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**Title:**

**“Employing forgotten profession: Macedonian military diplomacy as a mean to the  
strategic ends”**

**Key words:** *diplomacy, security, military, instruments of political power, economic benefits*

**Abstract**

Dynamics in international relations after the Cold War have clearly confirmed that the connection between diplomacy and use of force should not be seen as two ends of a spectrum. To address current security threats after the Cold War victorious Western powers have introduced a range of new missions for military forces. These missions have unequivocally imposed necessity for global change in military culture. It is clear now that to effectively transfer political guidance in to tasks on terrain, among others, midlevel and junior officers along with noncommissioned officers must demonstrate diplomatic skills.

Republic of Macedonia is active partner in the War on terror since 2002. In addition harmonization of defense law in accordance with the Euro-Atlantic aspirations is not just the argument about Macedonian political elite's dedication to these values, but also an argument that supports pledged efforts for active contribution toward World's peace and security. Nevertheless despite success of our military forces during recent deployments it could be argued that we have not fully exploited it and gain broader social domestic achievements as our Western Allies do. Therefore the article argues that Macedonia must reconsider its rusty defense and military diplomacy and profit from military deployment.

**Introduction**

Globalization and technological developments after the Cold War have seriously influenced international relations, security and politics. Emergence of the new non-state actors and their ability to pose asymmetric threats has significantly influenced military culture and ability to address new challenges. Military invasions to Afghanistan and Iraq have clearly showed that in an age of globalization and technological developments military success could not be guaranteed without considering other instruments of political power such as diplomacy, economics and information. Therefore to effectively transfer political guidance in military tasks

on the ground warriors, among others, must demonstrate diplomatic skills through post-conflict projects on development and local authorities capacities building along with civilian partners. While most of the Western countries have recognized ability to go beyond the security benefits through post-conflict engagement Macedonia like many other smaller nations so far have not considered such possibilities. Giving that smart projects in an age of globalization could bring greater benefits Macedonia should reconsider future involvement in post ISAF operation and employ private sector along with our most effective diplomats so far, i.e. Macedonian peacekeepers.

### **1. Meeting the dark side of globalization**

Globalization and technological developments after the Cold War have seriously influenced international relations and politics. These changes have introduced new dynamics in the context of international security. Threats from conventional state to state conflicts were largely reduced. Nevertheless numerous internal and regional crises have seriously challenged world peace and security in a unique way.

Thanks to globalization and technological development many non-state actors (groups and individuals) like never before have gained strategic power by giving new meaning of information, economics, diplomacy and military as instruments of political power. Using the commercial advances of technology these actors have learned the power of information<sup>1</sup> and have employed some of the Cold War methods to gain global support for their destructive agenda.<sup>2</sup> Along with the use of force and information these actors have soon learned how to manipulate with economics as political instrument of power and effectively use it against its adversaries. Thus, purposefully or not they have affected global economy too. To neutralize these actors Western powers have unleashed all diplomatic instruments ranging from preventive diplomacy through coercive diplomacy including nation building projects. Using the conventional approach efforts to follow these diplomatic instruments and projects, military was employed to enforce the peace, create the peace, keep the peace, shape the peace, or to preserve

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<sup>1</sup> Cronin K. Audrey, "Cyber-Mobilization: The New Levée en Masse", *Parameters, Summer* (2006): 77

<sup>2</sup> For example, the idea about recruitment of Mujahidins in Afghanistan, see more general in: Kinsella Warren, *Unholy Alliances*, (Lester Publishing, 1992)

and impose specific ideology.<sup>3</sup> These meant new missions for military forces. These missions, from peace-keeping and peace-building through humanitarian assistance and disaster relief to the regime change and democratization under the auspices of the war on terror, have unequivocally imposed necessity for change in military culture.

Military deployments in Afghanistan and Iraq represent clear examples of how new engagements in the age of globalization and technological development are game change for military culture. Operational environment shaped by asymmetric threats from non-state actors challenged military wisdom with the new type of conflict. As David Kilcullen puts it ...[I]t is a complex, problematic form of conflict that straddles the boundaries between warfare, government, social stability and moral acceptability...<sup>4</sup> Complex environment in Afghanistan and Iraq challenged common perceptions that successful military campaign ends with conventionally designed “cold war era” measurement of success.<sup>5</sup> Hence it became clear that for success military forces must coordinate with others instruments of power (i.e. diplomacy, economics and information). This nevertheless requires whole new skills from the military forces.

## 2. Introducing diplomacy to "Mars"<sup>6</sup>

Lessons learned from more than decade long military engagement attest that although conventional warfare remains as important as ever, military personnel must be capable of implementing different skills in different environment. In this context famous Marine General Krulak argues that military should be ready to operate in the three block warfare (to fight and win, to stabilize and gained trust and to build and enable local authorities).<sup>7</sup> Given the dynamics that gravitate in the age of globalization and technological development these new skills must be developed top-down from strategic to tactical level among planners and operators.

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<sup>3</sup> Nowrot Karste and Schabacker W. Emily, “The Use of Force to Restore Democracy: International Legal Implications of the ECOWAS Intervention in Sierra Leone”, *American University International Law Review* Vol. 14, No. 2, (1998): 312-412

<sup>4</sup> Kilcullen David, *Counterinsurgency*, (Oxford University Press, 2010): 193

<sup>5</sup> Example inhibit enemy’s capability to oppose by destruction of active component or by paralyzing its strategic reserve

<sup>6</sup> Term "Mars" is used in metaphorical context to represent the ancient Roman's God of War. See more about this in: Beard Mary, North J.A., and Price, S.R.F., *Religions of Rome: A History*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998): 47–48

<sup>7</sup> Gen. Charles C. Krulak, transcript of “The Three Block War: Fighting in Urban Areas,” US Marine Corps Gen Charles C. Krulak speech)(Transcript) 15 December 1997 [online], (accessed 29 July 2013) <http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-20267468/three-block-war-fighting.html>

Social stability and moral acceptability as we saw are variables that must drive military operators on the ground to meet political end-states. This however is not easy to achieve. Complex post-conflict environment is a place where different actors struggle for different goals. Each one of them seeks to maximize its own survivability, existence and improve its position in the dynamic ecosystem. Tactical mistakes could easily cause strategic impacts. Accordingly to meet political end-states operators on the ground should be able to reconcile among the political guidance, different civil-actors' requirements, military capacities and the overall populace will. This is why junior and midlevel officers, among others, must consider diplomatic skills. Here we are not talking about conference type diplomacy, defense state to state diplomacy<sup>8</sup> or about military attachés' role.<sup>9</sup> We are talking about the ability to negotiate with tribal leaders; organize and conduct small and immediate projects; to reconcile disputes among different stakeholders; restrain when under the military logic should act; organize local election; develop know-how, enhance system's economics continuity etc.

To meet these requirements coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan and NATO forces in Afghanistan soon have adopted.<sup>10</sup> During stabilization phase, if not earlier, they have introduced the so-called Provincial Reconstruction Teams-PRT teams.<sup>11</sup> The PRT's role was to introduce post-conflict, reconstruction, security, and development activities in areas still too hostile for non-governmental organizations and United Nations relief agencies. Precisely, their role was to manage different projects designed to create enduring stability through security, host nations' stakeholders (private and public) capacities and sustainable market that will open jobs and inhibit recruitment mass for insurgents and spoilers. Regardless of different opinions about their effectiveness it is clear that these teams have mobilized much of the supporting countries (troupe contributing countries) corporations and have opened the door for significant number of labor

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<sup>8</sup> Mathis Gerald, "The Role of the Military Attache in Diplomacy", CAR IR 535, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Fall, (2012)

<sup>9</sup> More about the role of military attachés can be seen in: DiNicolo Gina, "Defense on the Diplomatic Front: Rooted in history The modern military attaché Security cooperation on the rise", (2010), retrieved July 7, 2013, [http://www.moaa.org/Main\\_Menu/User\\_Group/Serving\\_in\\_Uniform/Military\\_Matters/2010\\_Military\\_Matters/Defense\\_on\\_the\\_Diplomatic\\_Front.html](http://www.moaa.org/Main_Menu/User_Group/Serving_in_Uniform/Military_Matters/2010_Military_Matters/Defense_on_the_Diplomatic_Front.html)

<sup>10</sup> McMaster H.R., "The Pipe Dream of Easy War", NY Times, July 21, 2013, SR9

<sup>11</sup> A combination of civil and military personnel, see more in: Bebbler J. Robert, "The Role of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Counterinsurgency Operations: Khost Province, Afghanistan", *Small Wars Journal*, 10 November (2008), accessed August 08, 2013, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2008/11/the-role-of-provincial-reconst/>

that is engaged in the overall post-conflict efforts.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless what is significant is that only specific countries have developed institutional capacities for employing such teams, based on the, as they called it, "whole of government" approach to nation building.

New organizations such as the US State Department's Office for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), Canada's Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START), and the U.K.'s Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU) attempt to address the unique bureaucratic needs of planning for and operating in post-conflict environments.<sup>13</sup> These agencies' main goals are to coordinate business-friendly regime in place through PRT (predominantly led by military) and different private corporation's efforts in order to foster building capacities projects. These projects orchestrated through military operational designs<sup>14</sup> for post-conflict nation building should ensure logistical infrastructure of transportation, communications and energy transmission networks, develop know-how capacities etc. In other words in Afghanistan for example they need to set up the country for business. NATO in these terms has pledged commitment to stay in Afghanistan until 2024. The US forces will stay to guard the US-Afghanistan Strategic Partnership and Canada is still negotiating its own strategic partnership with Afghanistan. These statistics sit well with Pnitch's and Gindin's observation that US military interventions are usually associated with strengthening American primacy by expanding its institutions of global free trade, and other nations have imitate this.<sup>15</sup> In short, Western powers know-how to benefit from their projects.

Giving that Macedonia has long participation in the so-called global war on terror and that NATO (where we still aim) has long commitment for Afghanistan one might ask how can Macedonia benefit using the current developments, experience and dynamics in this area. Furthermore this requirement steam from the numbers of issues that gravitate over Macedonia such as weak economy; hampered Euro-Atlantic association processes and the name issue;

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, but also see: GAO, "Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan and Iraq", GAO-08-905RSU Washington, D.C.: Sept. 26, (2008)

<sup>13</sup> Skinner Michel, "The New Silk Road: Canada Joining the US in exploiting Afghanistan Resources", Candian Center for Policy Alternatives, March 01, (2013), accessed August 7, 2013, available at: <http://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/monitor/new-silk-road>

<sup>14</sup> The U.S. Department of Defense, *Joint Operational Planning*, Joint Publications (JP-05), August 11, (2011): Ch IV-1

<sup>15</sup> Gindin Sam and Panitch Leo, "The State and Making of Global Capitalism", New Left Project, June 03, (2013), accessed August 06, 2013

[http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article\\_comments/the\\_state\\_and\\_the\\_making\\_of\\_global\\_capitalism](http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/the_state_and_the_making_of_global_capitalism)

fragile social stability and security etc. All of these are drivers that urged Macedonia to employ all instruments of power in order to reduce former issues and improve its position.

### **3. Why do we need alternatives?**

Like the rest of the South East European countries Macedonia is healing from the rough transition. On the other hand although not directly, the world economic crisis has stormed Macedonian business community too. The name issue with south neighbor is clear example of how politic issues can sometimes create absurd situations. Macedonia has fulfilled all NATO requirements and has become a leader in the Region. Yet due to the *de facto* Greek's veto at the Bucharest NATO Summit only Albania and Croatia were granted membership and Macedonia has further been stopped in its efforts of joining EU.

The Euro-Atlantic integrations are crucial for political security and economic reasons. There is general believe that NATO memberships is the key for Macedonian stability. Although Ohrid Framework agreement has so far proven as a success it would be naïve to neglect centrifugal forces that are using cheap political agenda to spur ethnic tensions. Social stability on the other hand has proven so far as key supporter or driving force for overcoming political and ethnic tensions.<sup>16</sup>

The new NATO strategic concept seems to open the door for such efforts too. Under the idea for cooperative security it recognizes the potentials for addressing modern challenges not just with allies but also with partner nations.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore from the analyses above we learned that one of the key requirements for the post-conflict nation building success is larger involvement of civil sector.<sup>18</sup> Fresh ideas are also welcomed for future post ISAF NATO efforts.<sup>19</sup> Although we pledged promises about post ISAF engagement nothing implies that we

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<sup>16</sup> Chandan Sengupta, "Political and Social Stability, Paradoxes and Prospects", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 48, (2004)

<sup>17</sup> NATO, "Active engagement, Modern Defense Strategic", Concept for the Defense and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization adopted by Heads of State and Government in Lisbon, November 19, (2010): 4. c.

<sup>18</sup> Lyon Rod, "Civil-Military Relations in an Age of Terrorism", Paper prepared for the Australian-American Fulbright Symposium, 'Civil-Military Relations in an Age of Terror', held at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, July, (2004),

<sup>19</sup> See more general in: Hadji-Janev Metodi, Djugomanov Ilija, Tasev Jordan, *Regional Post – ISAF engagement Lessons learned and a legacy for A-5 countries future expeditionary missions*, NATO Public diplomacy, (2013)

have considered civilian engagement.<sup>20</sup> Giving all of the above especially about the future role (supportive one) that military should play in post ISAF engagement I argue that we must consider paths to employ not just government officials but also domestic private companies.

#### **4. Macedonian military diplomacy as a mean to the strategic ends**

Successful military contribution should be the trump of a Government's strategy to address some of the existing issues. Many have already declared that our best ambassadors for now are soldiers who committed their service for a greater good.<sup>21</sup> Using the lessons learned from the far more experienced partners in Afghanistan Macedonian Government should organize our participation in Afghanistan not just with military forces but with civilian sector as well. Military role in the future engagement would be limited to building capacities of the local Afghan security forces. Nevertheless future development projects should be supported by the military too. Political efforts to seek place for private companies operating in our soldiers' area of responsibility are more than welcome. Giving that U.S., Australia, U.K., Canada and Germany have already orchestrated similar approaches this opportunity remains for Macedonian government too. Organizing future military deployment to be able to connect post-conflict development projects that will be supported by Macedonian private corporations should be the end-state of future engagement. Thus building on military diplomacy future project will bring win-win-win scenario for the Macedonian side, short term and broader international efforts and most importantly for Afghanistan itself.

This indirect approach will create the right framework from which Macedonian Government will benefit by achieving change through market forces. Exporting accountable labor force to meet developed objectives from military (diplomatic) involvement in Afghanistan will stimulate more jobs, will give chance for private corporate representation on the global market and will improve Government's image on international arena. In return corporations will improve or compensate Government for its efforts. Additionally Government will reduce chances of facing awkward situation like 2006 execution of Macedonian workers in Afghanistan.

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<sup>20</sup> Netpress, "Jaferi: Macedonia will continue with the Support to ISAF mission", Netpress, June 05, 2013, accessed August 07, 2013, <http://www.netpress.com.mk/mk/vest.asp?id=130284&kategorija=1>;

<sup>21</sup> See for example: Government of The Republic of Macedonia, "Jaferi: The peacekeepers are our biggest ambassadors", July 23, 2013, accessed August 7, 2013 from: <http://vlada.mk/node/6944>



Arguably if the Government had direct information about the Macedonian labor's condition it could have act differently since we also had forces on the ground.<sup>22</sup>

International community will also benefit from such contribution because it will expand opportunity but also overall contribution to Afghanistan. Government efforts in providing corporate social responsibility could serve as credential antidote to issues that challenge international legitimacy too. Cultural obstacles and ruined image of western efforts in that region of the world could be well compensated by Macedonian involvement. Furthermore this could be a leading example for other smaller contributors in post ISAF as well. In fact new ways of collaborating between corporations, governments and civil society can create innovative mechanisms for governance.<sup>23</sup>

The end-state of this proposal's goal extends far beyond the direct effects of the biggest beneficiary i.e. Macedonian government and private corporations. Good performance will attract other international corporate to require security analyses, risk management and other security performance on their regards. This could not just improve the image but will improve the profit of the company too.<sup>24</sup> Ultimately if this proposal turns in to a success it will attract other Macedonian corporation to start their own quest in conquering global market in this manner.

## Conclusion

Globalization and technological developments have posed new rules for employing military as instrument of political power. To be successful military must consider coordination with other instruments of political power such as diplomacy, information and economics. Military success does not end with military victory but with creating sustainable and enduring peace. To achieve this warriors must be able to practice diplomatic skills if they are about to accomplish successful post-conflict projects. Unequivocally for this achievement credible civil components capable of implementing required strategies along with military are needed. Recent

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<sup>22</sup> Hadji-Janev Metodi, "Changing the Image of Corporate security in Macedonia: Could Macedonia Corporate Security Legacy to Cope with Global Market and Security Trends", in *Corporate Security in dynamic global environment-challenges and risks*, ed., Caleta Denis, (Institute for Corporate Security Studies, Ljubljana, 2012): 237-248, available at: <http://www.ics-institut.com/research/books/3>.

<sup>23</sup> Zadek Simon, *Third Generation Corporate Citizenship*, (London: The Foreign Policy Centre & Account-Ability, 2001), but also see: Midttun Atle, "Policy making and the role of government. Realigning business, government and civil society, Emerging embedded relational governance beyond the (neo) liberal and welfare state models", *Corporate Governance: International Journal of Business in Society*, (2005), Vol. 5, No.3: 159–174

<sup>24</sup> Albareda Laura, Lozano, M. Joseph and Ysa Tamyko, "Public policies on corporate social responsibility: the role of governments in Europe, *Journal of Business Ethics*, (2007), 74:4, p. 391–407



practice has shown that only some Western countries understand the greater benefit of military engagement in post-conflict environment.

Although Macedonia has gained more than a decade long experience in post-conflict engagement we still have not developed projects that will bring a greater good for our nation. Building on our respectful military participation, Macedonia must reconsider its military diplomacy and use it as a means to a strategic ends similarly as our Western partners do. Government private-sector partnership in future post-conflict deployments holds potential to foster social stability, stimulate economy (domestically and in deployment area by creating more jobs and market expansions) and improve overall security. Ultimately considering the hampered Euro-Atlantic integration and the whole list of benefits that we are still missing it will definitely relax diplomatic pressure over the country's leadership regarding several issues, including the name issue.

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