

IRE107: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

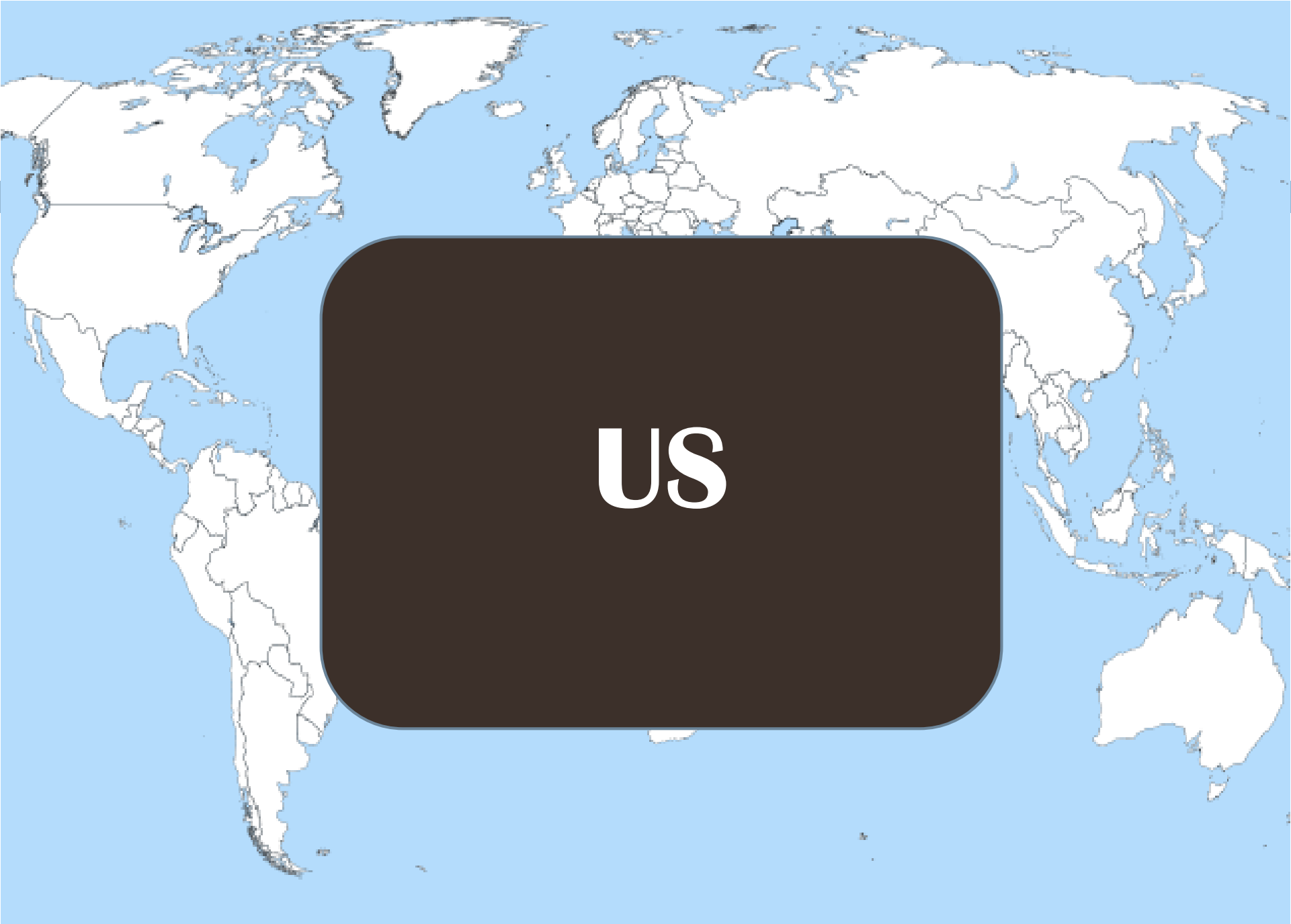
Maya Hadar

Fall 2018

Session xx: National Security II

On The Agenda

- US
 - US Definition of Security Cooperation
 - US Security Cooperation + Assistance Programs
- EU
 - European Defence and Security Cooperation
 - The failure of the European Defence Community
- North America
 - Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP)



US

US Definition of Security Cooperation

- Security Cooperation includes **all the interactions** between US Department of Defense and **foreign defense establishments**, aimed at **building defense relationships**, which:
 - Promote specific U.S. **security interests**
 - Develop allied and friendly **military capabilities** for self-defense & multinational operations
 - Provide U.S. forces with **peacetime** and **contingency access** to a host nation
 - Recognizing the **comprehensive** nature of security relationships



Security Cooperation Programs

- Since 2006, the US government has provided more than **\$200 billion** for programs **providing security assistance and security cooperation** to foreign countries
- **Combined Operations** (US operations with other countries)
 - **Counter-Drug Support**
 - **Global Peace Operations Initiative**
 - **Train and equip Security Forces** in Afghanistan and Iraq
- **Combined Exercises** => Joint Combined Exercise Training
- International **Training** and **Education**
- **Combined Intelligence Operations**



Security Cooperation Programs

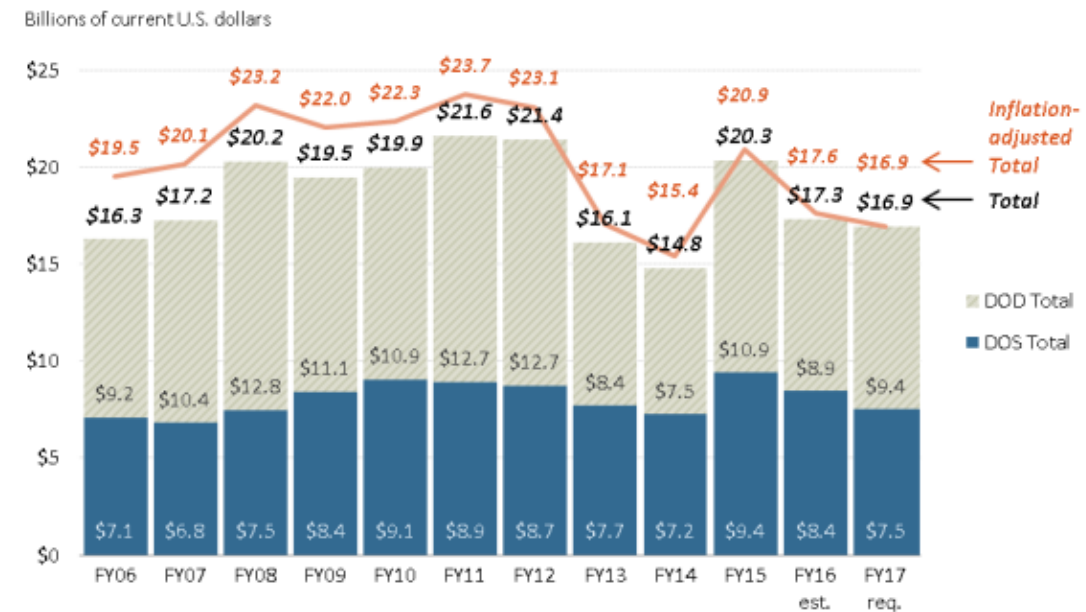
- **Military-to-Military Contact Program** => Defense Personnel Exchange Program
- **International Armaments Cooperation**
 - **Information Exchange Program**
 - Exchange of **Engineers and Scientist**
 - No-cost **Equipment Loans**
 - **Arrow** Missile (anti-ballistic defense system)





Security Assistance Programs

- Security Assistance has been Institutionalized after WWII
 - Advances US interest in a global environment
- 11 Different Programs
 - Controlled by the **Department of State** but administered and executed by the **Department of Defense**
 - Humanitarian and Civic Action during Military Operations
 - Foreign Disaster Relief
 - Commanders' Emergency Response Program

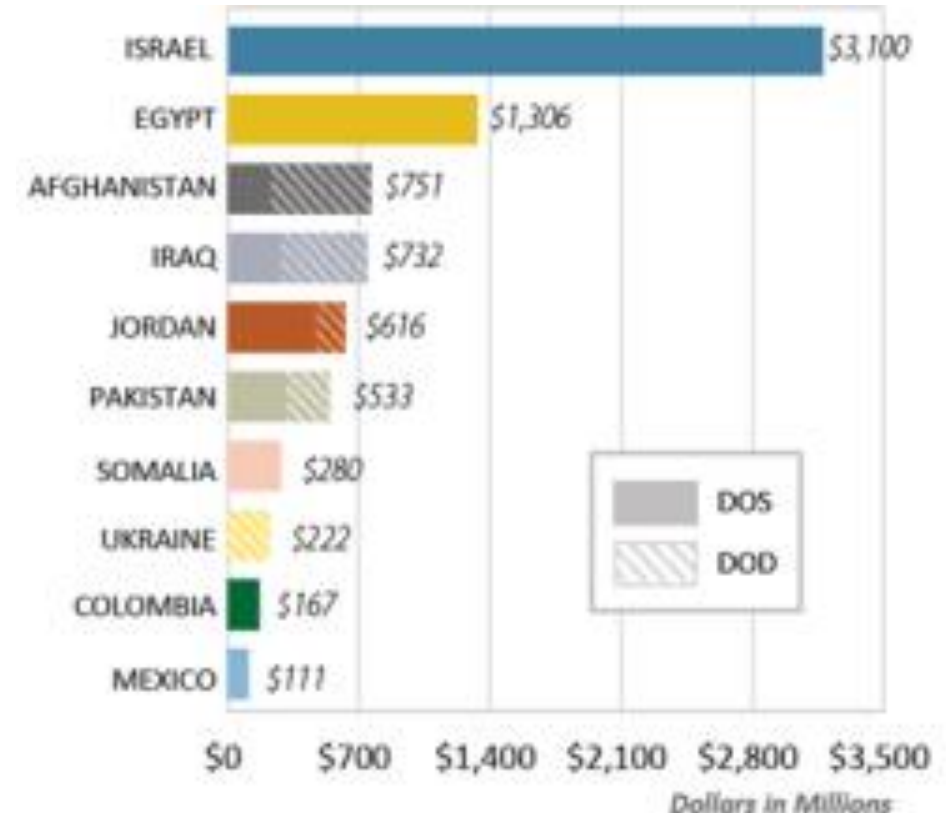


Source: For DOS FY2006-FY2015 data: USAID Foreign Assistance Database, prepared by USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services



Security Assistance Programs

- **Foreign Military Sales (FMS)**
 - Eligible foreign governments **purchase** defense articles, services and training from the US
- **Foreign Military Financing (FMF)**
 - Congressionally funded **grants** and **loans** which enable eligible **foreign governments** to purchase U.S. defense articles, services, and training



Source: For DOS information, email communication on September 20, 2017, from State's Legislative Affairs office

Security Assistance Programs



- **Foreign Military Construction Services**
 - Sales and design/construction services by U.S. to eligible purchasers
- **Economic Support Fund**
 - Supports Economic and Political Stability
- **Peace Keeping Operations**
 - Funds **Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty observers**, efforts in **Cyprus, Balkans, East Timor**, sub-Saharan **Africa, Afghanistan** and the **Dafur** region
- International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement
- Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs



Security Assistance Programs

- **International Military Education and Training (IMET)**

- Provides **financial assistance for training** in the U.S. to selected foreign military and related civilian personnel

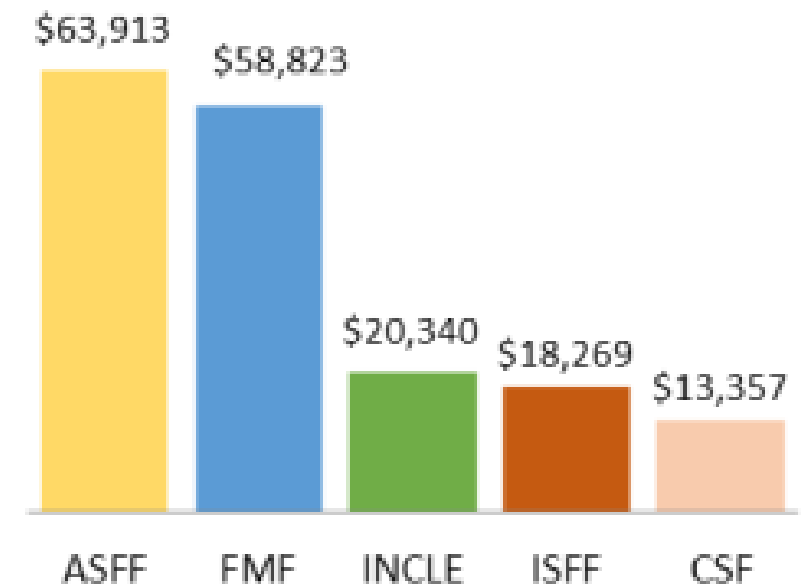
ASFF = Afghanistan Security Forces Fund

FMF = Foreign Military Financing

INCLE = International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement

ISFF = Iraq Security Forces Fund

CSF = Coalition Support Funds



Source: For DOS FY2006-FY2015 data: USAID Foreign Assistance Database, prepared by USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, April 5, 2017

Broadening the Scope of Security



- **Six-Party Talks** (North Korea, US, SK, China, Japan, Russia) were a series of **multilateral negotiations** held intermittently since 2003 for the purpose of **dismantling North Korea's nuclear program**
- The talks were hosted in Beijing and chaired by China
- 2009 => North Korea decided to no longer participate in the six-party process
- In subsequent years, other participants, notably China, have called periodically for a resumption of the process
- Influential in broadening the scope of security
 - September 2005 joint statement explicitly links **denuclearization** with **economic cooperation** and a **peace** regime on the peninsula
 - Recognizing the **legitimacy** of other states' **security perceptions**
 - **Confidence building** through reciprocal action

Transition to Long-term Cooperation



- **Multiple Party Talks**, not based on grand design, but reflect underlying **strategic choices**
 - Real challenge is to **institutionalize the cooperation** beyond the immediate issue
- **Cooperation goals:**
 - US sees the process in terms of denuclearization
 - North Korea focus is on US “hostile policy”
 - China portrays the process as a means to achieve regional stability
 - South Korea emphasis is on reconciliation
 - Russia focus is on involvement in the region
 - Japan least committed to cooperative approach

Strategic Choices



- In establishing regional security cooperation mechanism, each country is faced with strategic choice of cooperation:
 - **North Korea:** Give up nuclear weapons program for economic security
 - **US:** Accept survival of NK to maintain global nonproliferation regime
 - **SK:** Economic assistance to avoid costs associated with NK collapse
 - **China:** Accept continued US presence for regional stability
 - **Japan:** Provide assistance to NK to avoid isolation
 - **Russia:** Accept a marginal role to avoid exclusion



Sustaining the Momentum

- **Building trust through interaction** => basis for cooperation in areas beyond the specific issues in Six-Party Talks
- Principle of **reciprocity** reinforces the ability to sustain support for cooperation
- Each country must correlate **reciprocal action** with its own **national interest**
- **Requires transparency** on issues such as disclosure of nuclear activity and conventional build-up
- The challenge is to find ways to reinforce the value of the cooperative choice

A world map with a light blue background and white outlines of continents. A dark grey rounded rectangle is centered over the map, containing the title text. The text is in a white, sans-serif font. The map shows the Americas on the left, Europe and Africa in the center, and Asia and Australia on the right.

The Security and Prosperity Partnership



The Security and Prosperity Partnership

16

- 2005=> Leaders of Canada, the US and Mexico launched the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP)
- The SPP:
 - Aims to promote growth and economic opportunity & increase security
 - Is a mechanism for developing an evolving agenda for North American cooperation
 - Builds on key initiatives (Canada-U.S. Smart Border Accord and the successes of the North American Free Trade Agreement- NAFTA)
 - Is based on the principle that security and prosperity are mutually dependent and complementary
 - Dialogue at the highest political levels



The Security and Prosperity Partnership

17

- 2006 => SPP Summit in Cancun, leaders reaffirm their commitment to advance a positive agenda for North America through the SPP and set priorities for action:
 - 1) Strengthening Competitiveness (including the creation of the North American Competitiveness Council: NACC) and strengthening regulatory cooperation (including the completion of a trilateral regulatory cooperation framework by 2007)
 - 2) Emergency Management Coordination
 - 3) Cooperation in avian and pandemic influenza management
 - 4) Energy Security
 - 5) Smart, Secure Borders



Smart, Secure Borders

18

- Need **efficient** and **secure borders** to enhance prosperity, security and quality of life
- Leaders asked Ministers to draw on:
 - Risk-based border management
 - Innovative use of new technologies
 - Coordinated border infrastructure development
 - Moving inspection and screening away from border, where possible

A world map with a light blue background and white outlines of continents. The continent of Europe is highlighted with a solid black fill. A dark grey horizontal bar is positioned above the map, and a blue horizontal bar is positioned below it. The word "Europe" is written in white, bold, sans-serif font within the black highlighted area.

Europe

European Defence & Security Cooperation

- 1947 => Belgium, the Netherlands & Luxembourg formed the **Benelux Customs Union**, which broadened over the years into what the 1960 treaty confirmed as the **Benelux Economic Union**
- 1948 => **Brussels treaty**
 - An agreement signed by UK, France & the Benelux countries, creating a **collective defence alliance**. Goals were:
 - To provide for **collective defense**
 - To **facilitate cooperation** in economic, social, and cultural matters
 - To show that **western European states can cooperate**, encouraging the United States to play a role in the security of western Europe

European Defence & Security Cooperation

- 1954 => strengthened and modified to include **West Germany + Italy**, end the occupation of West Germany, and to include West Germany in NATO

1955-2011 => Western European Union

- Association of 10 countries, operated as a forum for the coordination of matters of European **security & defence**
- 1960 => activities of committees for **social & cultural** affairs were transferred to the **Council of Europe**
- 1984 => the **union** was “**reactivated**”, emphasis on the significance of **US arms to European defense** + increase **regional military cooperation**



European Defence & Security Cooperation

1955-2011 => Western European Union

- 1990 => Portugal and Spain joined the union (Greece joined in 1995)
- Six **associate members** (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Poland, and Turkey), five **observer countries** (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland & Sweden) and seven **associate partners** (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia)
- 2009 => **The Treaty of Lisbon** took over the WEU's mutual defense clause
- 2010 => members decided to **cease operations**, officially closed on 2011

European Defence & Security Cooperation

1955-2011 => Western European Union

- The WEU was administered by a **council** consisting of **member states' ministers of foreign affairs & defense** (Headquarters in Brussels)
 - Council was responsible for **policy formulation**
- WEU's **assembly** had a number of permanent committees: political defense, technological and aerospace, rules of procedure and privileges, & parliamentary and public relations
 - Consisted of member states' delegates to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
 - Met at least twice each year (Paris)

European Defence & Security Cooperation

1955-2011 => Western European Union

- Contributed to the creation of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and worked in **cooperation** with it
- Became the **primary defence institution** of the European Union in the 1990s

European Defence & Security Cooperation

The Failure of the European Defence Community (EDC)

- 1950 => The outbreak of the **Korean War** made the **communist threat** a reality
 - The **USA** asked **allies** to plan for the **rearmament of West Germany**
- **Monnet**, General Commissioner of the French National Planning Board, sought to organise **European defence** on a **supranational** basis (an idea already laid down in the **Schuman proposal**): the proposal was submitted to the French National Assembly (24 October 1950)

Schuman Plan (May 1950) => a proposal made by French foreign minister for the creation of a single authority to control the production of steel & coal in France and West Germany, opened for membership to other European countries. The proposal was realized in the **European Coal and Steel Community**, and the plan laid the foundations for the establishment of the **European Economic Community** (1958)

European Defence & Security Cooperation

The Failure of the European Defence Community (EDC)

- The plan included the **creation** of a **European army** (including German units), to be placed **under** a single military and **political European authority**
- 1954 => Although the proposal was accepted by most Western countries, the plan for a European Defence Community (EDC) was **rejected by the French National Assembly** (didn't ratify the treaty) and was **abandoned**
- **Highly criticised by the US and Western Europe** => France, which had for many years been the champion of the European cause, found itself seriously discredited. Intense disappointment

European Defence & Security Cooperation

The Failure of the European Defence Community (EDC)

- Following the French rejection of the EDC, some **Benelux leaders** started reviving a **Community plan** that provided solutions to problems of **economic integration**
- May 1953 => **Beyen**, Dutch Foreign Minister, sent a letter to his counterparts in the Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in which he set out a **framework** for the establishment of **general economic integration**, **rather than sector-based integration**, with the aim of **progressively developing a true common market in Europe**
- **Pro-European movements** suggested to revive **sectoral integration** by pooling the **energy** and **transport** sectors, yet, technical & economic problems arose

European Defence & Security Cooperation

The Failure of the European Defence Community (EDC)

- Early 1955 => Monnet avoided informing the discredited French Government of his plan for a European Atomic Energy Community
- Contacted Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak with a view to coordinating plans for **a revival of the European project**, suggesting that he would shoulder political responsibility for the initiative
- The Netherlands Foreign Minister, Beyen, and his Luxembourg counterpart, Bech, were immediately **in favour** of the plan presented to them by Spaak

European Defence & Security Cooperation

The Failure of the European Defence Community (EDC)

- 18 May 1955 => the **Benelux countries adopted a joint memorandum**, which they sent to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), France and Italy two days later
- The memorandum **set out a plan for reviving European integration** by **extending the responsibilities** of the **ECSC** in the areas of **transport, energy and nuclear energy**, and in the **economic, social and financial** fields
- Examined and discussed on July 1955 at the conference of Foreign Ministers of the six ECSC countries held in Messina

European Defence & Security: a Short History

The Messina Conference

- The Messina Conference signalled the **start of the European revival**
- June 1955 => Attended by the **Foreign Ministers of the six Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community** (Luxembourg, France, West Germany, Belgium & the Netherlands)
- Expressed their wish to start **negotiations** at both levels simultaneously:
 - Examine **new forms of partial integration** (transport, conventional & nuclear energy)
 - The creation of a **common market**

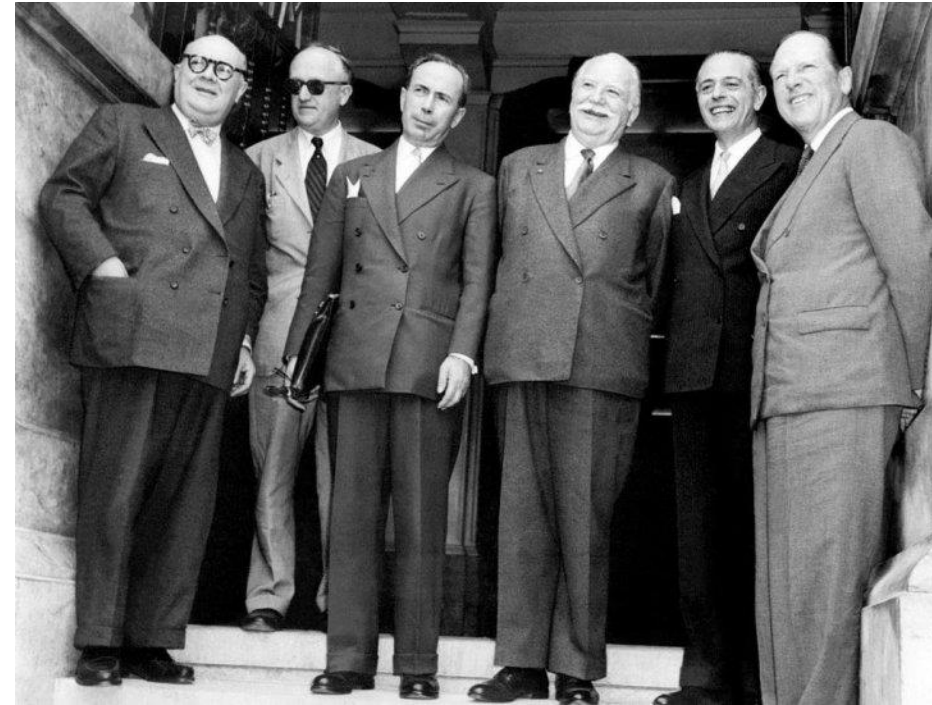


*Palazzo Zanca sede del Municipio,
venue for the Messina Conference*

European Defence & Security: a Short History

The Messina Conference

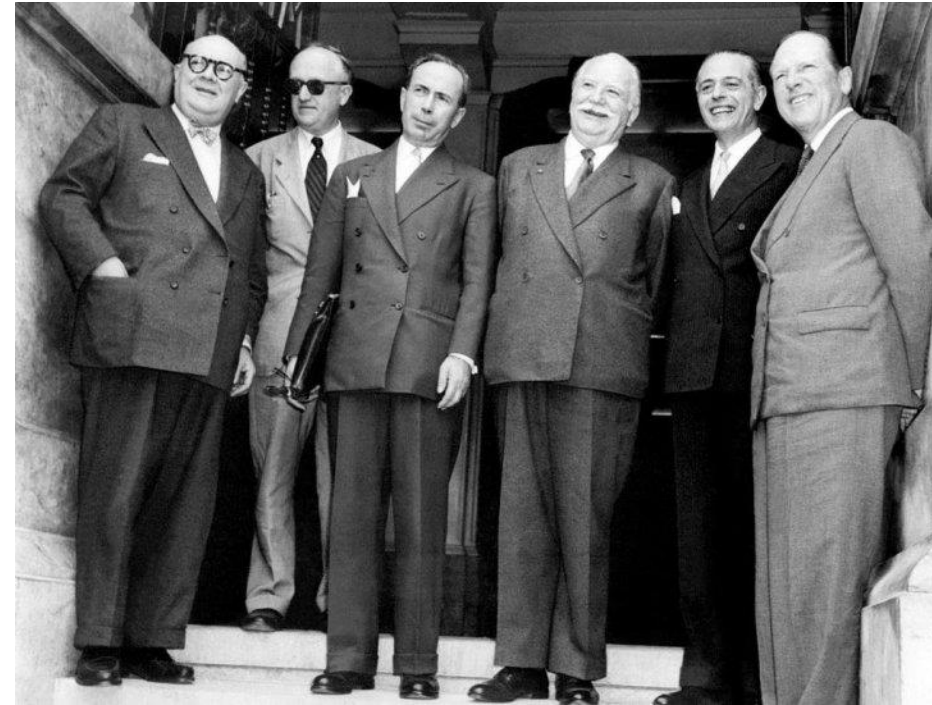
- Discussions focused on the memorandum submitted by the Benelux countries (summarised various proposals & ideas)
- Positive concerning the possibility of extending European integration to all sectors of the economy
- Yet, differing and conflicting concepts of Europe
 - For/against supranational institutions
 - For/against giving the ECSC wider powers, giving priority to political/economic aspects, etc.



European Defence & Security: a Short History

The Messina Conference

- Discussions focused on the **memorandum** submitted by the **Benelux countries** (summarised various proposals & ideas)
- **Positive** concerning the possibility of extending **European integration** to all sectors of the **economy**
- **Differing** and **conflicting** concepts of Europe
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European Defence & Security: a Short History

The Messina Conference

- Agreement was reached at dawn on 3 June 1955
 - Adopted a **resolution** stating their determination to make ‘**further progress [...] towards the setting up of a united Europe** by the development of **common institutions, the gradual merging of national economies**, the creation of a **common market** and the **harmonisation** of their **social policies**’
 - Progressively **raising the standard of living** (in order to ensure Europe maintained/restored its position & influence in the world)
 - Recognised the importance of **developing nuclear energy** for **peaceful** purposes + necessity to create an **organisation responsible** for ensuring the peaceful development of such energy

European Defence & Security: a Short History

The Spaak Committee + Report

- 1955 => Intergovernmental Committee, created by the Messina Conference, met in Brussels
- Composed of **delegates from the six governments**, it was tasked with **drawing up a broad outline of a future European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC)**
- Worked for about a year: a general common market or partial sectoral integration?
- Identified ways of attaining the objectives set



European Defence & Security: a Short History

- Feb 1992 => Maastricht Treaty signed, forming the **European union**
 - Five Objectives (Art. J.1.2):
 - to **safeguard** the values, interests and independence of the Union
 - to **strengthen the security** of the Union and its member states
 - to **preserve peace** and strengthen **international security...**
 - to **promote international cooperation**
 - to develop and **consolidate democracy** and the rule of law, and respect for HR & FFs



Security & Defence under the EU

- EU not to compete with NATO & Western European Union
- Art.J.4.1 TEU => The treaty covers all questions related to the **‘security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence’**
- Article 17 (Amsterdam) => **‘all questions relating to the security of the Union, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy...which might lead to a common defence, should the European Council so decide’**

The Maastricht Treaty (TEU) and all pre-existing treaties, has subsequently been further amended by the treaties of Amsterdam (1997), Nice (2001) and Lisbon (2009)



Security & Defence under the EU

- **WEU was an integral part of EU development**, ‘providing the Union with access to an operational capability’, **folded into EU**
- Political and Security Committee (COPS) with political and military expertise
- Nov 2001: **European Capabilities Action Plan** to rectify shortcomings (17 panels report on 24 shortfalls)
- **Laeken Council** adds ‘more demanding’ and ‘crisis’ operations to EU's security and defence policy activities
- Dec 2003: **European Security Strategy** adopted

Security & Defence under the EU



- 2004: **European Defence Agency** set up: cooperation in armaments
- June '04: **Brussels Council** adds 'joint disarmament operations', supporting 'combating terrorism' and security sector reform'

EU Security/Defense Operations

- Operation **Artemis**: French-led EU peacekeeping operation in Bunia, Republic of Congo (DRC) in June-September 2003, to help UN mission (MONUC) stabilise and provide humanitarian assistance
- **EU Border Assistance Mission at Rafah Crossing Point in the Palestinian Territories** (EU BAM Rafah): Nov. 2005 after Israeli-Palestinian agreement
- **EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq** (Eujust Lex): from Feb 2005, introduction of the rule of law by assisting Iraqi judiciary
- **EU Rule of Law Mission for Kosovo**: largest civilian op. by ESDP – supports Kosovo authorities in police judiciary & Customs
- **EU Navfor Somalia**: first ESDP naval operation, aimed to counter piracy & robbery off coast of Somalia

Which Small States are Involved?

EU NATO (old)

- Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Greece, Portugal

EU NATO (new)

- Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Rep, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria

EU Neutrals

- Ireland, Austria, Sweden, Finland

EU mini-neutrals

- Cyprus, Malta

Other non-EU

- Norway, Iceland

Small States & Defence & Security

Face dilemma of **autonomy** vs. **influence**

AUTONOMY

- Try to keep control through national means

INFLUENCE

- Accept control is limited but influence may be more available the more engaged state is

A world map with a light blue background and white outlines of continents. A large, dark grey rounded rectangle is centered over the map, containing the acronym 'OSCE' in white, bold, sans-serif font. The map shows the Americas on the left, Europe and Africa in the center, and Asia and Australia on the right. There are decorative horizontal bars on the left and right sides of the map: an orange bar on the left and a grey bar on the right.

OSCE

<https://www.osce.org/whatistheosce>

- The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe** (OSCE) is the world's largest security-oriented intergovernmental organization
- Originated in the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) held in Helsinki, Finland
- Used to mediate between Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War
- Finalized the Helsinki Accords (30 July – 1 August 1975)
- In 1994, the CSCE was repurposed to OSCE

- **The OSCE is composed of:**
 - 57 Participating States
 - 11 Partners
 - 2850 Field and Headquarter operators: around 400 people in its secretariat in Vienna, 200 in its institutions and 2,100 field staff
 - Total budget of 145 million Euros

- All 57 participating States enjoy equal status

- The OSCE has a **comprehensive approach** to security that encompasses politico-military, economic and environmental, and human aspects

- It addresses a **wide range** of security-related concerns, including:
 - Arms control
 - Confidence and security-building measures
 - Human rights
 - National minorities
 - Freedom of Press
 - Conflict Prevention
 - Democratization
 - Policing strategies
 - Counter- terrorism
 - Economic and environmental activities
 - Post-Conflict Rehabilitation
 - Crisis Management

Activities =>

- Stops the spread of illegal weapons and tries to destroy them
- Protects borders of countries such as Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Dushanbe
- Stopping human trafficking
- Provide early warning and prevention of terrorist activities
- Aids in economic growth
- Gender equality, environmental protection.

Relations with the United Nations =>

- The OSCE is a regional organization (Chapter VIII of the UN Charter) and is an observer in the United Nations General Assembly
- The Chairman-in-Office gives routine briefings to the United Nations Security Council

Allegations of pro-Russian bias =>

- Increasing criticism in the Russian–Ukraine conflict: Ukraine argued that it failed to monitor the implementation of the Minsk Protocol (an agreement to halt the war in the Donbass region of Ukraine, on 5 September 2014)

A world map with a light blue background and white outlines of continents. A black rounded rectangle is centered over the map, containing the title text in white. The text is arranged in three lines: 'NATO & The' on the first line, 'Warsaw' on the second line, and 'Pact' on the third line. The font is a bold, sans-serif typeface. The map shows the Americas on the left, Europe and Africa in the center, and Asia and Australia on the right.

NATO & The Warsaw Pact

NATO



- By the end of the 1940s, many Westerners were beginning to worry about the large armies which Russia had stationed in Eastern Europe
- February 1948 => a coup sponsored by the Soviet Union overthrew the democratic government of Czechoslovakia: became Communist
- Within a few days, US leaders agreed to join discussions aimed at forming a joint security agreement with their European allies
- The process gained new urgency in June of that year following the Berlin Blockade => 'proof' that the USSR was a danger to Western Europe

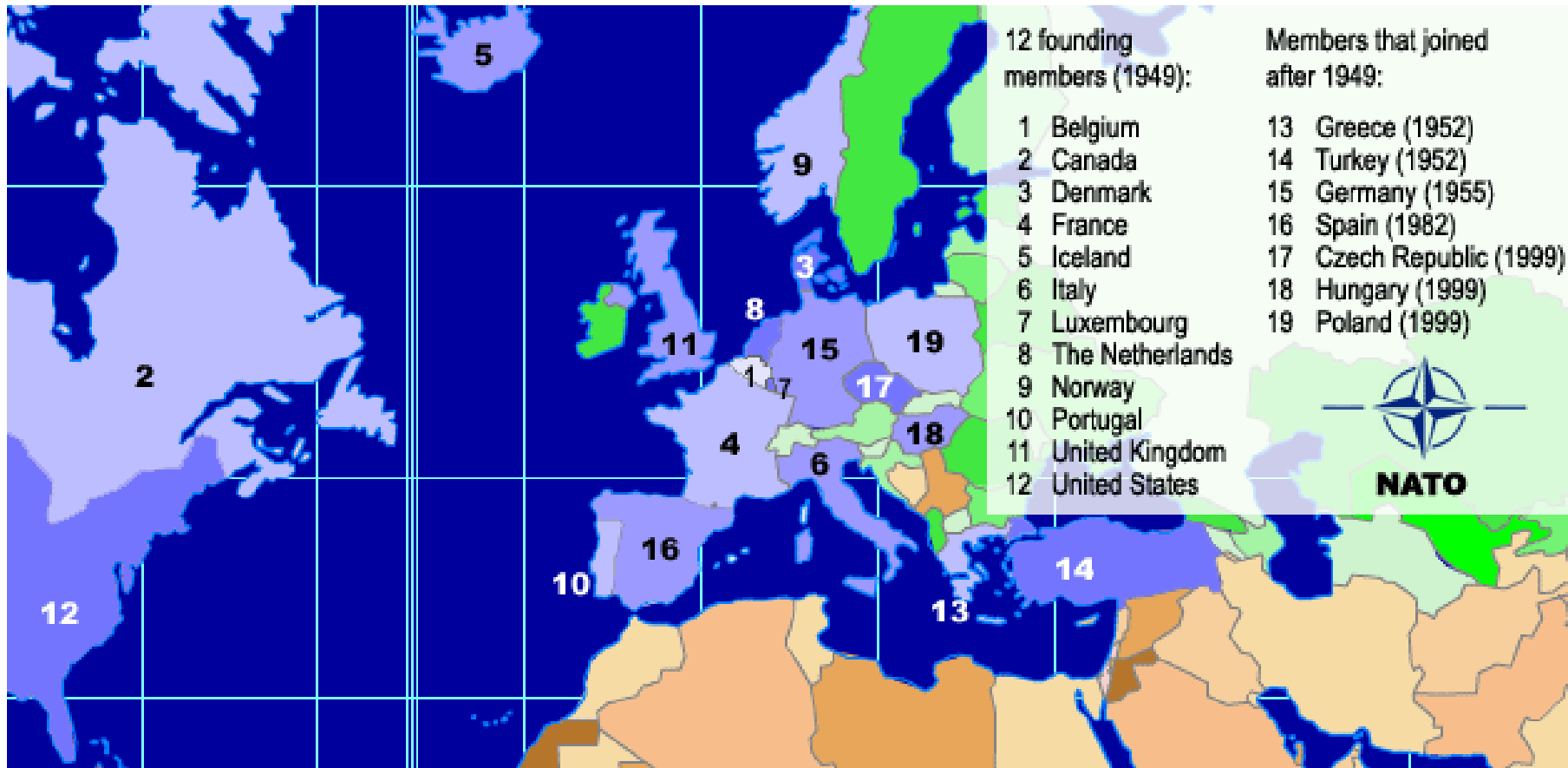
Berlin Blockade: the USSR cut off ground access to Berlin, forcing the US, Britain and France to airlift supplies to their sectors of Berlin, which had been partitioned between the Western Allies and the Soviets following WW II

NATO



- Prospect of further Communist expansion prompted the US and 11 other Western nations to form a defence alliance
- April 1949=> The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), primarily a security pact, was signed
 - Article 5: a military attack against any of the signatories would be considered an attack against them all
- US involvement reflected an important change in American foreign policy: For the first time since the 1700s, the US had formally tied its security to that of nations in Europe
- In May 1955, West Germany joined NATO (formed an army)

NATO

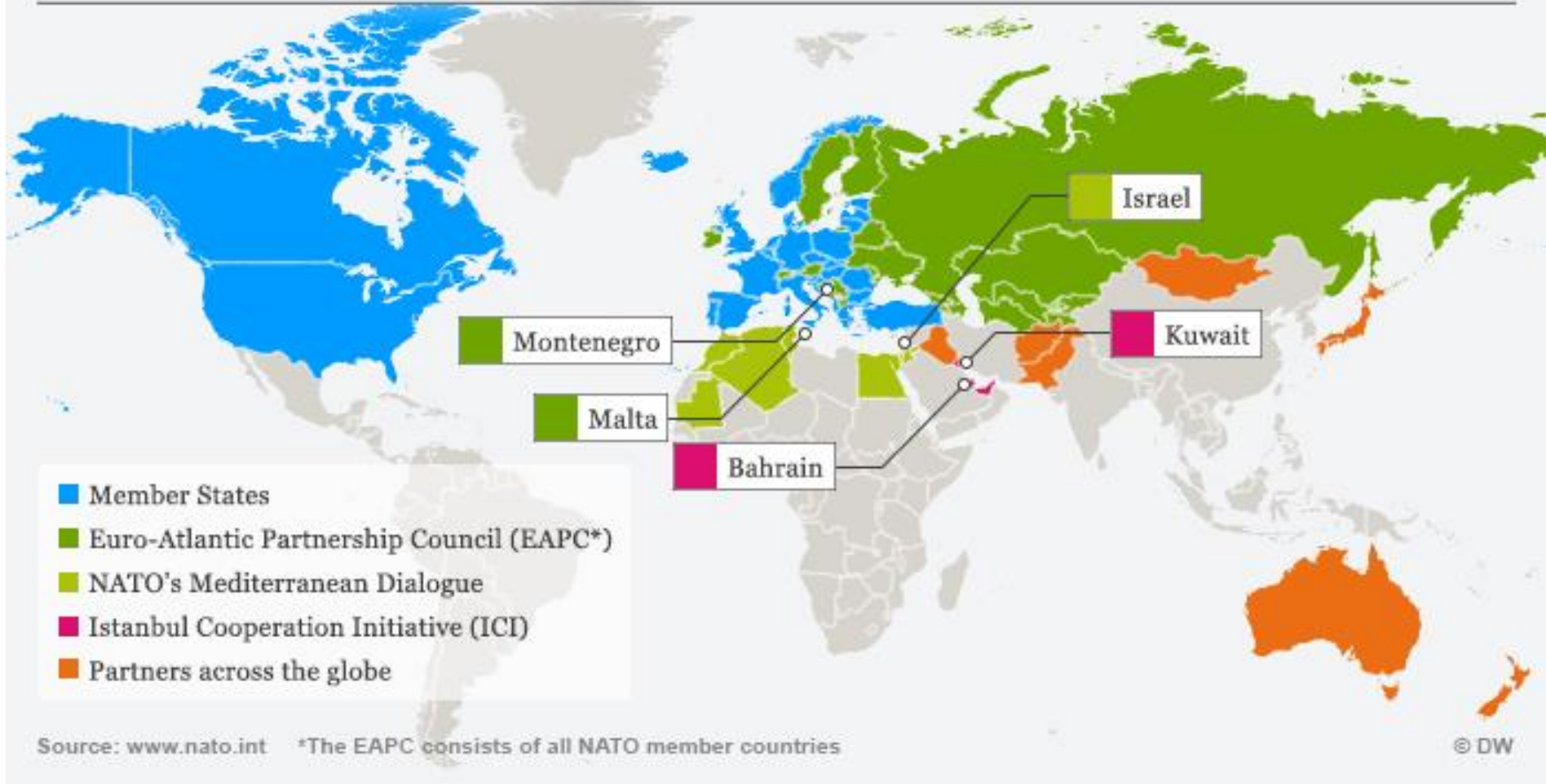


Unhappy with its role in the organization, France opted to withdraw from military participation in NATO in 1966 and did not return until 1995

NATO



28 Member States and Partners of NATO



The Warsaw Pact



- Germany becoming a military power was perceived as a threat
- 1955 (9 days after Germany joined) => the Soviet union and affiliated communist nations in Eastern Europe founded a rival alliance, the **Warsaw Pact**
- Joining the USSR in the alliance were: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland and Romania. This lineup remained constant until the Cold War ended with the dismantling of all the Communist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989-1990



The Warsaw Pact

Like NATO, the Warsaw Pact focused on the objective of creating a coordinated defence among its member nations in order to deter an enemy attack.

Further goals:

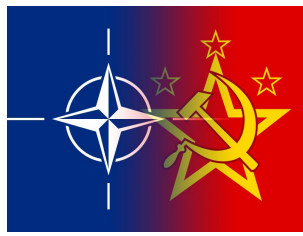
- Internal security component: the alliance provided a mechanism for the Soviets to exercise even tighter control over the other Communist states in Eastern Europe and deter pact members from seeking greater autonomy
 - Soviet leaders used military force to put down revolts in Hungary (1956) and in Czechoslovakia (1968), they presented the action as being carried out by the Warsaw Pact rather than by the USSR alone

The Warsaw Pact



Further goals:

- Counter concerns regarding the USA following NATO's establishment
- Counter concerns over powerful Germany
- Keeping up with the Western powers: rival body as a sign of power and deterrence



NATO members vs. The Warsaw Pact members



NATO vs. The Warsaw Pact

NATO	The Warsaw Pact
Had territory separated by water and land (non-NATO countries e.g. Switzerland)	The Warsaw Pact countries had geographic cohesion (was one large area) and land connections, easy to transfer forces and weapons
A voluntary alliance of democratic states	The Warsaw Pact very clearly controlled from Moscow
USA was a major part of NATO but members were involved in decision making	Moscow had political domination over central and Eastern Europe

NATO had overall military superiority



The Warsaw Pact



“...the Parties ... will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.”

“The Parties agree that an armed attack against one ... of them ... shall be considered an attack against them all.”

NATO Treaty, 1949

“...the best way to ensure peace and prevent new aggression ... is the organization of a system of collective security ... new measures [are required] for strengthening the defences of our peace-loving countries. The treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid ... is precisely to serve these aims.”

The Warsaw Pact, 1955

Next Session...

59

- **NOTHING!**

Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???

Good luck in the exam/essay!