

Strategic Defense Review of the Republic of Kosovo

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Acronyms

BN	Battalion
BDE	Brigade
CMR	Civil-military relations
COY	Company
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HQ	Headquarters
HELO	Helicopter
INF	Infantry
ISSR	Internal Security Sector Review
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
KF	Kosovo Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PfP	Partnership for Peace
RECCE	Reconnaissance
RoK	Republic of Kosovo
RgT	Regiment
SQN	Squadron
SOF	Special Operation Forces
SRSG	Special Representative to the UN Secretary General
SF	Special Forces
SSSR	Strategic Security Sector Review
SDR	Strategic Defense Review
SPT	Support (Logistics)
TOC	Transnational organized crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
DoS	US Department of State
DoD	US Department of Defense

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Executive summary

Almost ten years after United Nations (UN) administration, ongoing military operations by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led KFOR, and coordination with European institutions, the Republic of Kosovo (RoK) was born an independent state in 2008. Prior to the declaration of independence, the UN commissioned an Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) in 2006 to examine the security situation of to provide a template on which the security of Kosovo could be constructed. Since the ISSR, Kosovo declared its independence and in concert with the International Civilian Representative implemented a security structure in line with the draft UN Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status Settlement (the "Ahtisaari Plan"). Concurrent with NATO peacekeeping mandates and the European Union's role in the rule of law area, the new state's constitution granted the government authority over law enforcement, security, justice, public safety, intelligence, civil emergency response and border control within its territory. The subsequent laws that followed the new constitution established the security structure within the conditions of the Ahtisaari Plan and included the provision for a "...full review of these limits is to be conducted no earlier than 5 years from the date this Law enters into force" (Kosovo Assembly, 2008).

It is under this provision that the government will for the first time as an independent nation set out its initial national security policy with a series of key recommendations designed to fundamentally restructure the security architecture of the RoK. With respect to this provision, the government is now preparing a Strategic Security Sector Review (SSSR) to define the strategic objectives and Security and Defense Policy of the RoK (MKSF, 2012). Given that an informed, critical, and vocal civil society contributes to the creation and maintenance of strong and independent democratic institutions, GAP Institute conducted an independent strategic defense review to continue to promote transparency and accountability.

The purpose of this Strategic Defense Review (SDR) is to foster discussion of and decisions about Kosovo's vital interests, how best to protect them, and to scope required resources. This report is an independent look at future armed forces of Kosovo. It provides an objective review into vital national interests, regional threats, and strategic choices for the capabilities and capacities of the future armed forces of Kosovo.

In this study, a vital national interest is an enduring condition upon which Kosovo depends that, if compromised, could imperil survival or well-being. Defense strategy should be designed with these interests in mind, and Kosovo's armed forces should be adequate to ensure that these interests can be defended with minimum risk. This review has identified the following vital national interest:

- **Independence and territorial integrity**
- **Conditions that enable economic stability**
- **Consolidation of a democratic state**
- **Security and stability of the region**

The next questions asked in this assessment are: what are the most significant threats to national interests? Overall, the most significant threats are political-economic, criminal-terrorist, and environmental in nature. Politically, the main threat to the security of Kosovo remains with Serbia's constitutional territorial claims. Economics remains the paramount condition that threatens the security of Kosovo. Transnational organized crime, violent extremism, and environmental threats may have significant consequences to the national interests of Kosovo.

In review of the conditions of the strategic environment, national interests, threats and opportunities, there is an occasion to reshape the defence architecture of Kosovo. These opportunities come in the form of recommendations for reshaping the roles and missions, force structure, and defence reform. Inasmuch, there is no higher priority for a government than the protection of its sovereignty, people and national security interests. Therefore, this report recommends the **primary role of the armed forces is to preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the nation by detecting, deterring, preventing, or, if necessary, defeating threats and aggression against the Republic.** The near-term conditions of the strategic environment may not afford Kosovo armed forces that are required to conduct ancillary functions and supporting missions that are analogous of advanced western militaries. Therefore, this report recommends the following **missions support the role of the armed forces: combat, security, and support to civil authorities.** Within the above roles and missions, typical **operations that the armed forces could be expected to perform include: territorial defense, civil support, humanitarian assistance, security cooperation, and peace operations.**

Kosovo has arrived at a critical inflection point in the development and employment of its armed forces. To provide armed forces able to

meet the challenges noted previously, the government must make judgments about strategic risks and opportunities to help frame choices about force structure both in terms of capability and capacity. Nonetheless, this strategic defense review is realistic about the near-term to mid-term capability and capacity of the KSF to be self-reliant in the face of armed external aggression. Resource limitations will hamper the transformation and modernization of the KSF to future armed forces. The transformation of the KSF to traditional armed forces requires rebalancing existing forces and capabilities.

Attributed the nascent nature of the Republic, by any measure of analysis the KSF is currently under-strength both capacity and capabilities in comparison to regional armed forces. Evaluating the primary threats to national interests and a comparison of armed forces in the region, this study recommends a larger armed forces both in capability and capacity currently mandated by the constitution.

Proposed composition of the armed forces			
Land Forces	Reserve Forces	Major Land Units	Major Air Units
5,000	1,500	1 x INF BDE 1 x SF BN 1 x RECCE BN 2 x INF BN (Reserve)	1 x Helo SQN

An approach to achieving greater capacity and capability in the armed forces can be generally outlined in three phases:

1. Consolidation and Reorganization;
2. Stand-up Combat Arms and Combat Support Forces;
3. Expand Reserve Forces.

“Consolidation and Reorganization” requires the roles and missions for domestic emergency response to be transferred to the applicable ministry or agency. “Stand-up Combat Arms and Combat Support Forces,” envisions the fielding of enhanced capabilities and capacities within the armed forces to fill operational shortfalls. “Expand Reserve Forces” is focused on a manned, trained and equipped reserve force structure capable of deployment to any area within Kosovo to aid civil authorities and, if required, expand or reconstitute regular armed forces in combat and security missions.

The SDR has also considered the continued development of democratic civil-military relations in support of the national interests. An important aspect in securing the consolidation of the state, Kosovo should continue its trajectory towards improving the nexus of the state, civil society, and armed forces that rests on democratic principles. To ensure the advancement of democratic and civil control of the armed forces, this report recommends:

- Further development of legislative and judiciary oversight systems;
- Enhancing the involvement of the relevant committees for defense matters;
- Improving parliamentary committee participation in defense fiscal matters, and overseeing the disbursement and implementation of defense outlays.

To promote civil society participation in defense affairs this report recommends:

- Educating the public on defense and security affairs;
- Facilitating civil society dialogue and debate on policy issues;
- Promoting policy-relevant defense and security affairs research;
- Promoting transparency and accountability of security institutions;
- Monitoring reform and maintaining sustained policy scrutiny; and
- Developing a human capital that leverages the special knowledge and expertise required in defense and security affairs.

To promote the consolidation of the state, this report recommends:

- Advancing opportunities to expand and participate in defense and strategic studies education programs for both the military, civil society, and public officials.

Finally, this report recommends that:

- The government should continue to advance defense and security cooperation programs within the region and towards the objective of Euro-Atlantic integration.

1. Introduction

Almost ten years after United Nations (UN) administration, ongoing military operations by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led KFOR, and coordination with European institutions, the Republic of Kosovo (RoK) was born an independent state in 2008. Prior to the declaration of independence, the UN commissioned an Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) in 2006 to examine the security situation of Kosovo covering civil emergency services, policing, healthcare, and the economy and provide a template on which the security of Kosovo could be constructed. Since the ISSR, Kosovo declared its independence and in concert with the International Civilian Representative implemented a security structure in line with the draft UN Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status Settlement (the "Ahtisaari Plan") (UNSC, 2007). Concurrent with NATO peacekeeping mandates and the European Union's role in rule of law area, the new state's constitution granted the Government authority over law enforcement, security, justice, public safety, intelligence, civil emergency response and border control within its territory (Qehaja, Kosumi, Qehaja, & Bekaj, 2012). The subsequent laws that followed the new constitution established the security structure within the conditions of the Ahtisaari Plan and included the provision for a "...full review of these limits is to be conducted no earlier than 5 years from the date this Law enters into force" (Kosovo Assembly, 2008).

With respect to this provision, the Government of Kosovo (Government) is now preparing a Strategic Security Sector Review (SSSR) to define the strategic objectives and Security and Defense Policy of the RoK (MKSF, 2012). Given that an informed, critical, and vocal civil society contributes to the creation and maintenance of strong and independent democratic institutions, GAP Institute conducted an independent strategic defense review to continue to promote transparency and accountability. This report intends to engage in the much needed opportunity to participate in the public discourse of defense affairs with Kosovo. This review was performed using open source research and analysis that included government data, journals, news reports, interviews with government and topical experts and policy briefs, reports, and monographs from regional and international institutions.

This paper will present the findings and recommendation of this review that aim to build an effective and credible security sector that will be critical to Kosovo's future and essential to the broader stability of the western Balkans.

2. Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) 2006

Security sector reform in Kosovo was unique within the Western Balkans as core security infrastructure was absent post the conflicts of the 1990s (Bernabéu, 2007). In the immediate aftermath of the Kosovo war in 1999, NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) filled the security responsibilities and as part of the post conflict disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, the indigenous Kosovo Liberation Army was transformed into a civil emergency agency, the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) (Qehaja, et al., 2012). The KPC, responsive to the Special Representative of the [UN] Secretary-General (SRSG) and under the oversight of KFOR, was given the missions to: "Provide disaster response services; Perform search and rescue; Provide a capacity for humanitarian assistance in isolated areas; Assist in demining; and Contribute to rebuilding infrastructure and communities" (UNMIK, 1999).

In 2005, the responsibilities for the security of Kosovo fell to KFOR contributing to a secure environment and ensuring public safety and order and the KPC provided civil emergency service.¹ Within this environment, the SRSG led an ISSR in parallel with talks on the determination of a final status for Kosovo (UNDP, 2006). Published in 2006, the ISSR sought to provide the security framework for Kosovo "designed to assist a future Government of Kosovo meet the security threats which have been identified by the population as a whole, through the ISSR threat assessment process" (UNDP, 2006). The ISSR concluded that pending the decisions and final resolution on the status of Kosovo and in light of their threat assessment, formal indigenous security architecture would need to be developed. It recommended a security architecture built upon the principles of civilian and democratic control. The proposal included: executive control through the Kosovo Security Council and Ministries of Defense, Internal Affairs, Justice, Finance, and Economy; security agencies that included the Kosovo Defense Force, Kosovo Police Service, a Security Service, and a Department of Emergency Management; and legislative oversight wrested with an Assembly of

¹ KFOR tasks have included assistance with the return or relocation of displaced persons and refugees; reconstruction and de-mining; medical assistance; security and public order; security of ethnic minorities; protection of patrimonial sites; border security; interdiction of cross-border weapons smuggling; implementation of a Kosovo-wide weapons, ammunition and explosives amnesty programme; weapons destruction; and support for the establishment of civilian institutions, law and order, the judicial and penal system, the electoral process and other aspects of the political, economic and social life of the province. NATO (2013) "KFOR's tasks." Retrieved from http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48818.htm?

Kosovo and specific committees on defense and security (UNDP, 2006).

3. Strategic Security Sector Review (SSSR) 2013

Kosovo has undergone significant political change and subsequent transformation of its security architecture since the 2006 ISSR. Principally, on February 17, 2008, the Assembly of Kosovo declared itself an independent state and set itself on a path to become a democratic, multi-ethnic and prosperous state. The new state's constitution granted the Government authority over law enforcement, security, justice, public safety, intelligence, civil emergency response and border control within its territory (Qehaja, et al., 2012). The subsequent laws that followed the new constitution established a security structure within the conditions of the Ahtisaari Plan and informed by the 2006 ISSR that dissolved the KPC and authorized the formation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) designed as a professional lightly armed force prepared to fulfill security functions not appropriate for the police or other law enforcement organizations.² The laws of the security sector include a provision for a "...full review of these limits is to be conducted no earlier than five years from the date this Law enters into force" (Law on KSF, 2008). It is under this provision that the Government will for the first time as an independent nation set out its initial national security policy with a series of key recommendations designed to fundamentally restructure the security architecture of the RoK.

4. Strategic Defense Review

To assist the government and civil society in reaching political consensus over priorities and challenges, GAP prepared this Strategic Defense Review (SDR) to assess national interests and defense needs and to consider how the security architecture of Kosovo should be adjusted to meet new strategic realities. Fundamentally the purpose of this SDR is to foster discussion of and decisions about Kosovo's

² The mission of the KSF is to conduct crisis response operations in Kosovo and abroad; civil protection operations within Kosovo; and to assist the civil authorities in responding to natural disasters and other emergencies. Such duties will include search and rescue operations; explosive ordnance disposal; the control and clearance of hazardous materials; fire-fighting; and other humanitarian assistance tasks. Republic of Kosovo (n.d.) "Kosovo Security Force" Retrieved from <http://www.rks-gov.net/en-US/Qtetaret/Siguria/Pages/FSK.aspx>

vital interests, how best to protect them, and to scope required resources. This report is an independent look at future armed forces of Kosovo. It adds to the debate entering the ongoing strategic security sector review. It does not replace it. Further, it is not intended to either supplant the government SSSR. Instead, it provides an objective review into vital national interests, regional threats, and strategic choices for the capabilities and capacities of the future armed forces of Kosovo. This SDR fulfills an opportunity to reinforce legitimacy of the security sector and improves transparency in governmental processes. By providing professional research and analysis from an independent public policy institution the objective of this SDR is to contribute the overall effort of drafting sound public policies that promote effective solutions in establishing peace and stability.

5. Methodology

The methodology used in this study is based on a national interest based approach to national security. National interests are a nation's perceived needs and aspirations in relation to its international environment (Yarger & Barber, 1997). A national interest is any issue that has the potential to directly impact the pursuit of national goals. They provide the focus for actions and are the foundation and starting points for policy prescriptions and the formulation of national security strategy (Yarger & Barber, 1997). The specific steps utilize the methodology for determining interests: determine national interests from an understanding of national values and the strategic environment, identify and assess challenges (threats and opportunities) to those interests, compare the challenges against current policies and strategies, and based on this assessment, develop policy recommendations to protect against threats and take advantages of opportunities (Yarger & Barber, 1997).

At the outset of this effort, it was initiated a wide-ranging literature review of the primary and secondary sources most relevant to Kosovo's defense and security affairs. The study drew insights from several government, academic, and think tank studies and reports; refereed scholarly journals; and military strategy, doctrine, and concepts. The primary focus of the literature review was to understand current thought on the strategic environment, threats, opportunities, and the capabilities and capacities of Kosovo's nascent security institutions. With knowledge gleaned from the literature review, researchers interviewed and engaged with subject matter experts.

The sources used for this paper is based mainly upon qualitative sources, including but not limited to analyzing: official government text of laws, regulations, speeches, press releases, and treaties; records of government expenditures and structures; reports published by various domestic and international organizations; scholarly and professional journals; news articles; interviews with recognized subject matter experts; as well as through quantitative methods. Additionally, this SDR examines the previously established assumptions and benefits from the holistic threat assessment of the 2006 ISSR (Taylor & Boggs, 2011).

6. National Interests

In this study, a vital national interest is an enduring condition upon which Kosovo depends that, if compromised, could imperil survival or well-being. These vital national interests underwrite the Kosovo's future defense affairs. The purpose of using an interest based approach is to create a clear picture of the ends (vital national interests) that will shape the strategic decisions on determining how to shape ways and means (national security structures and their roles and missions) and ultimately inform a national security strategy. A national interest based approach to national security of Kosovo may not settle policy debates. However, it should focus discussion on the foremost issues, which can then be debated with analysis.

The first question that is asked in this assessment is: what are the enduring national interests that will exist over time? The enduring national interests of the Republic of Kosovo consist of a set of fundamental values and goals of the people of Kosovo, as well as the political, economic, social and other needs necessary for the prosperity of the individuals, society and state. Defense strategy should be designed with these interests in mind, and Kosovo's armed forces should be adequate to ensure that these interests can be defended with minimum risk.

This review has identified the following national interests:

- **Independence and territorial integrity**
- **Conditions that enable economic stability**
- **Consolidation of a democratic state**
- **Security and stability of the region**

Independence and territorial integrity: Despite the parliamentary plurality within Kosovo where a consensus list of national interests would be difficult to coalesce, one could reach unanimity on: independence and territorial integrity. This interest is enshrined within the first principles of its declaration of independence and the first two articles of Kosovo's constitution. Inasmuch, it can be argued that among the interests listed above, this remains the *vital* national interest that establishes the conditions to safeguard and enhance its' survival and well-being as a free and secure nation. Therefore, it is within its' interest to protect itself from interference with its domestic affairs and to prevent the threat or use of forces against the settled territorial limits of Kosovo.

Conditions that enable economic stability: An economically viable state would fundamentally increase the welfare of the citizens of Kosovo and enhance the ability of its people to pursue opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. Economic opportunity and growth give the population a stake in peace and without broad improvements in economic performance, peace is not sustainable (Collier, 2007). This interest is also intertwined with Kosovo's ability consolidate itself as a democratic state.

Consolidation of a democratic state: There are five conditions recognized for the consolidation of a democratic state: free and lively civil society, autonomous political society, rule of law that protects individual freedoms and associational life, state bureaucracy, and institutionalized economic society (Linz & Stepan, 1996). A free and lively civil society is achieved where the polity organizes into groups, movements, and associations to articulate values and interests. An autonomous political society hosts free and inclusive electoral contests that are legitimate in the eyes of civil society. Within the conditions of the rule of law, all significant actors are held accountable and are habituated to the rule of law. A functioning bureaucracy is essential to protect the rights of citizens, effectively claim the monopoly on the legitimate use of force, and tax compulsorily to pay for public administrators and basic services. Finally, economic society enables civil society to prosper and produces a surplus that allows the state to conduct its functions. Kosovo's strategic objective of Euro-Atlantic integration is realized through these conditions of consolidation and accordingly, the European Commission reports that, Kosovo (to varying degrees) is making progress toward these conditions (EC, 2012).

Security and stability of the region: In its' founding documents and consistent declaratory policies, Kosovo continues to demonstrate its

commitment to regional cooperation and good neighborly relations as factors in peace and stability (Jahjaga, 2013). Kosovo's security and prosperity is inevitably linked to a sustainable regional order based upon mutual support between states of the region that develops and preserves a safe and secure environment. Improving linkages that foster collective action to confront common challenges between states enables coercive military force as a policy option to decrease and other policy options, namely economic, to increase resulting in stability within regional order (Keohane & Nye, 1977).

7. The Strategic Environment

The strategic environment consists of conditions, threats, and opportunities that influence the success of the state. Challenges to Kosovo's national interests come in many forms, chief among them form geopolitical dimensions within the strategic environment. First in setting the stage for the strategic environment is to identify the context and conditions.

Kosovo has undergone significant political change and a transformation of its security architecture since the 2006 ISSR. Chief among these changes is the establishment of the RoK as an independent state. In its declaration of independence in 2008, Kosovo committed to fulfilling its obligations under the Ahtisaari Plan and welcomed a period of international supervision (U.S. DoS, n.d.). Kosovo's supervised independence ended in September 2012; in this period, Kosovo established the foundation of a representative democratic republic, began representing itself in foreign policy, and completed the transition of the civil emergency agency, the KPC, to the Kosovo Security Force. As of March 2013, 99 countries have recognized Kosovo's independence, 22 of 27 European Union and 24 of 28 NATO member states, and all of its neighbors (except Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). Notwithstanding these conditions, NATO's KFOR continues to fulfill its security mandates under UNSCR 1244 and the EU carries out its rule of law mission, EULEX, in support of Kosovo's justice and law-enforcement agencies.

Within this context, the geopolitical condition under which Kosovo exists remains tenuous. While recognized by a majority of United Nations, European Union, and NATO nations, Kosovo remains excluded from participation as a full member of the international community. During negotiations in 2012, an agreement was negotiated between Kosovo and Serbia that outlines the conditions

which Kosovo could be represented at international meetings (Brunwasser, 2012).³ Until this time, UNMIK had represented Kosovo in international forums. At the time of this assessment, the EU is facilitating dialogue to help normalize relations between Kosovo and Serbia.⁴ With this caveat, Kosovo continues to make significant advances in reaching international and regional cooperation agreements, notably: a Feasibility Study with the European Commission that moves Kosovo toward negotiations on Stabilization and Association Agreement and establishment of the contractual relations between the Republic of Kosovo and European Union, and membership in the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Regional Cooperation Council, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the US-Adriatic Charter (Jahjaga, 2013; EC, 2012).⁵

Amidst these challenges and opportunities, Kosovo is virtually placed within a larger geopolitical struggle between the “West” and “East.” In the West, the “Quint” of the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom are firmly committed to supporting an independent, sovereign, and multiethnic Kosovo. In the East, some analysts note that Russia and China are playing spoiler roles in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) exercising veto power against the other permanent members of the UNSC to block Kosovo’s accession to the world stage on the basis that it undermines the United Nations and is illegal under international law; both nations face separatist movements that recognition of Kosovo would harm their national policies (Hoxha, 2012; Friedman, 2007). On a smaller scale there also exists a “West” and “East” context regionally. Turkey and Greece, both NATO troop contributing nations to KFOR sit on opposite poles of recognition of the RoK. A senior Turkish Defense official noted: “Turkey does express its support for Kosovo in all sectors. Kosovo is an independent country and it is equal to any other country in the

³ The agreement on self-representation by Kosovo included the designation of an asterisk when referring to “Kosovo*.” The asterisk refers to the following footnote: ‘This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSC 1244 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo Declaration of Independence.’ European Union (n.d.). “EU facilitated dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia: Agreement on Regional Cooperation and IBM technical protocol.” Retrieved from http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_11884_en.htm

⁴ On 19 April 2013, the EU brokered the “First Agreement of Principles Governing the Normalization of Relations” between Kosovo and Serbia. This deal, upon implementation will address, among others, areas of the security sector and specifically the parallel Serbian institutions’ threat to Kosovo’s integrity.

⁵ On 28 June 2013, the EU Member States authorized the EC to start negotiations with Kosovo on a Stabilization and Association Agreement.

Balkans;” in contrast, senior Greek officials reiterated their position of non-recognition (RTK, 2013; B92, 2013). Within this climate, reconciling Serbia’s constitutional claim to Kosovo and accession to the key international bodies remain Kosovo’s most significant geopolitical hurdles (EC, 2012).

The military dimension also presents significant challenges for Kosovo. Today, over 5,000 NATO troops from over 30 nations remain stationed in Kosovo for the KFOR peace keeping operation. In 2009 NATO announced that it intended to reduce the number of KFOR troops to approximately 2,500 with plans for reductions that would mirror the “Deterrent Presence” concept of operations executed by in Bosnia and Herzegovina (JFCHQ, 2011; KFOR, 2005; SFOR, 2004).⁶ Unfortunately, violence in 2011 required the temporary deployment of the NATO Operational Reserve Force battalion to maintain a secure environment and subsequently stymied KFOR’s plans to transition its operations to a new phase. Recent assessments suggest that KFOR will be required to fulfill key security tasks of fixed-site security, riot control, and border management at least until Serbia and Kosovo normalize relations (Clapper, 2012). In addition to KFOR, EULEX operates in the security sector with approximately 1700 international law and judicial experts working to support, develop, and strengthen Kosovo’s police force, justice, and customs services. The presence of these internationals in security sector presents both opportunities and challenges for a sovereign and independent Kosovo.

In regional military architecture, Kosovo’s security forces pales in comparison to the armed forces of Kosovo’s neighbors (See Table 1: Western Balkans Military Balance). At one end, the Serbian military overmatches the nascent Kosovo Security Force both in capability and capacity. At the other end, the KSF matches the capacity, yet not capability, of Montenegro – a nation of less than half the population of Kosovo and slightly larger land mass (CIA, 2010). If one compared ratios of active forces to populations, the average ratio is 3.76 service members per 1000 citizens. A calculation of combined KSF/KFOR forces to the Kosovo population reveals a ratio of 2.7 service members per 1000 citizens; a KSF only calculation reveals a paltry 1.35 service

⁶ In 2010, KFOR began to gradually reduce its force levels and concept of operations by moving to the “Deterrent Presence” posture. “Deterrent Presence” is a concept of operations whose main effort is based around small, regionally dispersed “liaison monitoring teams” (LMTs) tasked to monitor the social, political and economic situation in the municipality that they are responsible. KFOR has employed LMTs since 2005. LMTs are an off-shoot of the SFOR (Bosnia) concept “Liaison and Observation Teams.”

members per 1000 citizens. It is important to note that the force size structure differences between Western Balkan nations are shaped by historical and geographic conditions - namely the remnants of the armed forces of the former Yugoslav and naval and air force requirements. Therefore, if one compared land force capacity, the gap is narrowed to a regional average of 2.76 land forces per 1000 citizens compared to Kosovo's 2.7 per 1000 citizens (combined KFOR/KSF) and 1.35 per 1000 citizens (KSF only) (IISS, 2013).

TABLE 1: Western Balkans Military Balance

	Population	Active Forces	Reserve Forces	Land Forces	Air Forces	Major Land Units	Major Air Units
Serbia	7,276,604	28,150	50,150	13,250	5,100	4 x Mechanized Brigade (BDE) 8 x Infantry (INF) BDE (Reserve)	1 x Fighter SQN 1 x Transport SQN 1 x Attack Helo SQN 2 x Transport Helo SQN
Croatia	4,480,043	18,600	21,000	11,400	3,500	1 x Armored BDE 1 x Motorized BDE 3 x Guard Regiment (Rgt) 1 x Special Forces (SF) Battalion (BN)	2 x Fighter/Ground Attack SQN 1 x Transport SQN 1 x Firefighting SQN 1 x Transport Helo SQN
Albania	3,002,859	14,250		8,150		1 x INF BDE 1 x Commando Rgt	1 x Transport Helo Squadron (SQN)
Bosnia Herzegovina	3,879,296	10,550		9,200	850	3 x INF BDE	3 x Helo SQN
Macedonia	2,082,370	8,000	4,850			2 x Corps HQ 2 x Mechanized BDE 1 x Tank BN 2 x SF BN	1 x Attack Helo SQN 1 x Transport SQN 1 x Transport Helo SQN
Slovenia	1,996,617	7,600	1,700	7,600 (Active)	100 (Reserve)	3 x Motorized INF BN 1 x SF Unit 1 x RECCE BN	1 x Transport SQN 1 x Transport Helo SQN
Kosovo (without KFOR)	1,847,708	2,500	800	2,500	0	1 x INF BDE	
Montenegro	657,394	2,080		1,500	230	1 x Motorized BDE 1 x SF BDE 1 x RECCE COY	1 x Helo SQN

Reference: International Institute for Strategic Studies (2013). The Military Balance, London, UK 113:1, 543-556.

8. Threats and Opportunities

The next questions asked in this assessment are: what are the most significant threats to national interests over a fifteen-to twenty-year timeframe, and what are the opportunities to advance national interests? Overall, the most significant threats are political-economic, criminal-terrorist, and environmental in nature. Each of these threat areas has components that have risk calculations that vary in degree of probability and consequence. As a word of caution, this report recognizes the risk associated with recycling conventional acceptable lists of threats to global, regional, and national security and focused its analysis on direct threats to the vital national interests of Kosovo.⁷

Recognized by the 2006 ISSR, economics remains the paramount condition that threatens the security of Kosovo. In 2006, high unemployment, wide spread poverty and underdevelopment contributed to the overwhelming sense of insecurity with Kosovo. In 2008, the underdevelopment and un-integrated nature of its economy insulated Kosovo from the onset of a global financial crisis. Despite consistent growth in GDP in the past three years of ~4% the EU estimates unemployment at above 40% with youth unemployment more than 70%, average annual inflation of 7.4%, and an average monthly wage of €368 (EC, 2012). Fundamentally, a weak national economy will continue to be of principal importance to the security of Kosovo for the near future and threaten the national interests of “conditions that enable economic stability” and “consolidation of a democratic state.”

Politically, the main threat to the security of Kosovo remains with Serbia’s constitutional territorial claims. In its’ 2009 National Security Strategy, Serbia identifies its main threat to security as the secession of “the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija” (Republic of Serbia, 2009). This division remains the “most persistent obstacle to regional security and interstate cooperation in the Western Balkans” (Bugajski & Conley, 2011). Security experts in the region understand the dynamic that as long as there is no guarantee of territorial integrity of Kosovo its well-being as a free and secure nation is in question (Nikolla, 2012). However, there exists a security paradox

⁷ De France & Witney (2013) note the conventional acceptable threats generally included: regional conflicts, proliferation, terrorism, financial security, cyber security, energy security, climate change, pandemics, natural and industrial disasters, organized crime, drug trafficking, and migration.

that needs to be carefully managed, as the dialogue to normalize peaceful relations between Serbia and Kosovo advances, the risk of violence by hardliners will probably increase (Clapper, 2013).

Recently, escalation of tensions and periods of violence occurred again in northern Kosovo in 2011-2012 when the Government attempted to establish control over Serbia-Kosovo border crossings. A failed police operation to take control of the border posts incited violence on the part of Kosovo Serbs who object to recognize the authority of the Government from asserting control over border crossings (Lowen, 2011). KFOR would relieve the Kosovo police units in controlling the border crossings and over the period of a year Kosovo Serbs and KFOR would routinely clash over the erection and destruction of roadblocks designed to prevent the Government from consolidating control within northern Kosovo and its border with Serbia (Bytyci, 2011). This escalation of violence "has raised security concerns and signaled significant urgency to resolve the status of the Serb-dominated northern municipalities" (Bugajski & Conley, 2011).

While not publically linked to the recent violence in northern Kosovo is a countervailing force of concern, the parallel Serbian structures and in particular civil protection organizations. It has been reported that civil protection agency in Mitrovica has nearly 400 members on the Serbian Ministry of Defence payroll (Koha Ditore, 2012). Even more disconcerting is that this organization has publicly recognized that Article 65 of the Geneva Convention authorize the civil protection agency "to carry light arms to uphold order and for self-protection" (Koha Ditore, 2012). The April 19, 2013 EU brokered agreement between the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Kosovo includes a provision for the transition of parallel security structures. Specifically the agreement notes, "...members of other Serbian security structures will be offered a place in equivalent Kosovo structures" (Brajshori & Jovanovic, 2013). Key not only to this particular point is the implementation of the agreement where some reports note that implementation of the whole agreement should start with the withdrawal of Serbian security structures from Northern Kosovo (Andric, 2013).

In the interim, the presence of international peacekeepers reduces the probability of this risk to Kosovo's national interest. However, KFOR and not the KSF remains the only force capable of protecting its

territorial integrity.⁸ As result of the escalation of violence and lack of capacity and capability with the Kosovo security institutions to manage this threat, NATO slowed its plans to reduce the size of KFOR as to not risk the deterioration of security in Kosovo (Rasmussen, 2012). As an assessment of consequence, this poses a significant risk to the national interest of “independence and territorial integrity” and the residual risk to this national interest is assessed as moderate.

An associated political threat is regional stability. Unresolved and simmering ethnic conflicts within the Balkans and the ongoing Eurozone economic crisis/global economic recession threaten the national interests of ‘security and stability of the region’ and ‘conditions that enable economic stability.’ In early 2012, fears of ethnic conflict were flamed again in Macedonia after at a series of apparent ethnically targeted murders outside Skopje; the tensions sparked clashes between police and demonstrators protesting the killings (Synovitz & Blagoje Kuzmanovski, 2012). While ethnic tensions within Macedonia has not resulted the level of violence as seen ten years ago, the nation is also challenged by inter-state friction with Greece and Bulgaria (Clapper, 2013). In Bosnia, political disputes between the three major ethnic groups of post-Dayton Accords has regressed it as a functioning state whose stability and survival is called into question (Bugajski & Conley, 2011). In Albania, corruption and weak government institutions coupled with strained parliamentary rule has stymied progress towards necessary reforms (Clapper, 2013). Economically, while most of the Balkans has yet to integrate into the EU, the Eurozone crisis has not been broadly detrimental with average GDP growth of 1.9% with an expectation of contraction (IISS, 2012). However, in the broader region the likelihood of social unrest driven by broader economic challenges is increasing and more likely. “In Greece, protests have already resulted in deaths. In Italy and Spain, by comparison, demonstrations have remained peaceful” (Heinze, 2013).

Complicating the national interests of Kosovo are non-traditional challenges to the security sectors. Transnational organized crime, violent extremism, and environmental threats may have significant

⁸ On 9 July, 2013, “the North Atlantic Council declared that the Kosovo Security Force has reached full operational capability and is fully capable of performing the tasks assigned to it within its mandate, to standards designated by NATO.” Vandiver, J. (2013, 9 July). “Kosovo security force recognized as fully operational by NATO.” Stars and Stripes. Retrieved from <http://www.stripes.com/news/europe/kosovo-security-force-recognized-as-fully-operational-by-nato-1.229553>

consequences to the national interests of Kosovo. These non-military sources of conflict place at varying risks the national interests of 'consolidation of a democratic state,' 'security and stability of the region,' and 'conditions that enable economic stability.'

Underdeveloped economies, weak government institutions, and weak rule of law create an atmosphere that allows transnational organized crime to flourish. "Transnational organized crime (TOC) poses a significant and growing threat to national and international security, with dire implications for public safety, public health, democratic institutions, and economic stability across the globe" (White House, 2011). It is widely recognized that TOC thrives in the Balkans and puts at risk the national interests of "security and stability of the region" and "consolidation of a democratic state." The region remains a conduit for TOC trafficking in drugs, humans, and weapons into Western European markets. While not a significant narcotics producer, Kosovo in particular is considered primarily a transit country for drugs headed for Europe (U.S. DoS, 2012). In 2011, the Kosovo Police noted drug seizures of: marijuana (96.8 kg), heroin (33.1 kg) and cocaine (2.6 kg) (U.S. DoS, 2012). Kosovo is also recognized as "...a source, transit, and destination country for women and children who are subjected to trafficking in persons, specifically forced prostitution, and children in forced begging" (U.S. DoS, 2010). On the weapons front, the region is remains a trove of leftover armament from the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Balkans has become market and conduit in the weapons trade (Grillot, 2010). Some analyst estimate that nearly one-third of all illegal weaponry in the European Union comes originally from the former Yugoslavia (Palic, 2013). The Swiss-based Small Arms Survey notes the following rates of weapons per capita in former Yugoslavian countries: Serbia 38 per 100 citizens (5th largest per capita in the world); Macedonia 24/100, Montenegro 23/100, Croatia 22/100, Kosovo 19.5/100, Bosnia-Herzegovina 17/100, and Slovenia 13/100 (Small Arms Survey, 2012). The Small Arms Survey also notes that Croatia and Bosnia have severe land mine problems (estimated at 90,000 and 120,000 respectively) (Small Arms Survey, 2012). The Forum for Security notes that between 2000 and 2011, 17,142 weapons were confiscated in Kosovo (Forum for Security, 2012). Also of concern is the coalescence of TOC with the previous threat area, terrorism. Under this crime-terror nexus terrorist turn to TOCs to acquire funds and logistical support for their actions. The breadth of the ongoing TOC challenge within the region and Kosovo prompt an assessment of residual risk to the national interests "security and

stability of the region” and “consolidation of a democratic state” as moderate.

Yet another threat area that thrives in underdeveloped economies and weak government institutions are extremists that use the threat or act of violence to advance their agendas. These violent extremists target populations, particular groups, individuals, or material objects defined by ethnicity, political conviction, sexual preferences and religion to instill fear (Bieber, 2003). Within a regional context, the Balkans have been the site of terrorist acts notably outside the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo, Bosnia (October 2011) and a tourist bus depot in Burgas, Bulgaria (July 2012) (Bardos, 2012). Additionally, in 2010, Serbia conducted counterterrorist operations directed against terrorist planning attacks on embassies in Belgrade (Bardos, 2012). While the probability and consequence of the threat of extremist organizations within the region vary, the consensus among analysts is that the lack of rule of law, weak government institutions, and corruption has fostered to the rise and resurgence of extremist political and religious organizations (Karadaku, 2013). Experts note that while most Islamic communities in the Balkans “are far removed from any terrorist agendas,” Islamic terrorist have found opportunities in the Balkans following the introduction of Islamic charities and Wahhabi surrogates in the region (Tziampiris, 2009). In Kosovo particular it is noted that only a small fraction of locals who are globally connected fundamentalists “might be drawn to Islamic extremism and related activities” (Deliso, 2007). On the political extremist front, grenade attacks in North Kosovo (recently 20 over the period of approximately two months) are a terrorist tactic used in Kosovo targeting individuals, families, security forces, or material objects (AP, 2013).⁹ The aim of these attacks are attributed to either provoke broader violence or in response to the presence of police or international peacekeepers. Terrorist trends in the region and within Kosovo lend themselves to attack methods that have lower consequences than catastrophic attack methods yet have a higher probability of success. Unfortunately, most of these attacks remain under investigation and the perpetrators of these attacks are not brought to justice. Nonetheless, the terrorist acts within the region and Kosovo that have had low consequence prompt an assessment of residual risk to the national interests “security and stability of the region” and “consolidation of a democratic state” as low.

⁹ Many of the grenade attacks have been targeted against material objects rather than persons.

Environmental threats primarily are exhibited as natural disasters that may have significant consequences to the safety and security of individuals and communities. These catastrophic events are not only life-safety issues but retain lingering economic effects especially within developing countries (UNU, 2011). As an assessment of probability, in recent years, the KSF has deployed twice to help respond to catastrophic floods in Albania and supported recovery operations to extreme snowfall within Kosovo. Therefore, the residual risk to the national interests of “conditions that enable economic stability” and “security and stability of the region” are assessed as low.

9. Strategic Choices

The decisions about the future defence architecture of Kosovo ought to be based on explicit criteria of national interests and not on compromise among institutional forces (internal or external). “Major decisions should be made by choices among explicit, balanced, and feasible alternatives (Enthoven & Smith, 2005)”. This study presents an alternative.

The essence of strategy is the prioritization of ways and means to achieve endstates. It is in that same sense the following recommendations are submitted. In review of the conditions of the strategic environment, national interests, threats and opportunities, there is an occasion to reshape the defense architecture of Kosovo. These opportunities come in the form of recommendations for reshaping the roles and missions, force structure, and defense reform. It also presents an opportunity to focus and affirm defense cooperation activities that secure the national interests.

Roles and Missions: In the context of this study, **roles** are the broad and enduring purposes for which the armed forces are established by law and **missions** are broad activities required to secure the national interests that are unique to the armed forces. The threats to national interests of independence and territorial integrity and economic conditions necessitate a distinct consolidation of the roles and missions of the armed forces. There is no higher priority for a government than the protection of its sovereignty, people and national security interests. Further, there is no institution more important for the survival of a state than its armed forces (Barany, 2012). **Therefore, the primary role of the armed forces is to preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the nation by detecting, deterring, preventing, or, if necessary, defeating threats and aggression against the Republic.** This role is an exercise of the fundamental right of nations for self-defense in the face of armed aggression (United Nations, 1945).

The near-term conditions of the strategic environment may not afford Kosovo armed forces that are required to conduct ancillary functions and supporting missions that are analogous of advanced western militaries. That is not to say that armed forces designed for preserving the independence and territorial integrity are also not capable of missions that support other national interests (i.e. disaster relief in support of regional security and stability). However it is not in the best interests to sacrifice national assets to field and sustain armed forces with a bouquet of niche roles and missions. **Therefore,**

the following missions support the role of the armed forces: combat, security, and support to civil authorities.

The combat mission is focused on defeating armed enemies through the organized application of force to kill, destroy or capture by all available means (U.S. Department of Defense [DoD], 2010).¹⁰ The security mission is focused on protecting and controlling populations, territory, and resources against external threats and aggression (U.S. DoD, 2010). The support to civil authorities' mission requires the armed forces to assist civilian authorities to mitigate and manage the consequences of natural and man-made disasters. These recommendations would not require significant reshaping of the current missions: "conduct crisis response operations in Kosovo and abroad; civil protection operations within Kosovo; and to assist the civil authorities in responding to natural disasters and other emergencies" (Law on the Kosovo Security Force, 2008). However, the transition from "crisis response" to "combat" could predicate a transfer of the ancillary duties and capabilities to other ministries and agencies.

Within the above roles and missions, typical operations that the armed forces could be expected to perform include: territorial defense, civil support, humanitarian assistance, security cooperation, and peace operations. Territorial defense operations require the capability and capacity to protect the sovereignty, territory, domestic population, and critical infrastructure against external threats and aggression. Civil support and humanitarian operations support other ministries and agencies (domestically or internationally respectively) to relieve or reduce human suffering in the response the consequences of natural and man-made emergencies. Security cooperation is those activities that include interaction with foreign defense ministries and armed forces to build relationships that develop interoperable military capabilities and promote Kosovo's national interests (Allied Joint Publication 01(D), 2010).¹¹ Peace operations could include operations conduct abroad within the framework of international or regional organizations to contain conflict enforce peace, and support reconciliation deemed necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

¹⁰ The study's primary researcher was the U.S. Department of the Army's lead for the development of these concepts.

¹¹ NATO Allied Joint Publication 01(D) "Allied Joint Doctrine" notes that interoperability is the capability of forces to operate together coherently, effectively, and efficiently. While this does not require like weapons systems, it does require similar doctrine and terminology from which to build a common operational framework.

We are not looking to be balanced with any other country, just to meet our security need and to be affordable to our budget and not to represent – especially this – not to represent a threat to anyone. – Agim Çeku, Minister of the Kosovo Security Forces

Force Structure: Kosovo has arrived at a critical inflection point in the development and employment of its armed forces. To provide armed forces able to meet the challenges noted previously, the Government must make judgments about strategic risks and opportunities to help frame choices about force structure both in terms of capability and capacity. The capabilities and capacities of the armed forces are derived from the roles and missions outlined above.

Fundamentally, if a nation wishes to deter war, it must demonstrate a credible ability to fight and win a war. The best way of demonstrating this capability is a strong land forces component; a strong land forces component is one that can defeating hostile land forces control critical territory infrastructure and populations (Mearsheimer, 2001). Such forces can perform a range of other missions that enhance deterrence, respond to domestic emergencies, support humanitarian needs, and reassure allies.

Nonetheless, this strategic defense review is realistic about the near-term to mid-term capability and capacity of the KSF to be self-reliant in the face of armed external aggression. Resource limitations will hamper the transformation and modernization of the KSF to future armed forces. Yet, “excessive security spending may also absorb scarce public resources that would be better used in other sectors (Hendrickson 1999, p.9)”. Therefore, if Kosovo were threatened by a power with military capabilities beyond its capacity to deter or defeat, it would rely on significant support regional and Euro-Atlantic partners. It should, however, still seek to defend itself to the greatest extent possible.

Despite the threats to the vital national security interests of independence and territorial integrity, the presence of KFOR and to a lesser extent EULEX, helps to mitigate the risk of those threats during this nascent period of Kosovo's security institutions. KFOR and EULEX continue to offer several opportunities for Kosovo. First and foremost, KFOR's mandate promotes a safe and secure environment to allow the maturation and consolidation of state institutions and civil society. The continuous structuring and downsizing of KFOR is hinged on the ever improving security conditions are positive signals for Kosovo's national interests. Inversely at times of heightened tension, NATO has slowed its downsizing and restructuring strategies especial when operational reserve forces were deployed. This is an ancillary risk associated with KFOR in that political and

economic decisions could lead to rapid redeployment of troop contributing nations creating a sort of security vacuum that Kosovo's armed forces would have to rapidly and perhaps prematurely fill. EULEX mandates of rule of law supports the national interest of consolidation of the state. EULEX provides an opportunity to establish and improve institutions, laws, and strategies to tackle the threats of TOCs, terrorism, and violent extremists.

A second opportunity that KFOR offers is the advisory, training and mentoring activities that allow the maturation of the KSF and potentially its future armed forces. For example, in the current government led SSR, a NATO Advisory Team provides high-level advice to the Ministry of KSF on strategic defense reviews (Beardsley, 2012). Additionally, NATO Training Teams help trained KSF in basic military skills designed to prepare the KSF to achieve initial operational capacity.

The transformation of the KSF to a traditional armed forces requires rebalancing existing forces and capabilities. Table 2 "Transformation of the KSF" is a comparative analysis of current KSF, KSF with KFOR, and regional land forces as presented in Table 1 "Western Balkans Military Balance" to portray the proposed force structure of the future armed forces. Attributed the nascent nature of the Republic, by any measure of analysis the KSF is currently under-strength both capacity and capabilities in comparison to regional armed forces. Evaluating the primary threats to national interests and a comparison of armed forces in the region, this study recommends a larger armed forces both in capability and capacity currently mandated by the constitution. Building on the current structure of the KSF and the presence of KFOR, a phased increase in the capacity of the future armed forces is proposed.

Table 2: Transformation of the KSF				
	Land Forces	Reserve Forces	Major Land Units	Major Air Units
Current Kosovo Security Forces (without KFOR)	2,500	800	1 x INF BDE	None
Current Kosovo Security Forces (with KFOR) ^{1,2}	7,365 (2,500 KSF + 4,865 KFOR)	1,500 (800 KSF + 700 NATO ORF*)	1 x INF BDE + 2 x BATTLE GROUPS	
Comparative Regional Land Force ³	7,500	1,500	1 x INF BDE 1 x SF BN 1 x RECCE BN	1 x Helo SQN
Proposed Kosovo Armed Forces	5,000	1,500	1 x INF BDE 1 x SF BN 1 x RECCE BN 2 x INF BN (Reserve)	1 x Helo SQN
<p>*ORF: Operational Reserve Forces</p> <p>References:</p> <p>1. NATO Mission in Kosovo (n.d.). <i>KFOR: Facts and Figures</i>. Retrieved from: http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/library/facts-figures.aspx</p> <p>2. NATO Mission in Kosovo (n.d.) <i>KFOR Key Facts and Figures</i>. Retrieved from: http://www.aco.nato.int/resources/site7423/General/Documents/kfor_placemat.pdf</p> <p>3. International Institute for Strategic Studies (2013). <i>The Military Balance</i>. London, UK. 113:1, 543-556.</p>				

An approach to achieving greater capacity and capability in the armed forces can be generally outlined in three phases:

1. Consolidation and Reorganization;
2. Stand-up Combat Arms and Combat Support Forces;
3. Expand Reserve Forces.

The keystone to this transformation is transferring applicable roles and missions other ministries and agencies and leveraging reserve forces. First, where appropriate and not distinctly tied to the primary roles and missions of the armed forces, the responsibilities that require the KSF to maintain a formal standing capacity and capability to conduct domestic emergency response should be transferred to the applicable ministry or agency (i.e. Ministry of Interior or Emergency Management Agency). This consolidation enables the limited resources available to the armed forces to be focused on the transformation and modernization for the primary missions of combat, security, and support to civil authorities. Second, the reserve forces can become an integral part of Kosovo's armed forces capacity and capability. Typically, Reserves provide lower-end and longer lead-time capabilities, and those that are related to the civilian skills of reservists. A reserve forces model that utilizes organized reserve organized into units allows an initial expansion of capacity while the nascent structures evolve with distinct tiers of readiness.

A proposed force structure is depicted in Figure 1.

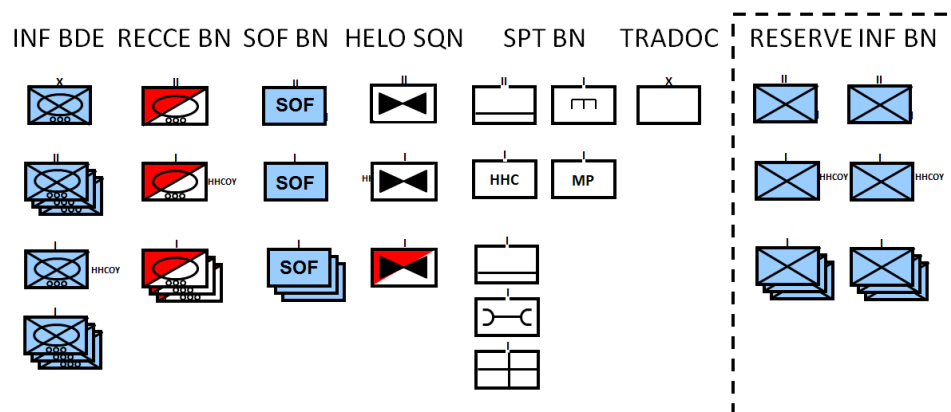


Figure 1: Proposed Force Structure

The first phase of this transformation, **“Consolidation and Reorganization”** requires the roles and missions for domestic emergency response to be transferred to the applicable ministry or agency. Where appropriate, search and rescue, hazardous materials, firefighting and other humanitarian assistance capabilities ought to be transferred to either the Ministry of the Interior or the Emergency Management Agency. This may require the other ministries and agencies to grow. The reorganization of the Operations Support Brigade should then be consolidated to begin building the forces necessary to conduct combat and security operations—namely infantry, special operations, reconnaissance units. The remaining service and support units of the Operations Support Brigade can be reorganized at the battalion level. Concurrently, the current authorized capacity of reserve forces should be reconfigured from primarily individual augmentees to be manned, trained, and equipped with the objective of mobilizing whole units. These reserve units can then be mobilized for active service to supplement the regular armed forces in a complementary and/or supplementary fashion during times of war or national emergency.

It is also recommended that in this phase of its transformation, the armed forces continue to advance military interoperability within the framework of NATO to be able to train, exercise and operate effectively with regional and NATO partners. Interoperability is achieved by the means of standardization of doctrines and procedures to achieve and maintain the required levels of compatibility, interchangeability or commonality in the operational, technical and administrative fields. This recommendation also nests with the objective of integration into trans-Atlantic security institutions.

The second phase of this transformation, **“Stand-up Combat Arms and Combat Support Forces,”** envisions the fielding of enhanced capabilities and capacities within the armed forces to fill operational shortfalls. The KSF is currently mandated to have light armaments and is gradually introducing armored vehicles with the help of Turkey (Koci, 2013). This condition creates the first operational shortfall of a lightly armed and immobile force that would be challenged in credibly deterring and if necessary defeating external aggression against its territory. While a modern equipped combined arms force equipped with main battle tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, artillery, and attack helicopters is unfeasible, fielding a motorized infantry brigade equipped with a mix of medium to heavy caliber machine guns and light to medium mortars supported by mobile reconnaissance and versatile special operations forces is a

feasible and achievable strategic option. Inasmuch, the second operational shortfall is the limited force options available to secure the national interests.

This report recommends the armed forces be restructured to include a forces with close combat capabilities designed for operations encompassing the entire spectrum of conflict. The KSF's current Rapid Reaction Brigade, the basic deployable combat unit of the KSF, should undergo a transformation to gain the ability to close with the enemy by means of fire and maneuver to repel attacks or destroy or capture enemy forces. Future brigades would be organized around infantry battalions as the primary maneuver force supported internally by scouts, snipers, and heavy weapons. Supporting this brigade, this report recommends the establishment of a reconnaissance (recce), special operations, and aviation units. Recce units perform reconnaissance or surveillance operations to provide the commander combat information to develop situational understanding and enables the ability to visualize and direct operations. Recce units may also be employed in security operations for guard, cover, area security and local security. Special operations units are highly trained forces equipped to conduct a range of operations and activities that may include unconventional warfare, direct action, special reconnaissance, and counterterrorism. Finally, helicopter aviation units are an essential piece in combat, security, and support to civil authorities missions. Helicopters help to both rapidly project combat power and conduct reconnaissance and security missions. Progress is currently being made to codify this capability in the KSF with the help of regional military partners (Koci, 2012).

The third phase of this transformation, **"Expand Reserve Forces,"** is focused on a manned, trained and equipped reserve force structure capable of deployment to any area within Kosovo to aid civil authorities and, if required, expand or reconstitute regular armed forces in combat and security missions. Reserve forces are a traditional defense policy method used to maintaining an effective military force without increasing active strength. Reserve forces generally cost less to keep on the rolls than regular armed forces. The strategic choices for the structure of the reserve forces are to create complementary, supplementary or a combination of both. Reserve units with complementary characteristics provide capability at a lower end of the operational spectrum freeing the regular armed forces to conduct more demanding operations. Reserve units with supplementary characteristics reinforce the regular armed forces but require longer mobilization timelines. To support these reserve units,

a full-time cadre of active reservists would be necessary to augment the reserve force for the purpose of leading, organizing, administering, and training the reserve forces.

The principle foundations on which the power of all governments is based on are good laws and good armies -Machiavelli

Defense Reform: The SDR has also considered the continued development of democratic civil-military relations (CMR) in support of the national interests. An important aspect in securing the consolidation of the state, Kosovo should continue its trajectory towards improving the nexus of the state, civil society, and armed forces that rests on democratic principles (Barany, 2012). This report recommends the following areas to prioritize defense reform efforts: democratic control of armed forces, civil society participation, and education.

The first CMR area that needs focused improvement is democratic control of armed forces. The constitution of Kosovo lays bedrock foundations of democratic control of armed forces yet those charged with oversight often lack the professional capacity to effectively engage in vigorous participation in defense affairs (Përteshi, 2011). However, the total lack of parliamentary oversight responsibilities resident with local institutions as result of the previously reserved competencies for security by international administrators stymied the development of management and oversight of Kosovo's security institutions (Marmullakaj & Peci, 2008). As result, legislators and others have limitations on their ability to perform their duties in defense related procedures and deliberations due to lack of staff support, expertise, experience, or interest (Marmullakaj & Peci, 2008). To ensure the advancement of democratic and civil control of the armed forces, Kosovo this report recommends: further development of legislative and judiciary oversight systems; enhancing the involvement of the relevant committees for defense matters; improving parliamentary committee participation in defense fiscal matters, and overseeing the disbursement and implementation of defense outlays (Barany, 2012). To achieve these CMR reform objectives an education program in the area of democratic control of the armed forces for representatives of the legislative and judiciary authorities and professional civilian staff for defense related committees are recommended.

The second CMR area this report recommends is the promotion of civil society participation in defense affairs. The purpose of this SDR

supports this recommendation as independent civilian defense experts, nongovernmental organizations, and journalists engaging elected officials and public servants on defense matters encourage transparency and promote confidence in the CMR nexus of the state, society, and armed forces (Barany, 2012). The engagement of civil society defense and security strongly contributes to accountability, good governance through (among other things) empowerment of marginalized groups, dialogue and debate, and monitoring (UNDP, 2008). Particular areas of civil society participation that would benefit Kosovo include: educating the public on defense and security affairs; facilitating civil society dialogue and debate on policy issues; promoting policy-relevant defense and security affairs research; promoting transparency and accountability of security institutions; monitoring reform and maintaining sustained policy scrutiny; and developing a human capital that leverages the special knowledge and expertise required in defense and security affairs (UNDP, 2008). Further, to the point of this independent SDR, promote the conditions that encourage independent analysis and alternative sources of information that advance democratic CMR.

The third CMR area that promotes the consolidation of the state is to advance opportunities to expand and participate in defense and strategic studies education programs for both the military, civil society, and public officials. The lack of a local senior level military university and the absence of local graduate level university programs in defense and security studies limits the pool of qualified candidates to perform legislative oversight, civil society participation, or advance the careers of military officers (Përteshi, 2011). In the interim, government ministries should seek partnerships with local universities to: expand access to graduate level education to advance the professional military education of its senior officers; develop joint research activities; create leadership programs that foster military leaders; and conduct seminars and training conferences in the areas of defense and strategic affairs. Additionally, the government should continue to leverage training and education opportunities with regional and Euro-Atlantic partners for entry-level, mid-grade, and senior officers and noncommissioned officers and civil servants (Koci, 2013).

Defense and Security Cooperation: Defense and security cooperation is another opportunity area for Kosovo in securing its national interests. It is assessed that within the conditions of the strategic environment that the current capability and capacity of the KSF puts at risk the national interests of “independence and territorial integrity” and subsequently “security and stability of the

region.” Constructive cooperation with Kosovo’s neighbors builds trust, strengthens interrelations, and coordinates responses to common security threats. These activities work towards helping to build effective mechanisms to manage regional security issues with the objective of consolidating habits of regional cooperation and dialogue as the norm. Therefore, this report recommends that the Government should continue to advance defense and security cooperation programs within the region and towards the objective of Euro-Atlantic integration.

Kosovo's defense and security cooperation take the form of bilateral and multilateral regional and trans-Atlantic activities. Significant bilateral activities in recent years include cooperation with, among others, Turkey, the United States, Croatia, and Albania. Turkey has provided financial and military assistance in procuring armored vehicles and helicopters and training to military officers in the fields of aviation and peacekeeping (Mirkovic, 2013; RTK-TV, 2013; Vrajolli, & Kallaba, 2012). A bilateral agreement with Croatia enables KSF members to attend Croatian military schools and training and supports regional initiatives and defense projects.¹² KSF members have also attended prestigious NATO schools in the United States, Britain and Germany (Koci, 2013). The KSF has also improved bilateral cooperation by establishing military attaches with various key foreign policy and defense partners (Koci, 2013).

These and other defense and security cooperation activities provide Kosovo the opportunities to train and educate the security forces with modern mature armed forces, benefit from security force assistance funds that help man, train, and equip the KSF, and exchange defense attaches to advance the foreign policy objectives that support national interests. The most significant opportunity that defense and security cooperation provides is the progress towards NATO accessions. As noted previously, the nascent capabilities and capacity of the KSF almost necessitates the requirement of Kosovo's accession into the security alliance for the protection of its independence and territorial integrity. Accession not only brings to bear the security guarantees that the alliance provides, but it also provides member nations to improve capabilities. In Kosovo's progress towards NATO Accession two areas have some positive prospects, the US-Adriatic Charter and the United States’ National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP).

¹² Security Force's Ceku Urges Croatian Support for Kosovo's NATO Membership Path.

Kosovo's recent membership in the US-Adriatic Charter provides the building blocks for promotes both regional cooperation and the improvement of the capability of the KSF (HINA, 2012; ATA, 2012). This forum has a mandate for practical cooperation and secures the constructive engagement of key regional countries on critical security issues. Kosovo should continue to advance its position in the US-Adriatic Charter with the objective of first securing the national interests of regional stability and security and enables Euro-Atlantic integration objectives (HINA, 2012).

Kosovo's participation in the U.S. National Guard SPP should develop into a key component of the transformation of its armed forces. In its entirety and beyond its military component, the SPP helps advance each of the four national interests. Its objectives help promote capacity to plan and prepare for the protection of national sovereignty, assist in the consolidation of democratic state institutions, build a nation's capabilities to cooperate and collaborate regionally, and in the case of the Iowa-Kosovo partnership promotes economic development and stability (U.S. DoD, 2012, December 14). Specific to the recommendations of this report, the SSP is a means to enable focused improvement is democratic control of armed forces, improve capabilities to plan and conduct operations, develop professional armed forces, build cost-effective reserve forces, improve interoperability, and help contribute to NATO accessions (USEUCOM, n.d.; Jansen, 2010; NGB 2012, September 5).¹³

Advancing its' participation in the US-Adriatic Charter and the SSP in combination advances Kosovo's posture for membership in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program and ultimately NATO accession. The PfP program helps, "strengthened security relationships between individual Euro-Atlantic partners and NATO," and advance partner nation "defense reform, defense policy and planning, civil-military relations, education and training, military-to-military cooperation and exercises, civil emergency planning and disaster-response, and cooperation on science and environmental issues" (NATO, 2012). The PfP program brings with it an opportunity to build nation specific Individual Partnership Action Plans that advance defense, security, political, and social reform objectives essential for Euro-Atlantic integration and ultimately securing the national interests of Kosovo (NATO, 2012).

¹³ While participation in the SPP is not a milestone in NATO accessions, it has become and useful tool in helping countries meet their MAP requirements.

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GAP Institute is a local think-tank founded in October 2007 in Kosovo. GAP's main purpose is to attract professionals by creating a professional research and development environment commonly found in similar institutions in Western countries. This will include providing Kosovars with an opportunity to research, develop, and implement projects that would strengthen Kosovo society. A priority of the Institute is to mobilize professionals to address the country's pressing economic, political and social challenges. GAP's main objectives are to bridge the gap between government and people, and to bridge the gap between problems and solutions.