

# Afghanistan: the prospects and challenges ahead

## Report



March 2013

*In partnership with:*



**Europe's World**  
THE ONLY EUROPE-WIDE POLICY JOURNAL

The views expressed in this report are personal opinions of the speakers and not necessarily those of the organisations they represent, nor of the Security & Defence Agenda, its members or partners.

Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted, providing that full attribution is made to the Security & Defence Agenda and to the source(s) in question, and provided that any such reproduction, whether in full or in part, is not sold unless incorporated in other works.

A ***Security & Defence Agenda*** Report

Rapporteur: **Lorne Cook**

Photos: **Gleamlight / Philippe Molitor**

Publisher: **Geert Cami**

Project Manager: **Andrea Ghianda**

Project Assistants: **Seán Smith and Catherine Connolly**

Date of publication: **March 2013**

## Programme

### Speakers:



**Najibullah Amiri,**  
Chief Editor,  
Salam Watander

**Najiba Ayubi,**  
Director,  
Radio Killid



**Andreas Fischer-Barnicol,**  
Afghanistan Desk,  
European External Action  
Service (EEAS)

**Danish Karokhel,**  
Director,  
Pajhwok Afghan News  
(PAN)



**Khpolwak Sapai,**  
Broadcasting Director,  
Shamshad TV

**Nicholas Williams,**  
Head of Afghanistan  
Team, North Atlantic  
Treaty Organization  
(NATO)



### Moderated by:



**Shada Islam,**  
Head of Policy at  
*Friends of Europe*

## Afghanistan: the prospects and challenges ahead



The future of Afghanistan's government, institutions, citizens and security forces depend on continued long-term support from the international community to build on gains made since 2001 and ensure that the Taliban do not return to power, according to Western officials and senior Afghan media representatives. As NATO winds down its decade-long military operation next year, the United Nations, the European Union and other backers must commit to staying the course and help ease public fears that international efforts might falter, they said at the Security and Defence Agenda debate entitled 'Afghanistan: the Prospects and Challenges Ahead'. Despite the ongoing insurgency being waged by the Taliban and its Al-Qaeda linked cohorts, the participants expressed cautious optimism that more progress is possible if the momentum is sustained.

"Every year disaster is predicted, yet in fact disaster has not happened", said Nicholas Williams, Head of NATO's Afghanistan Team. "Despite all the problems, there is a gradual, persistent and perceptible movement forward, largely sustained by the will of the Afghan people to avoid the chaos and disputes that they went through for 20-30 years".



*"Every year disaster is predicted, yet in fact disaster has not happened. Despite all the problems, there is a gradual, persistent and perceptible movement forward, largely sustained by the will of the Afghan people to avoid the chaos and disputes that they went through for 20-30 years."*

**Nick Williams**

"Clearly there is a demand for the international community to remain in Afghanistan. Leaving in a rush is not an option, and this commitment is needed beyond 2014, for many years", said Shada Islam, Head of Policy at the *Friends of Europe* think-tank.

"The EU has committed for the long term. The message is: we are here to stay, as your partner", said Andreas Fischer-Barnicol, from the Afghanistan Desk at the European External Action Service (EEAS).

More pessimistically, Danish Karokhel, the Director of Pajhwok Afghan News said: "There has been a lot of effort on peace-building but no real positive change has been seen, and people don't trust the peace process when there is a lack of progress. Everything is happening behind closed doors, so how can people have faith in this?"



*"There has been a lot of effort on peace-building but no real positive change has been seen... everything is happening behind closed doors, so how can people have faith in this?"*

**Danish Karokhel**

## International pledges

Speakers from NATO and the European Union underlined that the Western commitment to Afghanistan would continue through 2014 and beyond, regardless of who takes power after April 2014, when landmark presidential and provincial council elections will be held. NATO, which has led the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) since 2003, will step back from its leadership position. But the Alliance will remain in-country playing a new, albeit more limited, role with a new mission to help train and advise the Afghan security forces. The ISAF mission has been NATO's most demanding operation ever, and it regularly tested solidarity among allies at odds over whether everyone was carrying their fair share of the combat burden.

Williams said that NATO has been talking for a decade about the progress that can and is being made in Afghanistan, and he warned against the trap of planning on the basis that there will be no problems after 2014. He underlined, however, that NATO's planning for the post-2014 operation is on track. "We have to be in a position at the end of this year to define the mission in sufficient detail for our military authorities to go to certain nations and ask them to be specific about their contributions from the 1st of January 2015, and we are still able to be in that position", he said.

While security is a key concern, the donor community must also step forward. The EU has pledged to keep its assistance spending for Afghanistan at 200 million euros a year or above - around one billion euros once member states' contributions are factored in. Pending the overall budget negotiations which will determine the Union's financial programming for the next seven years, it should soon become clear whether Afghanistan's aid envelope can be maintained or increased.



## Respecting Afghan commitments

But both NATO and the EU insist that their efforts be matched by similar commitments from the Afghan government, notably to fight corruption and terrorism and to bolster human rights, particularly those of women. "There are expectations of reciprocity, of mutual accountability. The new Afghan government after 2014 will have to fulfil its pledges on governance and reducing corruption and improving the human rights of all its citizens", said Williams.



*"The new Afghan government after 2014 will have to fulfil its pledges on governance and reducing corruption and improving the human rights of all its citizens."*

**Nick Williams**

From the EU's perspective, the priorities are to establish sustainable models for governance and security, to help safeguard a pluralistic society, to take credible action on reconciliation and the peace process, and to provide public services, said Fischer-Barnicol.

There is a good base to build on. He noted that Afghans are healthier and better educated than a decade ago, and that the struggle to uphold human rights is beginning to bear fruit. Even civilian casualties have declined. The latest UN annual report showed that the killing of civilians declined by 12 percent in 2012. Such casualties are mostly inflicted by the insurgents, but the deaths of civilians in NATO airstrikes have also undermined NATO's efforts to win support among the Afghan people.

"The key question is how to pursue such progress, and more importantly how to make it sustainable in the future. The short answer to this question is: we might not be there yet", Fischer-Barnicol said.

Implementation of the commitments made by both the international community and Afghanistan is the priority. This includes translating the IMF reform programme into Afghan action, passing the overdue electoral legislation, prosecuting the Kabul bank case, and reforming the judiciary.



## Polling Day 2014 - Top priority

Participants agreed that the top priority must be to carefully prepare for the elections in 2014, which will see President Hamid Karzai step down. "The political transition is more important than the security transition because it will lead our future", said Najibullah Amiri, Chief Editor at Salam Watander radio. "We hope for good elections, but there are still many challenges, which means they may not be fully free and fair. Certainly, we hope that with the support of the international community they will be better than the last elections" four years ago.



*"We need the electoral laws to be passed by parliament; we need a coherent approach for preparing for voter registration, voter education, and coordination of the international community. The clock is ticking. We have deadlines coming up".*

**Andreas Fischer-Barnicol**

Fischer-Barnicol said: "The most important thing in this context is the preparatory process for next year's elections. We need the electoral laws to be passed by parliament, we need a coherent approach for preparing for voter registration, voter education, and coordination of the international community. The clock is ticking. We have deadlines coming up".

Other steps must then be taken to boost public faith in the peace process and to inject optimism into the economy. Fischer-Barnicol underlined that a number of concrete deliverables could be achieved in the short term by the Afghan government. This would build business confidence, and help attract and retain foreign investment. Proposals to combat money laundering, terrorism and terrorism financing could be implemented relatively quickly. "This is not rocket science", he said. On top of that, draft value-added tax (VAT) and mining laws are close to completion. Further on the horizon, judicial reform and a ten-year vision for police planning must be finalised and implemented, and more work on the human rights commission is needed.

Khpolwak Sapai, Broadcasting Director at Shamshad TV, expressed concern that the 'blame games' over politics and security between the government in Kabul and those in Washington, London and Brussels have also undermined public trust. Not only that, he said, the disputes have an economic cost, even causing the local currency to fluctuate. He noted also that property prices have dropped 30 percent in the just the last year, a sure sign of concern about the future.

## The Watchdog Role

The media too has an important role to play. The number of outlets has grown considerably since the last polls in 2009, and it is likely that they will have a big impact on these elections too, although funding and access to information from the Afghan authorities remain major problems. These gains could also be put in peril if donors stop funding the eyes and ears of the public.

"The media has lived a golden age in the time since the Taliban. The number of media has risen to around 1,000 in just a few years. In the last elections, the media encouraged voter participation but now there are lot of threats. Still, the transition in 2014 has become a very big media concern", said Najiba Ayubi, the Director of Radio Killid.

Danish Karokhel, from Pajhwok Afghan News, said: "The Afghan media is keen to play a very positive role, to publicise the peace efforts, but the problem is that we don't have any information. The authorities are not prepared to talk to us, to share information with public".



*"The media has lived a golden age in the time since the Taliban. The number of media has risen to around 1,000 in just a few years. In the last elections, the media encouraged voter participation but now there are lot of threats."*

**Najiba Ayubi**

As far as the elections are concerned, Ayubi said that media coverage in 2009 was good in the months leading up to the polls, during the election and immediately after. "Year by year, the number of Afghan media outlets has been increasing, so in this election I think the coverage will be even greater than before, and therefore the role of the media will be stronger than before", she said.

Part of the media's work is to encourage people to turn out to vote. Amiri said experience from the last elections showed that many Afghans don't actually know how to vote, and that this was something the media needs to pick up on. He did note that Afghans trust the international community when it comes to the work of the election commission, and he hopes that parliament will give permission for experts and advisers to take part and help train and mentor Afghan members.



### **What of the Taliban and women's rights?**

The speakers thought it very unlikely that the Taliban would ever return to power. Neighbouring Pakistan has increasingly expressed concern that any Taliban victory might create a haven for militants to hide across the border, much as they have done in launching hit and run attacks on Western forces from rear bases in northwest Pakistan. But the Afghan participants said they had seen no concrete evidence of a shift in Islamabad's policy. "I'm sure that the Taliban don't have the capability to take over Afghanistan again. We have good security forces now and good support from the international community", said Amiri.

In the unlikely event that it should happen, women would be hit hard. "Women's rights are a major concern for many Afghans, particularly if the Taliban return. The right they have to study in schools could be lost again", warned Karokhel. His colleague Ayubi said that women suffered tremendously under the Taliban's particularly strict and violent interpretation of Sharia law, but that they have made a lot of progress under the new administration.



Women are now active in social and political life. They have posts in business and work with the media, taking on many higher quality jobs than in the past. "Every time an Afghan woman finds a chance to participate, to get work, they succeed better than men. But the numbers who have this opportunity are still very limited", she said. Many women live in villages far from Kabul and their lot has changed little. Families still forbid many girls from going to school. She called for women to be appointed to senior posts on projects in 2014 and beyond, and urged the authorities to make it easier for women to stand for election. "Women have a lot of problems collecting signatures from people. A woman has to collect 10,000 signatures to be able to stand as a candidate. This is very difficult for women to do, it's not an easy job at all. They also need to have money to take part, and that is not easy to get", she said.



*"I'm sure that the Taliban don't have the capability to take over Afghanistan again. We have good security forces now and good support from the international community."*

**Najibullah Amiri**

### **Future Afghan security**

On the security side, the Afghan army and police will require significant international funding to continue to function, even though the size of the force is being trimmed from initial estimates. Amiri said the previous phase of the security transition from ISAF to the Afghan forces in mid-2012 was fraught with challenges, particularly the insurgent havens around Kandahar. But he noted that the Afghan forces gained valuable experience, and he expressed hope that they will soon be able to provide security on their own, as long as international support continues in the interim. He said equipment shortages and failures were a major problem, and called for efforts to focus on building up the Afghan air force, so that mountainous and distant rural areas can be protected.

Sapai, the Broadcasting Director at Shamshad TV, said that the size of the international force remaining in-country was largely a symbolic issue. "What is important is for the international community to say they are staying in Afghanistan. The number is not important, but the political commitment is very, very important", he said. He appeared unconcerned about an invasion by forces from one of Afghanistan's neighbours, saying: "Foreign armies will never march into Afghanistan, but they will use the insurgency as the tool to obtain their objectives in the country".

Some of the funding for the insurgency comes from the drug trade. Afghanistan is the world's largest opium producer, and large quantities of the drug find their way to the streets of Europe and the United States, but also into Russia and Afghanistan's neighbours, like Iran. Sapai said that efforts have been stepped up to combat trafficking. Kabul has begun developing new projects to do this with the international community, and some police officers are receiving training in Russia. However, he warned: "It is very difficult for the government alone to stop the drug business. Drug traffickers are more dangerous than ordinary insurgents, and it requires a combined effort to combat them".

Ultimately, Afghanistan will require continued international support for many years to come, whether it is to build up its institutions and economy or to enable the strife-torn country to defend its own borders. 2014 is shaping up as a pivotal year. "The year 2014 has the potential of being a watershed. The coming months therefore will be crucial for setting the pace, and defining the chances for success. This applies to both the political transition, including the elections in April 2014, and the transfer of responsibility for security", said Fischer-Barnicol.

## List of participants

**Victor Angelo**

*International Affairs Strategist & Columnist*  
Visao Magazine

**Andreas Arnold**

*Director Business Development*  
Blücher

**Azamat Ayap**

*Counsellor*  
Embassy of Kazakhstan to Belgium

**Eda Aygen**

*Project Manager*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Wali Mohammad Azizi**

*First secretary*  
Embassy of Afghanistan to Belgium

**Horst Bacia**

*EU External Relations Division*  
German Institute for International and Security  
Affairs  
Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

**Nicole Baromska-Glab**

*Assistant*  
Legal Service  
European Commission

**Peter Bátor**

*Counsellor, Head of Political Section*  
Delegation of Slovakia to NATO

**Giuseppe Belardetti**

*Secretary General*  
Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA)

**Andreas Berding**

*Event Coordinator*  
European Security Round Table

**Lizza Bomassi**

*Deputy Director*  
Carnegie Europe

**Jacques Bouché**

*President & CEO*  
JJB-Philcom

**Adrian-Cristian Bratu**

*Permanent Representative to the PSC*  
Permanent Representation of Romania to the EU

**Stefanie Breinesberger**

*Research Assistant*  
Mission of Austria to NATO

**Peter Brune**

*Secretary General*  
European Network of NGOs in Afghanistan  
(ENNA)

**Hartmut Bühl**

*Publisher*  
The European Security and Defence Union

**Geert Cami**

*Co-Founder & Director*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Edoardo Camilli**

*Researcher*  
European Strategic Intelligence & Security Center  
(ESISC)

**Ciaran Carey**

*Associate and European Representative*  
Causeway Institute for Peacebuilding and Conflict  
Resolution (CIPCR)

**Olivier Chassagne**

*Team Leader, EGNOS, Galileo Exploitation*  
Directorate General for Enterprise and Industry  
European Commission

**Pavel Chervonobab**

*First Secretary*  
Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Ekaterina Chirkova**

*Policy Advisor*  
South Asia Democratic Forum

**Cdr Jeffrey Cima***Executive Officer*

United States Mission to NATO

**Anne Clear***Team Leader*Humanitarian Aid & Civil Protection (ECHO)  
European Commission**Catherine Connolly***Project Assistant*

Security &amp; Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Robert Cox***Trustee**Friends of Europe***Ramunas Davidonis***Head, Division of Common Foreign and Security  
Policy*European Affairs Department  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania**Patricia Diaz***Project Manager**Friends of Europe***Elena Donova***Second Secretary*

Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Christian Doods***Desk Officer for Afghanistan, Pakistan and India*

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgium

**Anais Dufresnes***Researcher*Institut d'Etudes Européennes (IEE)  
Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB)**Maj. Frank Everaert***Advanced Staff Course Researcher*

Royal Military Academy, Belgium

**Willy Fautré***Director*

Human Rights Without Frontiers

**Gayrat Fazilov***Counsellor*

Mission of Uzbekistan to NATO

**Andreas Fischer-Barnicol***Principal Administrator, Crisis Management and  
Planning Directorate (CMPD)*

European External Action Service (EEAS)

**Anne Flanagan***Policy Advisor*

South Asia Democratic Forum

**David Fouquet***Senior Associate*

European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)

**Anna-Karin Friis***Freelance Journalist***Octávia Frota***Senior Advisor*

High AD&amp;S Limited

**Celine Ganseman***Political advisor to the Ministry of Defence*

Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium

**Andrea Ghianda***Project Manager*

Security &amp; Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Laurent Giquello***Programme Manager*Crisis Management and Planning Directorate  
European External Action Service (EEAS)**François Goemans***Senior Emergency & Post-Crisis Specialist*Regional Liaison & Coordination Office to the EU  
International Organization for Migration (IOM)**Gie Goris***Editor-in-Chief*

MO\*

**Nicolas Gosset***Research Fellow*

Campus Renaissance bloc K

Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium

**Mihaela Haliciu***Policy Officer Fragility and Crisis Management*Directorate General for Development and  
Cooperation - EuropeAid (DEVCO)

European Commission

**Ferenc Hegyesi**

*Second Secretary*

Delegation of Hungary to NATO

**Col. Marco Hekkens**

*Researcher*

Project Future Urban Extreme Littoral – Land (FUEL-L)

**David Hobbs**

*Secretary General*

Parliamentary Assembly  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Henna Hopia**

*Visiting Fellow*

Centre for European Studies (CES)

**Shada Islam**

*Head of Policy*

*Friends of Europe*

**Sebastian Kaemmer**

*Consultant*

Cambre Associates

**Marcia Kammitzi**

*Programme Manager, European Social Fund, Cyprus, Greece, UK, Ireland*

Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion  
European Commission

**Michal Kaplan**

*Head of External Relations Unit, Asia and Oceania COASI*

Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the EU

**Nilofar Kayhan**

*Assistant*

International Crisis Group (ICG)

**Megan Kenna**

*Development Officer*

International Crisis Group (ICG)

**Juraj Kern**

*Defence Counsellor*

Delegation of Slovakia to NATO

**Nawab Khan**

*Correspondent*

Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)

**Knut Kirste**

*Political Affairs Officer, Afghanistan*

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Jiri Klepetko**

*Official*

European Commission

**Denis Kolokoltsev**

*First Secretary*

Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Miloš Koterec**

*State Secretary*

Ministry of Defence, Slovakia

**Olena Koval**

*First Secretary*

Mission of Ukraine to NATO

**Bartczak Krzysztof**

*Counsellor on EU Foreign Policy and External Action*

Permanent Representation of Poland to the EU

**Yury V. Kukharenko**

*First Secretary*

Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Jean Labrique**

*Secretary General*

Western Defense Studies Institute

**Ivica Lekic**

*Research Analyst*

STAT

**Samuel Luyckx**

*Researcher*

Faculty of Economics, Social and Political Sciences  
Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB)

**Lucia Marcišiaková**

*Third secretary*

Delegation of Slovakia to NATO

**Natalia Marczevska**

*Staff Assistant*

Political Affairs and Security Policy Division  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Elena Marda**

*Researcher*

Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS)  
University of Kent

**Pauline Massart**

*Senior Manager*

Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Burak Matsar**

*Second secretary*

Embassy of Turkey to Belgium

**Giles Merritt**

*Director*

Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Aaron Misera**

*Research Assistant*

European Parliament

**Auset Mitchell**

*Policy researcher*

Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS)  
University of Kent

**Paolo Napolitano**

*Researcher, Allied Command Operations,*  
Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe  
(SHAPE)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Jun Nojima**

*Chief Correspondent*

Asahi Shimbun

**Andrey Ognev**

*First Secretary*

Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Jean-Luc Onckelinx**

*Former United Nations Desk Officer for EU and  
Benelux*

**Abeda Osman**

*Counsellor*

Mission of Afghanistan to the EU

**Gloria Paridi**

*Trainee Fragility and Crisis Management*

Directorate General for Development and  
Cooperation - EuropeAid (DEVCO)  
European Commission

**Robert Peszkowski**

*First Secretary*

Mission of Sweden to NATO

**Frans Picavet**

*Global NCO Ambassador*

IBM Belgium

**Nicolay Pierre**

*Political advisor to the Ministry of Defence*

Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium

**Ruxandra Popa**

*Deputy Secretary General for Policy*

Parliamentary Assembly

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Eric Povel**

*Information Officer*

Afghanistan Public Diplomacy Division

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Andrew Proudlove**

*Managing Director*

ABXL

**Detlef Puhl**

*Senior Advisor, Strategic Communications*

Emerging Security Challenges Division

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Claude Richoux-Dubus**

*Member*

Espace Evanescence

**Lt. Col. Joseph Rodrigues**

*Head of Deployment Areas Section, Intelligence  
Division*

International Military Staff (IMS)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Arlinda Rrustemi**

*Research and Education Assistant*  
The Hague campus  
University of Leiden

**Lt. Col. Vinciane Sablon**

*Military lecturer*  
Conflict Studies Department  
Ecole Royale Militaire of Belgium

**Elisabeth Sandfuchs**

*Research Associate*  
European Office  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

**Martin Schmid**

*Researcher*  
Department of Political Science  
University of Erlangen-Nuremberg (Friedrich-Alexander)

**Teri Schultz**

*Freelance Journalist*  
National Public Radio (NPR)

**José Antonio Segura**

*Counsellor*  
Embassy of Spain to Belgium

**Amanda Sellers**

*Political Officer*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Mahmoud Sharei**

*Researcher*  
Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS)  
University of Kent

**Aldo Siragusa**

*Honorary Head of Division*  
Council of the European Union

**Seán Smith**

*Project Assistant*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Andrey Sotnikov**

*Counsellor*  
Embassy of the Russian Federation to Belgium

**Willy Stevens**

*President*  
Centre d'etudes des Relations Internationales et Stratégiques (CERIS)

**Nagayo Taniguchi**

*Journalist*  
Sentaku/SEKAI

**Col. Vasily Tarakanov**

*Assistant Defence Attaché*  
Embassy of the Russian Federation to Belgium

**Sara Tesorieri**

*EU Policy Adviser*  
Norwegian Refugee Council

**Brooks Tigner**

*EU/NATO Affairs Correspondent*  
IHS Jane's Defence Weekly

**Tolon Turganbaev**

*Diplomat*  
Embassy of Kyrgyzstan to Belgium

**Lev Turner**

*Public Affairs Officer*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Carsten Ulbrich**

*Manager*  
IT-Consulting Carsten Ulbrich UG

**Suzana Ulbrich**

*CEO*  
IT-Consulting Carsten Ulbrich UG

**Chris Venables**

*Researcher*  
Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA)

**Agnes Venema**

*Program Coordinator, Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention, Regional Security Program*  
EastWest Institute

**Laura Vicari**

*Researcher*  
Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

**Peter von Bethlenfalvy**

*Executive Director*

Centre for European and International Policy  
Action (CEIPA)

**Ioanna Zyga**

*Assistant*

European Parliament

**Steffen Wenk**

*NEPT (National Expert in Professional Training)*

Directorate General for Development and  
Cooperation - EuropeAid (DEVCO)  
European Commission

**Aria Teguh Mahendra Wibisono**

*Second Secretary*

Mission of Indonesia to the EU

**Makarim Wibisono**

*Executive Director*

ASEAN Foundation

**Nicholas Williams**

*Head of Afghanistan Team*

Operations Division  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

**Maj. Gen. Wolfgang Wosolsobe**

*Special Adviser*

Permanent Representation of Austria to the EU

**Manharsinh Yadav**

*Second Secretary*

Mission of India to the EU

**Robert Zaman**

*Researcher*

Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS)  
University of Kent

**Wioletta Zareba**

*Researcher*

Département de Science Politique  
Université de la Sorbonne

**Melika Zhar**

*Researcher*

Brussels School of International Studies (BSIS)  
University of Kent

**Lucia Zivec**

*Manager, Policy Studies & Forward Planning*

AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association  
of Europe (ASD)

## **SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA (SDA)**

4 Rue de la Science  
1000 Brussels, Belgium

**Tel:** +32 (0)2 300 29 92 **Fax:** +32 (0)2 300 29 90

**E-mail:** [info@securitydefenceagenda.org](mailto:info@securitydefenceagenda.org)

**[www.securitydefenceagenda.org](http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org)**  
Follow us on twitter [@secdefagenda](https://twitter.com/secdefagenda)