2012 accessed 20 March 2013 <http://www.pobjeda.me/arhiva/?datum=2010-11-19&id=195263>

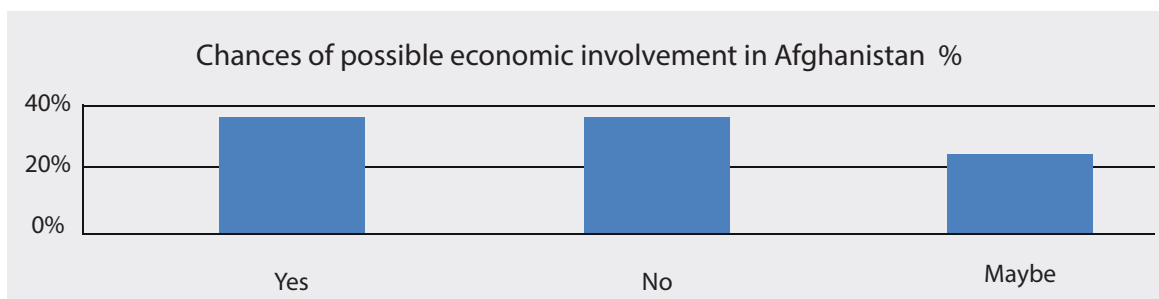
⁸ "Članstvo u Alijansi samo za najbolje", Pobjeda 19 November 2010, accessed 20 March 2013, (<http://www.pobjeda.me/arhiva/?datum=2010-11-19&id=195264>)

⁹ "Prve izjave političara nakon glasanja: Puna usta demokratije", Vijesti, 14 October 2012, accessed 20 March 2013 <http://www.vijesti.me/izbori-2012/prve-izjave-politicara-nakon-glasanja-puna-usta-demokratije-clanak-95928>

¹⁰ Ministarstvo odbrane, Polugodišnji brifing vojnih atašea, 19 December 2011, accessed 20, March, 2013, <http://www.odbrana.gov.me/vijesti/110659/Polugodisnjeg-brifinga-vojnih-atasea.html>

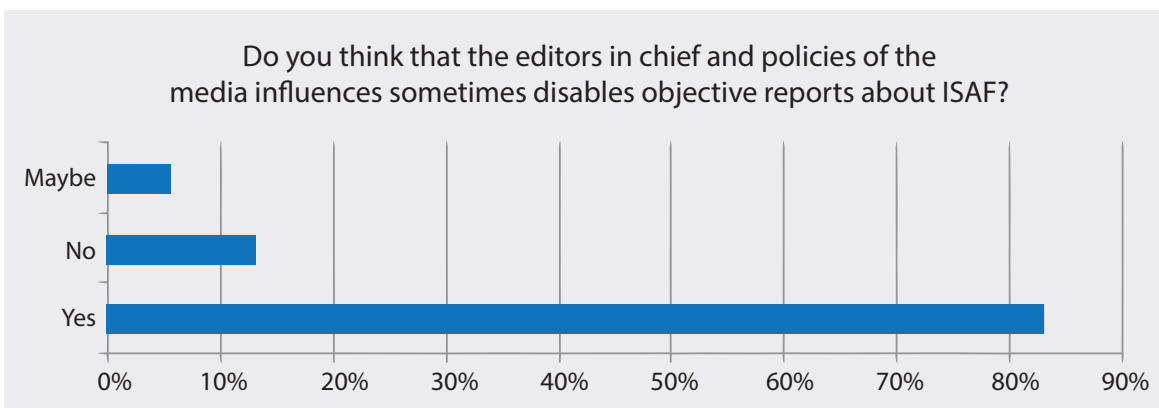
Finding the fact that there are several companies familiar with this opportunity “post ISAF” can bring on, but like it was said - they are aware of their real capacities and “their place under the sun”. And not to forget, all of this is occurring against the backdrop of an economic surrounding still recovering from the worst recession in worlds’ recent memory. The majority of the companies with Montenegrin capital are not even interested in this subject. There is a positive example of a Montenegrin company that used the NATO missions and UN operations for its own business expansion, but only as a part of multinational group. The chances of Montenegrin companies to assure their possible economic involvement in Afghanistan alone are limited. The only way to compete with the powerful western conglomerates is the way of creating big companies from smaller ones, a corporate restructuring called merger.

The whole history of possible mergers between companies from the region shows us some positive, but also a huge number of negative examples. The main problem in those negative examples was never money or interest, but some individual and personal relations of mistrust and misunderstanding between the sides.



Media coverage

The ISAF mission in Afghanistan is not abundantly covered by the Montenegrin media. During the press and web clipping done, it was noticed that the ISAF mission was mentioned only in the cases and times when military forces rotations were in process. There were frequent news apropos country’s process of integration in the Alliance, minister’s meetings with NATO officials, or calculations and expectations after certain NATO summit. Numerous reports in the media summarized all the incidents, innocent victims in Afghanistan and terrorist acts around the globe, underlying the possible consequences from Montenegrin engagement in Afghanistan. Those diverse sides of ISAF tale demonstrate in what way the editors in chief or policies of the media may influenced on the bona fide reports.



Results related with any release regarding the life of the Montenegrin young soldiers there could not be detected, nothing about the conditions they are living in, and not even a paragraph describing the real situation on the field. No sign of cultural reportage about Afghanistan, opportunities for investments, traditions of Afghan people or something about the national allure over there. The main reason for this situation I believe is because journalists never experienced the Afghan reality. All their information is Internet based research and not by a single day on the field.

Civil society, youth

The CSO’s sector in Montenegro is not dealing particularly with the subject of ISAF or post ISAF mission. There are plenty NGO’s that are dealing with the question of NATO membership of Montenegro and the process of accession in the Alliance, but only because of the huge political dimension of this question and the implications on the electorate. The arrangements and the efforts that those NGO’s in favor of NATO are doing, involves mostly the students on political science, security studies, and young globalists. As part of the activities is a admirable project called Center for support to the families of members of the armed forces of Montenegro serving in missions abroad¹¹

¹¹ “Atlantic Council of Montenegro”, accessed 20 March 2013, <http://www.atcog.org/eng/page.php?id=37>

On the other side, the opposite stream, against NATO's membership and also Montenegrin's involvement in ISAF or post ISAF, is a coalition of 32 non- governmental organizations. Baseline of their actions is anti-NATO campaign through which they indicate possible deleterious effects of joining the alliance. Both sides are doing their job in their inherent way and by their own programs, but the real problem is the lack of argument debates between them and the incapability for developing a mutual understanding.

Academic community

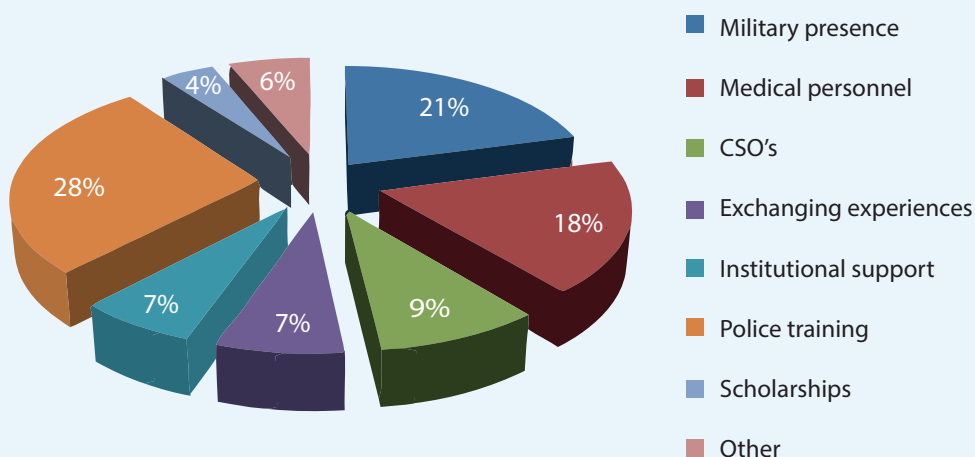
The academic institutions in Montenegro are working on issues connected with NATO missions, but not exclusively and specifically with ISAF or post ISAF. Most of the topics they are connected with are the topics of military operations and methods of providing security and protection. They are all university professors on security studies, establishing connection with young leaders, sharing peculiar knowledge among students. None of them have their PhD on ISAF or post ISAF in particular. Many are daily involved in the role of counselor's experts in the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, a position ensuring that their beneficial experience and vocationally knowledge will be perceived. Often we can find their names on the list of editors or as part of think tanks' research and advocacy. Amount of times, sufficient number of their significant recommendations and suggestions are included in national strategies.

Interesting accomplishment was made by one member of the third contingent of ISAF mission in Afghanistan. In his book "NATO and logistical support of contributing nations-in ISAF mission in Afghanistan" he emphasized the role of Montenegrin troops in Afghanistan and also the achieved and possible future benefits to the country by that assistance¹³



Afghanistan should and will be safer place after post-ISAF 2014. That is the main conclusion that is been made in Serbia. Based on a commitment to the democratic principles, the purpose of regional cooperation after finishing the ISAF mission in 2014 is to increase stability, diminish threats to peace and build strengthened security position in Afghan society.

By which means your country should take part in post-ISAF Engagement ?



¹³ Mr Vladimir Mitrić, NATO i Logistička podrška nacija-kontributora ISAF misije u Avganistanu, Podgorica : Golbiprint, 2011) accessed 20 March 2013
http://www.natomontenegro.me/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1542:objavljena-knjiga-nato-i-logistika-podrnka-nacija-kontributora-isaf-misije-u-avganistan-u-&catid=53:viijesti&Itemid=103

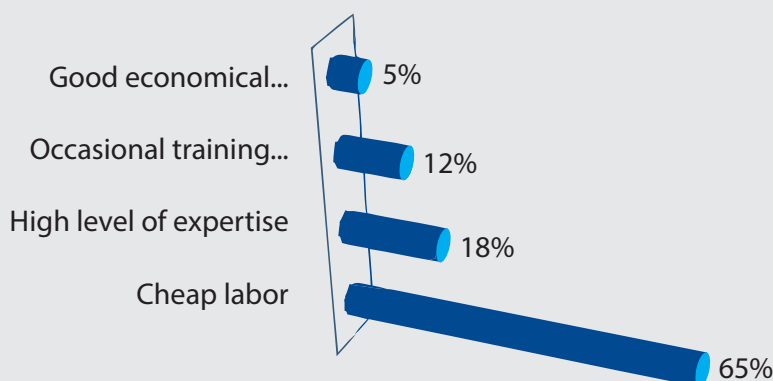
Engagement and Security

Experts support Serbia's presence in Afghanistan

Most of the experts in Serbia think that NATO should withdraw forces, in a way that Afghanistan can be given an opportunity to truly start its healing process; but it still should be present in a way of protection. Since Serbia is not taking part in the ISAF mission, presence in Afghanistan should be definitely increased. Experts that are into this topic, support Serbia's presence in Afghanistan. Support in sense of strengthening the fragile state institutions, providing support for reconstruction and development, supporting NGOs, and in general increased focus on socio-economic aspects of rehabilitation of Afghan society. The public opinion is focused that Serbian can provide good military support: as advisory and training staff – because they have lessons learnt from the post-conflict past. Otherwise, Serbia can help with administrative support, (maybe lower but) financial aid and structural funds. These steps are not beneficial only for Afghanistan, but also are going to strengthen Serbia's capacities. So that's why, every single step is crucial for countries in the region, as far as Afghanistan. Having in mind that Serbia is still in post conflict rehabilitation process, possible positive experience from the region is still to outcome.

During our research it could be seen that Serbia currently is more interested in issues related to its internal integrity, sovereignty, and stability, and less focused toward questions as possible engagement in the reconstruction and reconciliation process of the Afghan society. The general institutional impression is negative. They absolutely don't know nor are interested in anything that is related to NATO missions. Foremost, the institutions in Serbia that should be directly responsible for these issues are not focused on these topics; or trying to avoid them. For example, the Ministry of Defense of Serbia doesn't have any official standing about the engagement in Post-ISAF. They're more concerned about corruption; instead of Serbia's presence in Afghanistan and the possible benefit from regional cooperation in that case.

What do you think that companies from your country can offer to NATO more than companies from other countries?



Companies Capabilities

Serbian companies are capable for post-conflict participation

The hardest question that was researched regarding Serbia was about companies' capabilities. The difficulty comes from the fact that there are actually no legal barriers, but there is lack of experience in tender participation. Only few successful companies from Serbia and the Serbian Chamber of Commerce are convinced that they have capabilities to take part in the postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan due to the fact that they were already participated in such a process in several post -

conflict areas and countries. Serbian companies are very developed in the area of defense industry and as we examined, they already hold some large contracts in post war Iraq. Something that is seen as biggest advantage of the Serbian companies is the high level of expertise, occasional training programs, good economical strategies for post war reconstruction, and of course, low-cost labor. On the other hand, lack of knowledge about possibilities and interest had been seen as a biggest disadvantage of Serbian companies. As a matter of fact, they are not even familiar with any tender requirements in Afghanistan.

Balkan countries are quite small countries, therefore they need to cooperate. Regional cooperation should not be even considered as option but as a necessity. Since the companies individually are not competitive enough, regional cooperation is recognized as a requirement which can exploit individual comparative advantages. There are many opportunities for Serbia and other Balkan states on the Afghan market. These states could participate on the Afghan markets united on multilateral deals or on a bilateral level. The areas of potential cooperation with Afghanistan are construction industry, pharmacy and defense industry.

Media coverage

Serbian media are not interested in Post-ISAF

The level of media coverage about the ISAF mission is low. Most of the media doesn't really understand why all these engagements are, they're not familiar with it, don't have interest about it – so that's why they don't report about it. Having in mind that Afghanistan is one of the most sensitive security issues on the global level, only several media are making effort to bring the topic closer to the citizens and explain the purpose and goals of the mission.

However, there is lack of in-depth reports regarding the ISAF mission goals and prospective. Serbia doesn't participate in the ISAF and that is the main reason why it's an not important topic for Serbian media, hence the media reports about departure and arriving of Montenegrin soldiers. Since Serbia has a unique experience regarding NATO, public opinion is not too benevolent towards this organization.

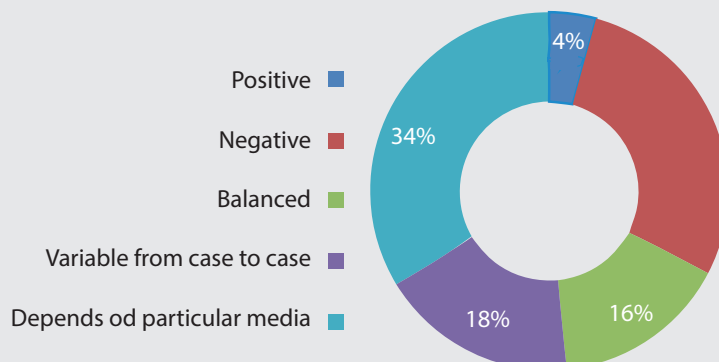
Opinion makers think that there should be more information about ISAF in Serbia having in mind that Afghanistan is one of the most sensitive security issues on the global level. The public opinion, in general, is balanced about media views towards ISAF in Afghanistan; they don't actually have position regarding the course of the mission, and there is lack of information according to this topic. It all comes down to this: Serbian medias are not interested in Post-ISAF!

Civil society, youth

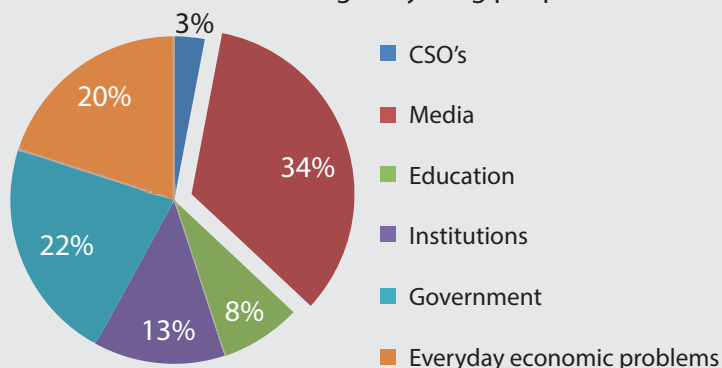
ISAF – not in the focus of Serbian CSO's and young'

Something that can be said with certainty is that the ISAF mission is not in the focus of CSO's and young in Serbia. Although, CSO's are the only ones which publicly support the idea of participation in Post-ISAF reconstruction process. Supportive CSO's think that they can help companies to take part in post war reconstruction dealing with economic cooperation issues and Euro-Atlantic topics. Inter-institutional forums are seen as mechanism to connect civil society sector and governmental bodies with the purpose to discuss issues about Serbia's engagement in ISAF and post-ISAF activities.

What's your opinion about media views (in general) towards ISAF in Afghanistan?



What's the main reason behind lack of interest among the young people?



In contrast, if there is some debate on Serbia's participation in Afghanistan, there are many NGO's opposing. Moreover, this situation can be explained by still strong anti - NATO sentiments related to dissolution of Yugoslavia, civil wars in former Yugoslavia and negative perception of NATO's role. Serbian CSOs have a lot to offer because they have already participated in the reconciliation process of the region, but there is still no interest regarding this question. Similarly young have the same opinion and point of view.

Academic community

Academic community do not believe in successfulness of post-ISAF reconciliation process

Academic community in Serbia is interested in researches connected to human rights and post-conflict rehabilitation. There are several faculties, such as the Faculty of Political Science and Faculty of Security studies that are working on issues related to ISAF. Furthermore, there are several institutes and centers dealing with that topic. Most of them are in favor of peaceful transition of government in hands of Afghan people in all areas of life. On the other hand, the ISAF mission is still perceived as NATO's mechanism which helps in controlling the Middle East. Otherwise, the main problem is the sustainability of the mission. Academic institutions or professors who are strongly against the country's engagement in ISAF, and against ISAF mission in general, regard this issue as not immediately related to them. There are serious doubts that the country will not relapse after the withdrawal of the troops in 2014. Majority of academic community do not believe in successfulness of post-ISAF reconciliation process. There are not many discussions on that topic in Serbia but as main problems in ISAF they see lack of real changes and lack of capacities in the local community to take its own responsibility. The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts doesn't have any official standing. Pro-western oriented experts' publicly distance themselves; despite they are for Serbian participation in post-ISAF. On the other hand, nationalists are against anywise participation.

The research team

The research team of the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia conducting interviews regarding the A5 countries as part of the research (first) phase for the EACM project entitled: "Regional Post – ISAF engagement - Lessons learned and a legacy for A-5 countries future expeditionary missions"

Inspiring briefing with Mr. Douglas Jones, Deputy Chief of mission and his team, U.S. Embassy in Podgorica.



Discussing the possible future engagement in POST ISAF of the civil sector from Montenegro with Mr. Savo Kentera, President of Atlantic Council of Montenegro and Mrs. Bojana Antunovic, project coordinator of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro.



Interview with PhD. Predrag Simic, Director of the Institute for International Politics.



The research team from EACM with PhD. Zoran Dragisic, International Security Institute, Serbia.



Meeting with PhD. Olivera Injac, University of Donja Gorica, Montenegro.



From the meetings with the representatives from the Serbian medias - Mr. Ratko Femic from "Novi Magazin" and Mr. Nenad Radicevic, Deputy Foreign Editor in "Politika".



The research team from EACM and Mr. Armin Krzalic, project director of the Center for security studies, Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Col. Sinisa Ostojic, Ministry of defence Bosnia and Herzegovina with the research team from EACM.



Discussing the possible future engagement in POST ISAF of the civil sector from Serbia with Mr. Boris Viculin, Atlantic Council of Serbia



The research team from EACM and AF BiH Commandant, Col. Kenan Dautovic, PhD, Peace Support Operations.



Within the research visit, the team participated in seminar on "Peace Support Operations in Contemporary Geostrategic Context" which was held at Peace Support Operations Training Centre at Camp Butmir.



Prof. dr Selmo Cikotic, Professor at American University BiH, former minister of defence with the research team from EACM



One of the meetings of the EACM research team. Analyzing the research findings and preparing for the regional conference.

Conference findings: Regional Post – ISAF engagement - Lessons learned and a legacy for A-5 countries future expeditionary missions

As part of the projects second phase, the Euro Atlantic Council of Macedonia organized two-day conference which had regional character and included the countries from the A5 group (Macedonia, Albania, Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina), Serbia, as well as USA, Afghanistan and NATO.

This conference accommodated broad platform, including distinguished members of government, non-government, high governmental representatives and experts from the region.



Minister of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia, Dr. Fatmir Besimi



US ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia, H.E. Paul D. Wahlers

The event was open to the public and to media coverage. All of the media in the country, news agencies, journalists and editors attended and reported about the event.

The extent and the importance of the conference from the authorities in the country was recognized by the participation of the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia, Dr. Fatmir Besimi, the US ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia, H.E. Paul D. Wahlers and the high NATO representative, Mr. Nicholas Williams.

The first part, the first day of the regional conference “Regional Post – ISAF engagement - Lessons learned and a legacy for A-5 countries future expeditionary missions” saw the opening of the conference and the addressing remarks of:

- **Dr. Metodi Hadji Janev**, Project Director, Euro – Atlantic Council of Macedonia
- **Dr. Fatmir Besimi**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia
- **Mr. Nicholas Williams**, NATO Head of Section, Operations Division
- **H.E. Paul D. Wahlers**, U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia



The conference program:

PROGRAM

*Regional Post – ISAF engagement
Lessons learned and a legacy for future expeditionary missions
Hotel Stone Bridge - Skopje
11– 13 December 2012*

First Day

10.00 – 20.00 Arrival of the participants at the hotel

20.00 – 22.00 Welcoming reception by the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia

Second Day

09.30 – 10.00 Arrival of the participants and registration

Official opening of the conference

Moderator: **Assistant Professor Dr. Metodi Hadji-Janev LtC**, Project Director

- **H.E. Fatmir Besimi**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia
- **Mr. Nichollas Williams**, NATO Head of Section, Operations Division
- **H.E. Paul D. Wohlers**, U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia
- **Mr. Noorullah Jan Ahmadzai**, National representative UN/Ministry of Defence (via video conference)

11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break

Second Session:

Moderator **Associate professor. D-r Radica Gareva**, State Advisor MoD

- Mr. Ilija Djugumanov**, Project Coordinator
- **RESEARCH TEAM OF EACM**, Presentations of the research findings
- Conclusion regarding the research by Assistant Professor Metodi Hadji-Janev, Project Director**

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch Break

Third Session:

Moderator: **Col. Ljube Dukoski**, State Advisor for Defence Policy and Planning, MoD

- **Mrs. Ratela Asllani**, Ministry of Defence, Albania

Regional Post – ISAF engagement

Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia

Lessons learned and a legacy for A-5 countries future expeditionary missions

- **Col. Sinisa Ostojic**, Directorate for Security and Defence Policy, MoD, Bosnia and Herzegovina
- **Mr. Neven Kranjcec**, Head of NATO Department, MoD, Croatia
- **Col. Mehmedin Tahirovic**, Directorate for policy and planning, MoD, Montenegro
- **Lt. Col. Zeljko Simic**, Defence Attaché in the Embassy of the Republic of Serbia

Third Day

First Session:

Col. Slavko Angeleski, PhD, Associate Professor Vice Dean of the Military Academy. "General Mihajlo Apostolski", Republic of Macedonia

- **Prof. Dr. Jadranka Dujic Frlan**, Atlantic Council of Croatia
- **Col. Aleksandar Aleksandrov**, Chief of NATO Liaison Office in Skopje
- **Mrs. Bojana Antunovic**, Atlantic Council of Montenegro
- **Mr. Boris Viculin**, Atlantic Council of Serbia
- **Mrs. Ratela Asllani**, Ministry of Defence Albania/ Atlantic Council of Albania
- **Maj. Viktor Kositk**, Commander of Macedonian national contingent in ISAF

12.00 – 12.30 Coffee Break

Second (Final) Session:

12.30 – 13.00 **Conclusion by Assistant Professor Metodi Hadji-Janev**, Project Director



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Minister of Defence of the
Republic of Macedonia,
Dr. Fatmir Besimi

Dr. Fatmir Besimi

It is my honor and pleasure to be present today at this extremely important conference and debate related to the possibilities and capacities regarding the future engagements in Afghanistan for several reasons. First of all, because this is a chance for us to sum up the lessons learned from our presence in Afghanistan, but also a chance to materialize the further steps that need to be undertaken post 2014. Second, the obligation that we have towards the people of Afghanistan due to the share that we had there in the past 10 years together with our allies. Last, but not least, the idea for the regional perspectives and commitment in Afghanistan.

Distinguished, the lessons learned which our peacekeepers have gained in the past ten-years commitment in Afghanistan overlap with the conclusions which the official representatives of NATO, as well as the experts, have inserted in the New Strategic Concept dated November, 2012.

Namely, post seeing the complexity of the temporary threats of the member countries, it became clear, and this was unambiguously underlined in the New Strategic document, is that in order to give an effective response a different kind of overall approach is needed. The directions outlined in this document have two very important regarding the perceptions that we need to build around our engagement in Afghanistan post 2014. Firstly, the fact that NATO recognizes the importance of the cooperation with the partner countries, clearly expressed through the frames and the directions posted in the so-called "cooperative security" – one of the three basic missions of NATO. Secondly, in accordance with the gained experience and the need of a different approach toward the temporary security threats, it realizes the importance of the cooperation between the civilians and military for operative success.

During the October Meeting of the NATO Ministers of Defence and partners in ISAF, we concluded that the first phase in the transition post 2014 should be devoted to a NATO led mission for: training, counseling and assistance of the Afghan powers, as a substitute for the military mission.

The initiatives and surveys such as this one, organized by the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia, as well as the debates and concrete undertakings of the civil sector, are an important value that must be supported by the politicians if we want to succeed in the task that we have set for the commitment to Afghanistan post 2014.

Finally, I would like to briefly speak about the importance of regional cooperation in the commitment to Afghanistan. The regional cooperation is an extremely fruitful platform through which we can contribute to a better and more qualitative life of the people in Afghanistan. Through our mutual projects we will be able to join the efforts, to offer qualitative solutions and a bigger contribution to the efforts which NATO invests in Afghanistan.

Distinguished members of the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia, honored guests and dear friends, I still do not have the results of the regional survey which the young researches have conducted led by the project director. However, I am convinced that these results will give significant and creative contribution to the further efforts that need to be undertaken in Afghanistan post 2014. The fact that this is a real, academic and non-political survey gives me the right to have great expectations regarding the solutions which may result of it. Furthermore, I would like to encourage you not to stop here, but to continue because in order to achieve a final success in Afghanistan, we, the politicians, as well as the military leaders, need the civil sector now more than ever.

When U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, along with his colleagues from Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia, signed the Adriatic Charter in May of 2003, it highlighted America's support for the full integration of Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia into NATO and other Euro-Atlantic institutions. Since that time, the Adriatic Charter, now better known as the A5, has expanded its membership to include Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina and has broadened its missions and capabilities.

Europe remains vital to much of what the U.S. military accomplishes. We work closely with our European partners and NATO Allies every day in operations around the world, while simultaneously enhancing our collective future security through processes such as "Smart Defense," where we pool, share, and specialize our capabilities and resources.

Many, if not all of you, are facing budgetary pressures stemming from the ongoing global financial crisis. Consequently, your armed forces may face dramatic cuts. Even the U.S. is planning personnel reductions in our military services, and some major programs may be cut or scaled back in the upcoming years. This does not mean, however, that the U.S. intends to scale back its commitments to its Allies and partners.

No one country can completely provide for its own security. Thus, modern security threats are best addressed through international coalitions of willing partners. The countries of the A5 recognize this need for regional military cooperation; not only are the A5 member states contributing to ISAF on a bilateral basis, but the A5 itself, led by Croatia, is providing mentors to the Afghan National Army Military Police School.

As we look ahead to 2014 and beyond in Afghanistan, I invite you to consider what other opportunities and contributions the A5 could offer. For example, military medical capabilities are an area of potential cooperation within the A5 framework. The joint deployment of medical teams, or a field hospital, might be an effective way to contribute to the broader mission. Another potential avenue of cooperation is aviation mentorship, specifically rotary-wing aviation. The countries of the A5 have experience in flying Soviet-era helicopters, such as the Mi8/Mi17, which are still being used by the Afghan security forces today.

Another important area for cooperation is civil emergency response scenarios. Regional cooperation among partners who have prepared jointly to support each other in times of crisis is the most effective way to provide assistance in a timely manner where it is needed. If regional disaster response cooperation can be sufficiently developed, this humanitarian assistance capability also has the potential for deployment outside the region.

In conclusion, I would like to applaud the A5 initiative for being an effective mechanism for promoting regional leadership, cooperation, mentoring, trust-building, and assistance in achieving NATO membership. I urge you to consider other areas in which your countries might be willing and able to lead in the development of additional shared regional capabilities to enhance the security, prosperity, and stability of this region and to use this unique partnership to address our shared security challenges beyond the region, as well.



H.E. Paul D. Wahlers, U.S.
Ambassador to the
Republic of Macedonia

H.E. Paul D. Wahlers



Mr. Nichollas Williams, NATO
Head of Section,
Operations Division

Mr. Nichollas Williams

The Beginning

NATO's presence in Afghanistan is a direct result of the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001. In the immediate aftermath, a US-led operation was deployed to Afghanistan to oust al Qaida and the repressive Taliban regime that harbored it.

ISAF was created in accordance with the Bonn Conference in December 2001. The concept of an UN-mandated international force to assist the newly established Afghan Transitional Authority was also launched at this occasion to create a secure environment in and around Kabul and support the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

NATO's role in Afghanistan is an integral part of the international community's broader engagement. As of March 2013, fifty nations are contributing troops to ISAF. They include 22 non-NATO partner nations, working alongside the 28 NATO Allies, constituting the biggest coalition in recent history.

NATO's commitment to Afghanistan after 2014

Once the Afghan forces take the full responsibility for security throughout the country at the end of 2014, the ISAF mission will be complete. However, NATO's commitment to Afghanistan will remain. It will continue in part through the Enduring Partnership between NATO and Afghanistan agreed in Lisbon. NATO's commitment will also continue through the new train, advise and assist mission which we are now planning. And importantly, many ISAF contributors indicated at the NATO summit in Chicago that they would continue to make significant financial contributions to the sustainment of the ANSF after 2014.

Enduring Partnership

At the NATO Lisbon Summit in November 2010, NATO and Afghanistan reaffirmed their long-term ties with the signing of a Declaration on Enduring Partnership. The document, which marks NATO's continued commitment to Afghanistan, provides a political framework for future enhanced cooperation, particularly in the field of capacity-building and security sector reform.

Over time, the Enduring Partnership will evolve to reflect the changing nature of NATO's mission and its relationship with Afghanistan.

Cooperation within the framework of the Enduring Partnership currently includes a wide range activities such as professional military education programmes; assisting the Afghan civil aviation sector in meeting international standards; training in civil emergency planning and disaster preparedness, etc.

As the strategy of transition of full security responsibility to the Afghan National Security Forces unfolds successfully, the Enduring Partnership will take on increasing significance and substance.

NATO post-2014 mission

In Chicago last year, NATO allies and partners discussed post 2014 in Afghanistan in some detail. NATO's fundamental objective in Afghanistan both before and after 2014 is to ensure that the country does not once again become a safe haven for international terrorism, threatening both Afghanistan and NATO interests and security.

However, the NATO cannot be in Afghanistan without the agreement and consent of the Afghan people. It was therefore important before making the commitment to help Afghanistan after 2014, that the Afghan Government itself reaffirm its desire for continued NATO help. So, at Chicago, in the joint declaration made between the Afghan Government and ISAF contributors, the Afghan Government reaffirmed that NATO has a crucial part to play, with partners and alongside other actors, in training, advising and assisting the Afghan National Security Forces after the end of the ISAF mission, and invited NATO to continue its support (Chicago ISAF-Government of Afghanistan Declaration, paragraph 13).

Therefore, on the basis of that request from the Afghan Government, NATO is currently planning its post-2014 presence in Afghanistan in order to fulfill its commitment and continue supporting the ANSF.

ANSF sustainment

An important form of commitment after 2014 will be financial. It was agreed by ISAF foreign ministers in December last year to further develop a funding mechanism for the long-term sustainment of the Afghan forces which would complement broader international efforts. NATO has been working on the development of this mechanism since then.

Many NATO and partner nations have already committed to finance the Afghan forces beyond 2014. However, these commitments are not open-ended. Eventually, lead responsibility for the sustainment of the Afghan national Security Forces will lie fully with the Afghan government, which has agreed to provide at least 500 million Euros per year at the start. Most importantly, before they spend any money, contributors will require a robust accountability framework in place and functioning that is transparent, guards against waste and corruption, and ensures that funds are used for the purpose for which they are intended.

The first working panel was dedicated to the Research Team of the Euro – Atlantic Council of Macedonia where they presented its methods of research and the research findings. There were presentations for the A5 countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Macedonia; and also there presentations from the findings in Serbia as observer to the A5 countries.



The introduction to the findings was made by the project coordinator and leader of the project team, Mr. Ilija Djugumanov. He explained the nature of the research and how it was conducted. Also short video clip was prepared for the work done during the research.



The last panel of the first day was dedicated to the regional aspect of the subject matter. Addressing on this panel had:

- **Mr. Vladimir Gjorcev**, Vice President of the EACM
- **Mrs. Ratela Asllani**, Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Albania
- **Col. Sinisa Ostojic**, Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- **BG Neven Kranjcec**, Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia.



The representative from the Republic of Albania, Mrs. Ratela Asllani in her remarks introduced the public with the approach of Albania to ISAF from its own beginning and the ways of participation in ISAF that were practiced. The presentation of the lessons learned from the expeditionary missions that Albania participated in followed. At the end Mrs. Asllani presented the possible recommendations for the future actions in regional context.

Second panelist was Col. Sinisa Ostojic from the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Col. Ostojic presented Bosnian participation and experience in the ISAF mission. The lessons learned in the ISAF and with the lessons learned from the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their comparison was one of the main corner-stones of the presentation.



Col. Ostojic emphasized Bosnia and Herzegovina ability to offer a lot in the future engagement after 2014.

The first working day was closed by BG Neven Kranjcec from the Croatian Ministry of Defence.

BG Kranjcec stressed the importance of these types of events and shared Croatian experience and all lessons that Croatia has learned in the past. Croatian capabilities to engage in future and upcoming expeditionary missions were strongly accented. In the end the recommendations regarding the Post ISAF regional engagement were emphasized.

The second working day of the regional conference was dedicated to the experience sharing within the region. Panelists for the day were:

- **Col. Slavko Angeleski**, Vice Dean of the Military Academy
- **Dr. Jadranka Dujic Frlan**, Atlantic Council of Croatia
- **Col. Aleksandar Aleksandrov**, Chief of NATO liaison office in Skopje
- **Mr. Boris Viculin**, Atlantic Council of Serbia
- **Mrs. Ratela Aslani**, Atlantic Council of Albania
- **Lt. Col. Marjanco Mitevski** – Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia



The ice breaker was made by Col. Slavko Angeleski. In the presentation the public had the opportunity to see the legal, organizational and functional structure of the Military Academy “General Mihajlo Apostolski”. Col. Angeleski emphasized the importance of investing into human resources, especially due to the fact that there are new missions and doctrinal changes in combat operations, peace keeping operations and crisis management. That’s why the education of the professional forces relies on three pillars: institutional education, training and self-development. At the end, he appointed the importance of the civil-military cooperation, as well as the dedication of the Military Academy to become leading military education institution within the region.

Dr. Jadranka Dujic Frlan was the second panelist. Briefly Dr. Frlan appointed A5 experience in Afghanistan as an asset of strengthening the relations within the region. Although the progress of the SEEU countries was not unified, acting in complex international environment far away from home, created extraordinary platform for joint activities. The lessons learned in Afghanistan can be implemented worldwide. More intensive collaboration in the region will provide opportunities for finding answers to global challenges of economic crisis, energy security, and solutions for sustainable peace, development and stability. These positive experiences represent an excellent platform for planning future activities. Lessons that were learned should be directed into military and political-strategic sides. Thanks to experience, knowledge, professionalism, adaptability, devotion to task, as well as many other characteristics, members of missions are willing to offer effective solutions in any area of crisis. This know-how can be invaluable in moments of evaluation and action and should be implemented whenever need arises.



The head of the NATO Liaison Office in Skopje, Col. Aleksandrov transposed the lessons learned within the last period in a nutshell: transatlantic link as a corner stone, and NATO operation in Libya as a very good example of effective response that proofs the allies capabilities. He also introduced a few more good examples of regional cooperation. Furthermore, Col Aleksandrov addressed the priorities of capacity building during crisis and explained the concept of smart defense. In this presentation audience had opportunity to notice the immense importance of the regional approach especially speaking about potential post ISAF engagement.

During this period, the way how will be the military part replaced with the civil part is essential. There are two main issues: transferring security responsibilities to Afghan national forces and withdrawn of the allies troops. Solidarity, in any case, is the most important thing.



Mr. Viculin shared the Serbian experience which can be essential for the potential post ISAF engagement, although there is a lack of interest within the public. Findings regarding security and engagement were showing that Serbia should participate in post-ISAF. This is normal because everything with a prefix post, which is said regarding ISAF mission is engagement that is more easier for our public to accept. This would be acceptable with the public in Serbia, mainly because then, this would not represent participation in an ISAF- NATO led mission, then rather a different type of engagement. Regarding the findings linked with the engagement of companies from Serbia that could work during post-ISAF period it is clear that we have saved capacities and experience from the similar engagements in the past (Iraq, Africa) and

unemployment as additional motivation to work abroad. Not all of the pro-NATO CSOs are that public in their support to the NATO membership of Serbia. From personal experience I must say that it is true that ISAF mission is not in the focus among the CSO in Serbia, except in some articles within publication that are dealing with the international military missions in general or on the margins of some conferences/events where within some of the topics this mission is mentioned. Having in mind that we do not have soldiers in Afghanistan and normally the media cannot report about our presence there, participation of the Montenegro as one of our closest neighbors surely is something that is the closest to us regarding the military presence in Afghanistan.

As representative of the Atlantic Council of Albania in the second working day, Mrs. Ratela Asllani appointed that somehow, it comes that for every country within the region, the findings are common. Most worrying however is the lack of information. What is interesting or different for Albania is that media and public are 100% pro-NATO-oriented and that losing an officer in Afghanistan did not change that support. Albanian CSOs are working a lot on reintegration and resocialization of people that have come back from mission.

Lt. Col. Mitrovski as last speaker of the conference shared his personal experience of the engagement in Afghanistan, as ARM staff mentoring ANA police in Kabul. The presentation emphasized the importance of the pre deployment and its vital meaning for the success of the mission. Capabilities of the Macedonia armed forces were presented as top notch and ready to continue with expeditionary missions in future.

Conclusions and recommendations were made by PhD Hadzijanev, the project director, and are presented in the next two chapters of the publication.



Conclusions

In depth analyses over A5 countries' plus Serbia's public, business and civilian sector capabilities to actively contribute in the post ISAF engagement have shown discrepancy in their commitment to world peace and security. Almost uniquely, a general readiness and willingness for unselfish contribution toward world peace and security through post ISAF engagement gravitate among A5 countries plus Serbia. Nevertheless there is very little experience of how respected nations could mobilize and employ their own capabilities toward active contribution in post ISAF engagement on the ground.

The research confirmed that A5 countries plus Serbia share NATO's perceptions about post ISAF engagement in Afghanistan. Our results generally indicate that common wisdom in the region lay well with the vision that NATO should be part of extended post-conflict rehabilitation process. Interestingly, many from the region see this engagement through small military presence focused on building Afghan authorities' capacities through supportive and educational role.

As a part of the overall project the conference conclusions from respected officials, experts and participants reaffirmed the wide skepticism about Afghanistan's security after 2014. In this context during the conference many soundly asserted that if we are about to see safer Afghanistan strong and professional government is needed. Afghan government and public service must be populace oriented. In compliance to this requirements future post ISAF operational design must set up the overall Afghan social stability along with the security as the NATO's and partner nations' center of gravity. Nonetheless the conference as the research has clearly confirmed that putting theory in to practice is a missing part of the post ISAF puzzle for A5 countries plus Serbia.

Even though during the research and the conference strong phrases and words may have precisely determined the commitment and have depicted strategic perimeter of the post ISAF engagement there are few, if any ideas, among the A5 countries plus Serbia of how to transfer this ideas in to practice. Since generally all these countries' officials share same perceptions as NATO officials about post ISAF engagement and almost all A5 countries have announced their future commitment along with NATO during the overall analyses our team faced additional questions that steam from the research and the conference conclusions.

First whether or not A5 Countries plus Serbia truly understand the overall idea of the post-conflict engagement in general and/or post ISAF engagement specifically?


The research results attest that A5 countries plus Serbia have extensive experience in post-conflict environment. It is true that Serbia was not engaged in ISAF operations however it is also true that Serbia is well present in the UN post-conflict engagement. These conclusions during the analyses challenged our team with further questions considered during the overall project.

One of these questions was whether discrepancy between commitment and readiness to active participation in the post ISAF is a result of the lack of know-how or as the lack of information about the post ISAF engagement?

Our results show that the answer to this question straddles the boundaries of both shortage of know-how and information about the post ISAF engagement opportunities.

Post ISAF engagement has been already envisioned as a small foot military involvement. On the other hand achieving social stability requires skillful civilian components committed to support nation building in Afghanistan. Clear view from the past experience confirms that such involvements are win-win scenarios. Post-conflict authorities (with respect to the specific post-conflict phases) have always been interested in civilian support not just from volunteers and NGO's but also from private sector investors. In return private companies have guaranteed profit and market.

So far A5 countries plus Serbia were predominantly represented through military in post-conflict environments. Civilian components including private sector has not been a part of these countries post-conflict missions. Humanitarian organizations from the region reportedly have already some experience and presence in post-conflict environments such as Palestine, Libya or Syria. This however is definitely not the case when it comes to Governmental organized efforts or private sector from the business community. If there is some representation by the private companies these examples (such as ECOLOG from Macedonia) are not coordinated and government supported. In addition there is unsupported general belief that most of the companies from this region are not capable to compete with their fellow companies from developed technology of the western states and therefore they have no interest to participate in such adventure. This argument however complies with the above raised assumptions regarding the absence of know-how and information about the overall post ISAF.



The shortage of know-how sits well with the facts that some regional corporates have bold and successful projects outside post-conflict environment, but also within such environment (including in the A5 countries region plus Serbia during their post-conflict recovering). On the other hand even smaller or similar companies from the West have made huge success on the market engaging in Afghanistan or Iraq. Engagement of these companies would mean expansion of the market and employment of unemployed labor. Thus in the list of beneficiaries are not just the companies but also A5 plus Serbia governments' officials.

Lack of information or precisely qualitative information is additional issue for the current attitude. Except for Albania, in the rest of the targeted countries with this research ISAF mission's dynamics have been transcript in the news only through short headlines. Furthermore information about the ISAF or post ISAF involvement and related analyses were (and still are) generally linked to the Euro – Atlantic integration and security processes of the troops and personnel that participates into the mission itself. There is no evidence of in country investigation journalism. Journalists have chiefly traveled to the country during the respected nations' military rotations. In this short period of time reports about the ISAF and Afghanistan were linked with Euro-Atlantic integration and safety and security of the respected countries' soldiers. Civilian deployment or business capabilities were barely mentioned. To some extent this is understandable since this region's media are also market driven. Precisely beside one way approach from the A5 countries plus Serbia governments' toward Afghanistan (i.e. just related to Euro-Atlantic integration) neither civil society organizations nor academic communities have considered alternatives for regional post ISAF engagement and thus contributed toward greater interest in post ISAF opportunities for the region.

Practice has shown that the civil society organizations within the region possess extraordinary experience in the field of post-conflict recovery. However during the research we were not able to identify concrete project or initiation of project for sharing best practices in post-conflict nation building recovery.

Euro-Atlantic integration and safety and security of respected countries' soldiers in ISAF or future post ISAF engagement dominated (and still are) academic debates. Although there those who generally disagree with regional involvement in Afghanistan most of the academic community support regional involvement in Afghanistan. However individual safety and security of the soldiers and national and regional security dominate these debates. Civilian deployments are barely considered, but if they are then there are no concrete ideas or projects of their involvement. When it comes to business benefits they are always linked with the Euro-Atlantic integration. Hence many believe that commitment to ISAF and post ISAF will cement Euro-Atlantic integration processes and as a result this will create safe and secure environment which eventually will invite foreign investments. Although we could not disagree with these views we could not find evidence of alternative debates focusing on more direct approach in finding benefits from ISAF and post ISAF engagement. In this line we were not able to find budgeting on prospective feasibility studies for alternative benefits and involvements in post ISAF. We believe that all of the above (shortage of know-how capabilities and information about ISAF and post ISAF opportunities among the all stakeholders that were subject to this research) contributes to this outcome.


Many have paraphrased that A5 countries plus Serbia have evident potentials to become exporter of the Peace instead importer of the peace. We strongly believe that A5 countries plus Serbia have these capabilities. Although it could be argued that so far we have seen such contribution, we believe that this region's countries have possibilities to go beyond this contribution. We believe that this will be win-win-win scenario for NATO, A5 countries plus Serbia and the most important player Afghanistan.

Post ISAF engagement will be very difficult filled with many uncertainties. Creative and comprehensive support by the partners, not just member states has been already recognized in the NATO's new strategic concept under the so called cooperative security mission. Greater and smart defense involvement from A5 countries plus Serbia will cement NATO efforts in the region and will increase the chances of post ISAF mission accomplishment. At the same time creative engagement will set practice for future engagement and Euro-Atlantic achievements. Since our report clearly identified that A5 countries plus Serbia have potentials but also challenges below are some small recommendation for future in depth analyses and research.

Recommendations for future post ISAF involvement: a small contribution toward different approach

NATO officials should initiate specific programme or launch call for proposal of academic and professional research regarding the alternative approaches of the partner nations in the post ISAF engagement. This involvement should focus on producing creative civilian engagement from which the biggest beneficiary will be Afghan populace. Indirectly this will stimulate partner nations' Euro-Atlantic integration or wider cooperation with NATO.

A5 countries' plus Serbia's governments should consider unselfish support for qualitative civilian involvement in post ISAF. We believe in different more bold approach oriented toward active involvement, of just passive participations. This approach includes but is not limited to greater responsibility of future involvement. To achieve this all countries from the region need special projects that will stimulate civil components' interest to participate in post ISAF engagement. These projects' outcomes must be set to meet necessary requirements for post ISAF mission success, increase local social stability and regional cooperation and indirectly contribute toward regional and global peace and security.



A5 countries' plus Serbia's media should reconsider alternative opportunities to expand their market capabilities and demonstrate greater social responsibility in their own countries. Focusing on investigative journalism they could expand possibility for success and will enable greater understanding of post ISAF opportunities and involvement. Close cooperation with the business sector is a good start for such achievement.

A5 countries' plus Serbia's civil and business sector is the crucial player that needs government motivation, but also self-motivation for meeting the post ISAF opportunities. Dispersion of traditional markets and pursue for profit has pushed companies to places with high risks. Technological developments have enabled companies to manage at distance and thus expand on the new business practices such as offshoring. Dynamics of globalization dictates that if the corporations are about to succeed in the global market they need to adjust their structure and pace under which they run businesses. Following new challenges and adapting appropriate responses with necessary precautions to them require that modern corporate managers constantly respond to new business concerns with complex analyses. The results of these analyses must be synchronized in ways that ensure companies into taking risks rather than preventing them. Therefore if A5 countries' plus Serbia's corporations are about to cope with the global market requirements they need to consider wider options and their involvement in post ISAF engagement.



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