



# **NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

## **Survey Responses**

### **Member States' Reflection Process on Afghanistan**

#### **On Behalf of the Delegation of the Netherlands to the NATO PA**

**31 January 2022**

### Questions

1. Have any investigations, reports, and/or reflections regarding the contribution your Member State made to Allied efforts in Afghanistan (or are being) carried out?  
If so, could you please elaborate on this/these process(es)?
2. Which institution, if any, is carrying out this process and what is the scope of the investigation? Has a specific mandate been given to researchers? Is the Parliament in your Member State involved in this process? If so, how?
3. Have the findings of these studies and/or reflections already been made available?  
If not, when are the results expected? Would you be willing to share the findings?

*\*Answers submitted by the Delegation of France can be found in Annex.*

**Delegation of Bulgaria to the NATO PA**  
**Answers Submitted by Dessislava Nakova, Secretary of Delegation**

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1. For the time being, no official investigations or reports have been launched. However, Afghanistan has been the focus of attention of state institutions and public society/ media. We have also actively participated in international initiatives and discussions regarding Afghanistan in all international formats which Bulgaria is a member of. The Ministry of Defence has produced a report on an operational level regarding the country's participation in the NATO operation in Afghanistan. The report was prepared after the conclusion of the "Resolute support" mission and the withdrawal of our contingent from Afghanistan in August 2021.
2. During its 18 August 2021 session, the Committee on Foreign Policy of the National Assembly of Bulgaria (Parliament) had a comprehensive discussion on Afghanistan. The MPs noted that our efforts would be focused on finding a common European solution and that Bulgaria should act proactively, aiming to prevent a potential migrant wave through Iran, Turkey and the so called Balkan route. The Bulgarian-Turkish agreement in connection with the Syria crisis was particularly mentioned. At the same session, the minister of foreign affairs reported about ongoing evacuation activities. Later on, the minister presented the main results of the extraordinary meeting of NATO ministers of foreign affairs (20 August 2021). The production of the report on Bulgaria's participation in NATO's operation in Afghanistan was led by the Bulgarian Army's Joint Forces Command and included all competent structures.
3. As mentioned, Bulgaria has participated in all discussions about Afghanistan in international formats, where it participates. Our overall conclusion within the NATO Lessons learned process is that we need to strike a better balance between our strategic interests and available tools in potential future missions. This is the only way to avoid the extremely high costs which we have experienced there. With allied assistance, in particular by the US and Belgium, the evacuation of Bulgarian nationals and at-risk Afghans has been carried out. Following an internal analysis and in line with our NATO and EU commitments, we have also completed the reception procedure of up to 70 NATO and EU local staff and their families. We remain engaged in relocation efforts until their prospective completion - 28 February 2022. In our view, potential migratory pressure and illegal border crossing attempts, combined with the possible infiltration of terrorists, are the most serious risks we might face and deserve

our attention. We have also joined major declarations and the US State Department statements, in particular the 15 August Joint Statement on Afghanistan, calling for a safe and orderly departure of foreign nationals and Afghans who wish to leave, and the 5 December Joint Statement on Reports of Summary Killings and Enforced Disappearances in Afghanistan. We also supported a resolution about the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan within the UN Human Rights Council on 7 October 2021. We support efforts in support of Afghanistan at EU level as well. With relation to the findings of the report on Bulgaria's participation in the ISAF operation and the "Resolute support" mission - they are accessible to the Ministry of Defense and the Bulgarian Army. The conclusions of the report are part of the national positions' formation process and of the topic within the NATO framework.

**Delegation of Canada to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Céline Ethier, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. A number of parliamentary committees have carried out studies over the years related to Canada's engagement in Afghanistan. Between 2007 and 2018, the following parliamentary committees completed at least one study and/or released a report on issues relating to Canada's engagement in Afghanistan:
  - In 2007, the House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence (NDDN) published a [report](#) on a study it conducted between 2006 and 2007 on Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) operations in Afghanistan.
  - Between 2007 and 2008, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development published two reports on a [study](#) it conducted on Canada's mission in Afghanistan.
  - In 2008, the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence (SECD) released a [report](#) on a study it conducted on Canada's military presence in Afghanistan.
  - Between 2008 and 2011, a House of Commons Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan released several reports on studies it carried out during that period on Canada's involvement in Afghanistan (available [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#))

- In 2012, SECD conducted a [study](#) to examine “the status of, and lessons learned, during [CAF] operations in Afghanistan.” SECD did not publish a report for that study.
- In 2018, NDDN released a [report](#) on a study it conducted between 2017 and 2018 on Canada’s overall involvement in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In several instances, NDDN’s 2018 report mentions NATO’s missions in Afghanistan, and Canada’s contribution to those missions.
- Most recently, on 8 December 2021, the House of Commons adopted a [motion](#) to establish a [Special Committee on Afghanistan](#) (AFGH) to review and examine recent events related to the “to the fall of Afghanistan to the Taliban... .” During that same month, the committee held its [first meeting](#).

2. AFGH has a broad [mandate](#) to examine and review the aftermath of Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan, including :
  - the Government of Canada’s contingency plans for the fall of Afghanistan;
  - the evacuation of Canadian citizens and permanent residents, interpreters, contractors, and other civilians from Afghanistan; and
  - Canada’s efforts to provide humanitarian assistance for people in Afghanistan.
3. Pursuant to the 8 December 2021 motion adopted by the House of Commons to establish AFGH, the committee is required to [present](#) a final report of its findings “within six months of the adoption” of that motion.

**Delegation of Croatia to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Maroje Katalinić, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The only kind of report that we have had in Croatia are those that were provided by both the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which documents the Croatian Parliament and its committees have been receiving yearly information on the technical aspect of the NATO-led mission in Afghanistan and the referred Croatian participation
2. As regards to the parliamentary side of any such inquiry, the Defence Committee of the Chamber of Deputies has not been involved in any significant way so far.
3. N/A

**Delegation of the Czech Republic to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Krystyna Harkova, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Defence both undertook a reflection process. The main contemplation of the Afghanistan mission took place in NATO during October- November 2021.
2. The reflection process was undertaken across interested departments within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Ministry of Defence. Results of these discussions were presented and taken into consideration during meetings in multilateral organisations that the Czech Republic is a member of. As to the parliamentary side of any such inquiry, the Defence Committee of the Chamber of Members of parliament have not been involved in any significant way so far.
3. Results of the reflections made in NATO were published and made available for the Member States in December 2021. Since they are classified, it would be impossible to share them.

**Delegation of Denmark to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Flemming Kordt Wessel, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The Government has decided to make two evaluations about the mission in Afghanistan. The first evaluation will look into the chaotic evacuation from Kabul and will be carried out by the MFA. The second evaluation will be carried out by the independent research institution Danish Institute for International Studies and will look into the lessons learned from the 20 years involvement in Afghanistan.
2. Please see answers under point number 1 regarding institutions. The Parliament hasn't not given a formal mandate. The government and a large group of Parties have agreed on the process and mandate.
3. The first evaluation regarding the evacuation is expected to be finished in February 2022. The second evaluation has a deadline at the end of 2023. I will of course be happy to share the public findings.

**Delegation of Estonia to the NATO PA**  
*Answers Submitted by Anu Mõtsla, Secretary of Delegation*

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1. In Estonia, no formal investigation is being conducted regarding Estonia's contribution to NATO missions in Afghanistan. However, a thorough reflection of Estonia's contribution was conducted in parallel with NATO's lessons learned process. Our assessment of our contribution into Allied efforts in Afghanistan is that it was a very important mission for Estonia - our Defence Forces have successfully fulfilled their goals to support our NATO allies and also bolster Estonia's defence by building up our troops' operational professionalism.
2. The reflection process in Estonia was led by the Ministry of Defence and conducted in close cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Estonia's focus was on lessons identified that would be useful for NATO's future missions.
3. There was no formal reflection process resulting in an official report in Estonia.

**Delegation of Germany to the NATO PA**  
*Answers Submitted by Elisabeth Delfs, Secretary of Delegation*

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1. Yes, a comprehensive investigation of civilian involvement and military deployment in Afghanistan is taking place in Germany.
2. Multiple institutions are conducting investigations:
  - The German Bundestag is planning to establish an **Enquete Commission** to undertake an official Inquiry and comprehensively investigate the Afghanistan mission, and establish a **parliamentary committee of inquiry** to investigate the role of the Federal Ministry of Defense (BMVg), the Federal Foreign Office (AA) and the Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community (BMI), particularly concerning the military withdrawal from Afghanistan and the evacuation mission. The investigation period is to begin in November 2019, the end of the period has not yet been determined.
  - The German government is planning to conduct an interdepartmental strategic evaluation of the civilian engagement of the AA, the BMI and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in Afghanistan. Its main subjects are: bilateral and multilateral programs supported by the three federal ministries from the beginning of 2013 to the end of 2021, and the transitions and junctions between these areas and with military engagement. The analysis and evaluation of engagement are intended to provide insights into interagency governance.

- The Federal Foreign Office (AA) put their part of the evaluation out to tender in October 2021. As of now the outcome of the procurement process is unknown. Main evaluation priorities are stabilisation, humanitarian aid and foreign cultural and educational policy measures.
  - The Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has awarded the evaluation to the German Evaluation Institute for Development Cooperation (DEval). Main evaluation priorities are financial and technical cooperation measures supported by the BMZ. The evaluation program can be viewed via the following link: [https://www.deval.org/fileadmin/Redaktion/PDF/02-Evaluierungen/DEval\\_Evaluierungsprogramm\\_2021-2023.pdf](https://www.deval.org/fileadmin/Redaktion/PDF/02-Evaluierungen/DEval_Evaluierungsprogramm_2021-2023.pdf)
  - The Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) intended to put its part of the evaluation out to tender. As of now the outcome is unknown.
  - The Federal Ministry of Defence has been conducting a research project on the Afghanistan mission since 2019 by means of the “Zentrum für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Bundeswehr” (ZMSBw). The ZMSBw is a research institution in the division of the BMVg. Within the framework of the research project, the deployment of the Bundeswehr will be examined from a military and historical perspective in its various dimensions at both national and international levels.
3. The results of the Enquete Commission and the Committee of Inquiry of the German Bundestag are not available, as both bodies have yet to be established. The evaluations of the AA, BMI and BMZ are not yet available. It remains to be seen when the results can be expected. A summary overview of German involvement in Afghanistan is provided in Bundestagsdrucksache No. 19/32643 (via the following link <https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/326/1932643.pdf>). The results of the ZMSBw research project are published on an ongoing basis. An excerpt of the published results is attached (Attachment 1).

### **Delegation of Italy to the NATO PA**

***Answers Submitted by Roberta d’Addio, Head of Office for Relations with International Organisations (Italian Senate)***

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1. The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Defence Committee have been conducting an enquiry on the Italian involvement in the international deployment in Afghanistan since 26 August 2021. All the hearings on the subject from the Senate can be found [here](#).



2. Upon completion of the enquiry, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Defence Committee are expected to adopt a joint resolution including recommendations to the Government.
3. Adoption of a final resolution is expected by late March 2022. It will be shared as soon as it is available.

**Delegation of Latvia to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Sandra Paura, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. As Latvia was not one of the main contributors in Afghanistan, the Parliament (Saeima) did not carry out investigations regarding the processes in Afghanistan so far. Considering the limited capacity of small parliaments, we are focusing on the direct, recent threats to our country - the hybrid war (involving migrants) on the eastern (Belarusian) border, the concentration of military forces in Belarus and at the Ukrainian border, the dramatic rise in energy prices, consequences of the Covid / the ongoing struggle with new strains of the virus.
2. N/A
3. N/A

**Delegation of Montenegro to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Zorana Bacović, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The Montenegrin Army ended its engagement in the Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan in September 2020. The analysis of participation was conducted in accordance with the legal obligations, in the first quarter of 2021. Thus, the "Report on the Participation of Members of the Army of Montenegro in International Forces in 2020" was prepared from the national military and defence perspective.
2. The Ministry of Defense and the General Staff analysed participation based on the legal obligation, and as a planned activity, without a specific mandate. The report was submitted to the Parliament of Montenegro and the Council for Defense and Security. The Parliament of Montenegro did not take into consideration the Report at the plenary session, but the Parliamentary Committee on Security and Defense discussed it.
3. The report encompasses, namely, the national military, i.e. defence aspect, with certain numerical and financial indicators. The report is classified, but may be made available in accordance with procedures and upon request.

**Delegation of the Netherlands to the NATO PA**  
*Answers Submitted by Jan Boiten, Coordinator Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Cooperation, House of Representatives*

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1. In the Netherlands, three investigations are being conducted vis-à-vis the country's contribution to the NATO missions in Afghanistan: a) a broad evaluation of the results of 20 years of Dutch deployment in Afghanistan; an evaluation of the crisis management and evacuations after the end of the mission and the fall of Kabul; and a final evaluation of the Dutch contribution to the Resolute Support mission.
2. The investigations are carried out by independent external committees of inquiry and the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB). The mandate and precise scope are not yet known. The investigations take place at the initiative of the government. The final evaluation of a mission is mandatory. Parliament has made substantive additions to the scope by means of motions and has previously requested an investigation design for the investigations.
3. Results are only available from the previous mid-term evaluations. It is not known when the results of the ongoing studies will become available.

**Delegation of North Macedonia to the NATO PA**  
*Answers Submitted by Marijana Opasnova, Secretary of Delegation*

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1. NATO is a primary forum for political consultation and a platform to coordinate national positions regarding the contribution to the Allied efforts in Afghanistan. Intergovernmental discussions, between MFA and MoD are taking place as a scene setter of having standardised established practise for reflection and analyses in the future, encompassing operational and political aspects after every completed mission or operation.
2. N/A
3. Not yet.

**Delegation of Norway to the NATO PA**  
*Answers Submitted by Petter Myre Eng, Storting*

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1. The report of a government-appointed commission tasked with evaluating the Norwegian engagement in Afghanistan was presented to the public on June 6, 2016.

Entitled 'A Good Ally. Norway in Afghanistan 2001-2014,' the 230 page report is a detailed examination of Norway's civilian and military role in Afghanistan in this period.

2. The Commission of ten persons was headed by former foreign minister and defense minister Bjørn Tore Godal, and consisted mainly of independent researchers. The Commission's mandate was to assess the totality of Norway's contributions to the international engagement in Afghanistan in 2001-2014, and draw out the implications for future involvement in international operations. The Parliament was not involved.
3. The entire commission report can be found in English [here](#). The report concluded that only one real goal was met: Norway showed itself to be 'a good ally' for the U.S. and NATO. The commission concluded that Norway's other goals of fighting terrorism, development and stabilisation of Afghanistan were not met. After the fall of Kabul in August 2021, various Norwegian newspapers editorialised that Taliban's victory only strengthened the 2016 report's conclusion. Since the commission's report was considered very thorough and its conclusions very much in line with the final outcome in Afghanistan, a new, large evaluation of Norway's engagement in Afghanistan was not considered necessary after the fall of Kabul.

**Delegation of Poland to the NATO PA**  
**Answers Submitted by Artur Zaniewski, Secretary of Delegation**

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1. No official investigations/reports have been carried out regarding Polish contribution to the Allied efforts in Afghanistan. Neither Polish government and army nor Parliament are not obliged to provide such evaluations. However, Poland actively participated in the Alliance's discussion on lessons learned from NATO's engagement in Afghanistan. We share the opinion that NATO was the only actor with capacity to conduct a robust crisis management operation and for 20 years it prevented any attack on Allied territory emanating from Afghanistan. NATO made significant gains in the fight against terrorism, while the ambition of building stable Afghanistan proved extremely challenging. At the same time, reporting from the field was frequently delayed and complicated by procedures, thus making it difficult for Allies to effectively evaluate and provide relevant direction for the mission. Also, extensive reporting on training, advice and assist did not adequately address intangible aspects related to the ANDSF (such as morale, motivation and will to fight).
2. As far as parliamentary dimension: as a general rule all committees are free to choose their subjects of deliberation. So far - the Committee of Foreign Affairs have not

proceed this issue, the Committee of National Defence is planning the point of order "Information of the Minister of National Defence on the participation of the Polish armed forces in operations abroad" (the subject is much broader than Afghanistan, nevertheless some discussion in this context can be expected). Such a point of order of this committee is deliberating regularly (it was also conducted in May 2021). Last but not least, the Committee of Secret Service has met twice to discuss this issue (in September 2021 and January 2022) but both of the meetings were classified so any conclusions are not public.

3. N/A

### **Delegation of Portugal to the NATO PA** *Answers Submitted by Julia Almeida, Secretary of Delegation*

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1. The Portuguese presence in Afghanistan involved participation in a mission within the framework of the United Nations, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and two missions within the framework of NATO: the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the Resolute Support Mission (RSM) in Afghanistan, within the framework of commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). An end-of-mission assessment report was prepared, as provided for in nr. 2 of article 5 of the [Law Nr. 46/2003 of 22 August](#), which regulates the monitoring, by the Assembly of the Republic (Portuguese Parliament), of the involvement of Portuguese military contingents abroad.
2. The evaluation process was carried out by the Ministry of National Defence – General Directorate for National Defence Policy. This information is communicated to the National Defence Committee of the Assembly of the Republic within the scope of the powers to scrutinize the deployment of national forces arising from the previously mentioned legal regulation.
3. The employment of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Afghanistan ranged from the contribution to cooperative security within the framework of two International Organizations, the fight against transnational threats materialized by terrorism and commitment to regional stability, to the institutional capacity building of Afghan Institutions, in the form of training, education and advice. Within the framework of NATO, the wide range of missions committed to elements of the Portuguese Armed Forces is identified by the report: Rapid Reaction Force with the mission of surveillance and protection of the international airport "Hamid Karzai" in Kabul, air

transport, General Staff, medical teams, air controllers, training, counselling, and mentoring, military engineering, as well as information and support for the various electoral processes that took place. The expression of the national contribution over time, with the employment of around 4620 military men and women, illustrates the country's commitment to international peace and security. The performance of the Deployed Portuguese Forces was recognised by the various command structures in which they were integrated, contributing with different skills to the fulfilment of the projected goals of the mission(s), highlighting the acknowledgment of the Portuguese military both from allied countries and the Afghan authorities.

**Delegation of Romania to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Irina Stupar, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The Romanian military presence in Afghanistan has been the main operational effort in the last two decades. Therefore, the national contribution to Allied efforts in Afghanistan is still being evaluated by the Ministry of National Defence. This lessons learned process is taking place at a tactical and operational level. Romania has also contributed to the lessons learned process that took place within NATO.
2. The ongoing lessons learned process is being carried out by the Ministry of National Defence. Implementing lessons identified will require synchronisation with all the relevant institutions (MoD, Ministry of Interior Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs, the Government, and the Parliament) due to the improvement of handbooks and procedures that are reference documents at the national level.
3. The process is still ongoing. It is not yet known when the results will be available.

**Delegation of Slovenia to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Tamara Gruden-Pečan, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. No systematic debate on the mission in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of troops from it was held in the National Assembly of Slovenia, nor is there a survey about this process and its consequences being conducted. The deputies of the National Assembly have taken note of this matter in the framework of individual committees, mainly through parliamentary questions and motions. However, this topic has also been the subject of exchanges of views with foreign interlocutors.

2. At the level of ministries (notably the Ministry of Defence), there have been internal debates to assess the mission and its results, but no specific conclusions that would be made available to the public have been reached. The National Assembly was also not involved in this process.
3. N/A

**Delegation of the United Kingdom to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Matthew Congreve, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The UK Government has not launched an investigation or authorised a report into the UK efforts in Afghanistan. Some Members of the UK Parliament, such as the Defence Committee Chair Rt Hon Tobias Ellwood MP, have called for it to do so. Select Committees in the House of Commons and House of Lords have instead launched inquiries of their own, many of which are ongoing: [Defence Committee](#); [Foreign Affairs Committee](#); [International Development Committee](#); [Home Affairs Committee](#); and the [International Relations and Defence Committee](#) (House of Lords).
2. The investigations are largely being led by the UK's Select Committees, each of which focuses on a separate area of Afghanistan policy and each of which therefore focuses on different areas of the UK's involvement. The Committees have collected written and oral evidence from academics, members of the public and Government Ministers. The Parliament of the UK is therefore leading the process in analysing the UK's Afghanistan policy.
3. The House of Lords International Relations and Defence Committee have already completed their programme of work and published a report (available at the link above). The House of Commons committees are at different stages of their inquiries – the Defence and Foreign Affairs Committees are expected to publish reports in the coming months, which will be publicly available.

**Delegation of the United States to the NATO PA**  
***Answers Submitted by Collin Davenport, Secretary of Delegation***

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1. The Fiscal Year 2022 National Defense Authorization Act (P.L 117-81) enacted on December 27, 2021 includes the Afghanistan War Commission Act of 2021 which would require an examination on the key strategic, diplomatic, and operational

decisions that were made throughout the war in Afghanistan. It contains the following mandate:

- “The Commission shall conduct a thorough study of all matters relating to combat operations, reconstruction and security force assistance activities, intelligence activities, and diplomatic activities of the United States pertaining to the Afghanistan during the 16 period beginning June 1, 2001, and ending August 30, 2021.”
  - This includes US government analysis of military efforts, diplomatic efforts, development efforts, intelligence efforts, efficacy of counterterrorism, measure of progress of efforts, and factors that led to the collapse of Afghan National Defense Security Forces in 2021, etc.
  - The Commission will: be comprehensive, investigate strategic decisions, be expansive and inclusive, be non-partisan, professional and independent, and provide vital and actionable product
2. The Commission’s members will be chosen in equal numbers by the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the House and Senate committees of jurisdiction for Armed Services, Intelligence and Foreign Affairs, and majority and minority leadership from both chambers. Commissioners will be experienced policy professionals with no direct history of involvement in strategic decision-making in the Afghanistan War to ensure objectivity. Its investigation will span all relevant U.S. government agencies including the Department of Defense, Department of State and the Intelligence Community, as well as the efforts of our NATO allies. Each member should have significant professional experience in national security such as a position in the Department of Defense or Department of State. There are certain prohibitions for members of the commission such as certain membership of Congress as well as those involved in previous research on the war in Afghanistan. These rules are more outlined in the bill to ensure objectivity. 16 Members of the commission should be appointed from the following positions:
- 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives

- 1 shall be appointed by the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Vice Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the ranking member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Minority leader of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Majority leader of the Senate
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives
  - 1 shall be appointed by the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.
3. The findings of these studies have not been made available but the plan for the rollout of the findings is outlined here:
- “1 year after the initial meeting of the Commission, and annually thereafter, the Commission shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report describing the progress of the activities of the Commission as of the date of such report”
  - “3 years after the date of the initial meeting of the Commission, the Commission shall submit to Congress a report that contains a detailed statement of the findings, recommendations, and lessons learned endorsed by the Commission”
  - “4 years after the date that the report is submitted, each relevant agency of jurisdiction shall submit to the committee of jurisdiction a report on the efforts of such agency”



# **Annex**

Paris, le 31 janvier 2022

**Enquête de la délégation néerlandaise auprès de l'AP OTAN**  
**Questionnaire sur le(s) processus de réflexion des Etats membres de l'OTAN sur**  
**l'Afghanistan**

*Q1 : Des travaux (enquêtes, rapports et/ou études) concernant la contribution de votre Etat membre aux efforts alliés en Afghanistan ont-ils été menés (ou sont-ils en cours) ? Le cas échéant, merci de donner des précisions à cet égard.*

*Q2: Le cas échéant, quelle est l'institution qui mène principalement ces travaux et quel est le champ précis de l'enquête ? Un mandat spécifique a-t-il été donné aux chercheurs ? Votre parlement est-il impliqué dans ce processus ? Dans l'affirmative, à quel hauteur est-il impliqué ?*

*Q3 : Les conclusions de ces travaux sont-elles déjà disponibles ? Si tel n'est pas le cas, à quelle date sont-elles attendues ? Accepteriez-vous de partager ces conclusions ?*

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Solidaire des États-Unis à la suite des attaques du 11-Septembre-2001, la France s'est engagée militairement en Afghanistan dès octobre dans le cadre de l'opération *Liberté immuable* (de son nom anglais *Operation Enduring Freedom*) sous commandement américain puis, essentiellement, dans celui de la *Force internationale d'assistance à la sécurité* instaurée en décembre de la même année et placée sous commandement de l'OTAN en 2003.

Les forces françaises combattantes ont quitté l'Afghanistan à la fin de l'année 2012 ; des personnels sont restés sur place pour mener à bien les missions dont la France a eu la charge jusqu'en 2014. Au-delà, la France a continué d'œuvrer aux côtés de l'Afghanistan pour parachever la reconstruction de ce pays à travers le traité bilatéral d'amitié et de coopération signé et ratifié en 2012.

La France a, enfin, participé aux opérations d'évacuation à l'été 2021 (opération *Apagan*), sachant que l'évacuation et l'accueil des personnes éligibles à un accueil en France au titre des très éminents services rendus par elles aux armées françaises avaient été organisés dès le retrait des forces.

La France n'a pas fait le choix d'une étude unique concernant sa contribution aux efforts alliés en Afghanistan. Mais nombre de travaux ont analysé cette dernière sous de multiples angles.

**1/ Dans le cadre de son activité constitutionnelle de contrôle de l'exécutif, le Parlement français et singulièrement les trois commissions de l'Assemblée nationale et du Sénat en charge des affaires internationales et de défense<sup>1</sup> ont suivi avec une attention particulière l'évolution de l'engagement de la France sur le théâtre afghan.**

Des auditions régulières de responsables politiques et militaires ont été organisées tout au long de cette présence entre octobre 2001 et 2014, puis au-delà.

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<sup>1</sup> Pour l'Assemblée : commission des affaires étrangères et commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées ; pour le Sénat : commission des affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées.

Pour les seules opérations liées au retrait des forces américaines et alliées le 15 août 2021 et tout particulièrement l'opération française *Apagan*, on peut citer :

- L'audition, le 25 août, à huis clos, par les bureaux de ces trois commissions, de M. Jean-Yves Le Drian, ministre de l'Europe et des affaires étrangères, et Mme Florence Parly, ministre des armées<sup>2</sup> ;
- Pour la commission de la défense de l'Assemblée nationale : l'audition, ouverte à la presse, le 14 septembre, de Mme Florence Parly, ministre des Armées<sup>3</sup>, et l'audition le 29 septembre, à huis clos, du général de division Philippe Susnjara, chef du centre de planification et des conduites des opérations.
- Pour les deux commissions de la défense et des affaires étrangères de l'Assemblée nationale (conjointement) et pour la commission des affaires étrangères et de la défense du Sénat, respectivement le 15 et le 29 septembre : l'audition (à huis-clos) de l'ambassadeur de France en Afghanistan (également entendu, le même jour que son audition au Sénat, par la délégation aux droits des femmes et à l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes de l'Assemblée nationale, également à huis-clos).

Pour une analyse sur un plan plus large, on peut noter :

- L'application en 2008 aux opérations en Afghanistan, pour la première fois, de l'autorisation nécessaire par un vote du Parlement du prolongement d'une opération extérieure (OPEX) ;
- Compte tenu des implications particulières de cette OPEX sur les plans militaire, diplomatique, mais surtout politique, la mise en place de diverses missions d'information et de contrôle générales ou plus spécialisées :
  - A l'Assemblée nationale,
    - En 2008, portant sur l'évaluation de l'opération militaire française dans ce pays<sup>4</sup>,
    - En 2009, pour examiner les voies et moyens permettant à l'Afghanistan de trouver la paix<sup>5</sup>,
    - En 2011, relative aux actions civilo-militaires<sup>6</sup>, traitant notamment du théâtre afghan,
    - En 2012, pour suivre et analyser le processus de désengagement des forces et examiner les perspectives de coopération à venir<sup>7</sup> ;
  - Au Sénat, en 2009, sur la stratégie mise en œuvre<sup>8</sup>.
- Par ailleurs, l'embuscade tragique d'Uzbin en août 2008 a donné lieu à un déplacement d'une délégation de l'Assemblée nationale, conduite par le président de la commission de la défense, et composée de trois membres de la commission de la défense, et trois de celle des affaires étrangères, moins de deux semaines après l'événement, afin d'analyser sur place les enjeux de l'engagement français dans ce

<sup>2</sup> <https://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/15/commissions-permanentes/commission-des-affaires-etrangeres/secretariat/a-la-une/point-de-situation-au-parlement-sur-la-situation-en-afghanistan>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/15/comptes-rendus/cion\\_def/115cion\\_def2021076\\_compte-rendu#](https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/15/comptes-rendus/cion_def/115cion_def2021076_compte-rendu#)

<sup>4</sup> Compte rendu par M. Pierre Lellouche de son déplacement en Afghanistan dans le cadre de la mission d'information et d'évaluation de l'opération militaire française en Afghanistan, du 8 au 15 février 2009, et de ses prolongements comme représentant spécial de la France pour l'Afghanistan et le Pakistan <https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/cr-cdef/08-09/c0809046.asp>

<sup>5</sup> Rapport d'information n°1772, fait au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, "Afghanistan: un chemin pour la paix" par MM. Jean Glavany et Henri Plagnol et déposé le 23 juin 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Rapport d'information n° 3661 fait au nom de la commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, en conclusion des travaux d'une mission d'information sur les actions civilo-militaires, par MM. Philippe Folliot et Guy Chambefort et déposé le 12 juillet 2011 <https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/rap-info/i3661.asp>

<sup>7</sup> Rapport d'information n°744 fait au nom de la commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, en conclusion des travaux d'une mission d'information sur le retrait d'Afghanistan n° 744 par MM. Philippe Meunier et Philippe Nauche et déposé le 27 février 2013 <https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/rap-info/i0744.asp>

<sup>8</sup> Rapport d'information de MM. Josselin de Rohan, Didier Boulaud et Jean-Pierre Chevènement, fait au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées : "Afghanistan : quelle stratégie pour réussir ?" [http://www.senat.fr/rap/r09-092/r09-092\\_mono.html](http://www.senat.fr/rap/r09-092/r09-092_mono.html)

pays et d'examiner les moyens d'améliorer le dispositif. Cette mission a formulé des propositions précises, entérinées par le Premier ministre (portant par exemple sur le déploiement de drones tactiques ou encore des hélicoptères de combat Tigre).

- Le Sénat s'est tenu informé de l'évolution de la situation du pays et de son contexte à travers l'audition d'experts ou de témoins (M. Gilles Dorronsoro, professeur de science politique à l'Université Paris 1, et Mme Fawzia Koofi, députée afghane, entendus respectivement le 30 janvier 2019 et le 21 septembre 2021, à huis-clos pour cette dernière, par la commission des affaires étrangères et de la défense ; table ronde sur la situation des femmes en Afghanistan organisée par la délégation aux droits des femmes, ouverte à tous les sénateurs et captée, le 25 novembre 2021). Le Président de la commission des affaires étrangères et de la défense, Christian Cambon, a pour sa part eu des entretiens avec l'Ambassadeur de la RI d'Afghanistan (dont les lettres de créance avaient été présentées avant l'arrivée des Talibans) ainsi qu'avec le ministre des affaires étrangères en exil, M. Mohammad Hanif Atmar.

**Dans le cadre des prérogatives du Parlement relatives au vote de la loi**, ces trois commissions de l'Assemblée nationale et du Sénat ont également saisi en 2012 l'examen et le vote du projet de loi autorisant la ratification du traité d'amitié et de coopération entre la République française et la République islamique d'Afghanistan pour dresser un panorama, certes plus succinct, de la présence militaire française et de ses modalités dans le cadre international dans lequel elle intervenait, ainsi que des actions de coopération civile et d'aide à la reconstruction.

**Enfin, le Parlement français agit en conjonction avec d'autres Parlements étrangers.** Ainsi, des échanges entre les présidents des commissions des affaires étrangères des parlements des pays membres du G7 ont abouti à la publication d'une déclaration commune sur l'Afghanistan, le 23 août 2021. Et la question de la situation en Afghanistan fera l'objet d'une attention particulière lors de la prochaine Conférence sur la politique étrangère et de sécurité commune (PESC) et la politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC) qui réunira prochainement au Sénat tous les présidents des commissions des affaires étrangères et de la défense des parlements de l'Union européenne ainsi que ceux des pays européens non membres de l'Union.

**2/ L'Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l'Ecole Militaire (IRSEM)**, organisme extérieur de la Direction générale des relations internationales et de la stratégie (DGRIS) du ministère des Armées, a pour sa part également produit des analyses sur l'engagement au côté des alliés en Afghanistan, par exemple :

- En 2014, sur l'« Opinion publique et armées à l'épreuve de la guerre en Afghanistan »<sup>9</sup>,
- en 2015, sur la « Spécificité de l'adaptation des forces aériennes : l'exemple de l'armée de l'air en Afghanistan »<sup>10</sup>,
- Ou en 2017, sur les « Leçons opérationnelles et coopération interalliée : état des lieux et voies d'amélioration »<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> [https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/1077/Etude\\_IRSEM\\_34.pdf](https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/1077/Etude_IRSEM_34.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/873/NRS\\_n22\\_2015.pdf](https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/873/NRS_n22_2015.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/2447/NR\\_IRSEM\\_n48\\_2017.pdf](https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/2447/NR_IRSEM_n48_2017.pdf)