

THE FOREIGN AREA OFFICER ASSOCIATION JOURNAL OF

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME XVII // NUMBER 3 // WINTER 2014
WWW.FAOA.ORG

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ISSN 1551-8094

The Foreign Area Officer Association Journal of International Affairs is a non-profit publication for Regional and International Affairs professionals. The views expressed are those of the authors, not of the Department of Defense, the Armed services or any DoD agency, and are intended to advance the profession through professional and academic dialog.

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SAVE THE DATE ...

April 30th will be the next FAOA Black Tie Dinner. Registration information will be posted to FAOA.org.

We hope to see you there!

Dear Foreign Affairs Professionals,

Thanks for picking up this issue of the FAOA Journal. As Charles Dickens might say, it is the best of times and it is the worst of times. On one hand we see rapid technological innovations that would suggest worldwide progress, and there are many world leaders who are creatively addressing problems on a global scale. On the other hand we see economic polarization, dwindling resources, and religious radicalization that will no doubt affect this generation's wars as well as the next.

Because of financial constraints, the US will have to do more with less and to uncover force multipliers to accomplish our foreign policy. FAOs will be a critical asset to accomplish exactly that, as the DoD looks for the connectors, the bridge builders and the cultural mavens who get stuff done. Before you dive into this issue, let's review a few of the moving pieces:

Eastern Europe is in chaos as a result of the Ukrainian conflict. Anxious allies look to the US as the guarantor of NATO's commitment to their defense. Our senior leaders will need to understand the cultural dimensions of our East European allies. FAOs will help to shape our nation's support to contain the conflict and sustain the alliance.

From North Africa to the Levant ISIS seems to be an unstoppable force beyond the reach of mere drone strikes. ISIS has reached a temporary stalemate with a long time US regional nemesis - Syria - while continuing to defeat US trained Iraqi forces. This has placed pressure on

Lebanon and Jordan, long time US partners and major recipients of US military assistance. While Israel currently remains outside the scope of the conflict, the long term ramifications for the region will surely affect the US-Israeli relationship.

In the context of these challenges, the US remains committed to a rebalance to the Pacific. While events in Middle East and Eastern Europe demand a robust US foreign policy response, China continues to gain influence in the Pacific and beyond, unsettling major US allies such

as South Korea, Japan, and Australia. Because of China's pursuits in all corners of the world, a pivot to Asia inevitably becomes a pivot in all cardinal directions. Our FAOs who speak Chinese find themselves gainfully employed in Africa, South America and elsewhere, as

they manage complex cultural and linguistic environments and help to stabilize the region.

In short, there is a premium on FAOs, not only for their depth of knowledge, but also for their breadth of relationships. As the old saying goes, it isn't only what you know, it is also who you know. FAOs have spent the time to develop friendships in the places that will help the US achieve its strategic interests. There is no better time to be serving as a FAO - serving at the dusty edges of the the world to make a difference in an increasingly complex and rapidly changing landscape.

“
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for their depth of
knowledge, but also
for the breadth of
their relationships**”



Graham Plaster
Editor in Chief,
FAO Association
Journal

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Sincerely,
Graham

Islamic State Organization, the Rising, Impact, and the Degradation Strategy

BY BRIGADIER GENERAL ISMAEL ALSODANI, IRAQI ARMY (RETIRED)

PREFACE

The world and the Middle East region are characterized by two destructive phenomena: radical terrorism and Shia-Sunni strife, or so-called sectarianism. These phenomena are motivated by Islamic religious fanaticism and conflicts of political interests among the Muslim communities and countries. The terrorist threat is global, while the sectarianism threat is regional and limited. Sectarianism is used as a vehicle to provoke terrorism. Iraqi turmoil and the Syrian civil war are ideal sectarian examples that have evolved into terrorism. Sectarianism has given rise to fanatic religious figures from both sides, who incite hatred, antipathy, and division among Muslims. Emergence of militias and radical armed groups that represent non-state actors are the typical results of this struggle. Al-Qaeda, Al-Nusra, ISIL, Quds brigades, and Hezbollah are groups formed to achieve sectarian objectives.

These inspired radical, violent, and intolerant organizations pose serious global threats. Islamic countries, communities, and clerics in particular must confront these groups that jeopardize peaceful coexistence among ethnicities and factions that have peacefully lived together throughout history. If these groups seize control of the region's energy resources, it will negatively impact the world economy and energy supplies. Destabilization of the region will cause more chaos, and these threats will spill over to other countries. Radical organizations do not value human rights. These organizations will not wait to use prohibited weapons if they possess them.

I will shed light on the rise of the Islamic State and events since the fall of Mosul. I will also suggest an appropriate strategy to tackle, undermine, and dismantle it. Finally, I will assess Iraq's capability to destroy them and whether it is a viable expectation.

ISLAMIC STATE RISING

ISIL, ISIS, or IS are acronyms for one entity: that is the Islamic state organization. It is a Jihadi radical Islamic group. Islamic State technically is an offshoot of Al-Qaeda, therefore, their ideological narrative is similar to that Al-Qaeda adopts, which is primarily based on Wahhabism jurisprudence.

Wahhabism is considered by some countries in the Islamic world as an important source of legislation and the main reference for school curriculums.

Wahhabism indoctrinates its followers that they are the only true Muslims. Therefore, they categorize others either as an apostate to refer the Sunnis, who do not follow them, or rejectionists to refer to Shi'a or infidels as non-Muslims. The penalty of these categories according to their Sharia 'a law is execution if they do not repent or convert to Islam, enslaving their females and confiscating their properties. Non-Muslims who would stay under their dominance must pay a special tax.

Islamic State derives its power from forcing other militant groups in Iraq and Syria to capitulate and surrender, based on its notoriously brutality, ruthlessness and viciousness in how they treat their opponents.

Islamic State derived its leadership capabilities and combat skills from a large number of former military officers of the Iraqi Army and intelligence agencies. Because of the disbanding of the former security forces, they were



Brigadier General (retired) Ismael Alsodani was the Iraqi Defense Attaché to the United States, 2007-2009. His military experience spanned nearly 30 years, including experience in military affairs, diplomatic service, management, operational, and strategic analysis. His final assignment before retirement was Dean, Defense Language Institute, National Defense University, Iraqi Ministry of Defense. He was a guest speaker at the December 12th, 2014 FAOA Distinguished Leader Luncheon; this article is a distillation of the remarks presented at that event. The Foreign Area Officers Association thanks General Aldosani for taking his time to share his perspective.

excluded from rejoining the new Iraqi military.

Saddam's loyalists (Baathists) and Sunni extremists felt dishonored to join the new Iraqi military institutions though. IS also has attracted numerous inspired foreign fighters from all over the world to perform jihad in Syria and Iraq. IS derived its weaponry capabilities from the tons of weapons captured during the fight in Iraq and Syria. IS derived its economic capacity from illegal activities such as:

- Oil smuggling from the oil wells under their control.
- Bank robberies.
- Extortion and intimidation of the population.
- Ransom from kidnappings.
- Imposing taxes, called Jizya, on non-Muslim minorities.
- Money laundering through Islamic charity and philanthropic organizations.

Finally, IS inspires Sunni extremists as the resurrected Islamic Caliphate. Multiple demonstrations in Europe have reflected this fact, unfortunately.

ISLAMIC STATE IMPACT

It is obvious that the motivation of Islamic State in Iraq is to undermine the Shi'a controlled government, and in Syria to overthrow the Iranian-supported Assad regime. It's an absolutely sectarian motivation. Using a religious intolerance doctrine, ISIS plays a significant role in deepening the existing sectarian rift in the region. It presents itself as an appropriate substitute to Sunni communities that feel marginalized and threatened.

IS' major impact is on regional and world security and stability, spilling over into civil wars and sectarian strife in regional countries like Lebanon and Yemen. Some Gulf States could fragment into small, vulnerable, sectarian, extremists theology cantons. Controlling their energy resources would threaten regional and world economies as well as global oil supplies.

Their foreign fighters with passports from Europe, the U.S., and other western countries could escalate the threat of high-profile terror attacks in these countries. Furthermore, IS intends to acquire and possess weapons of mass destruction. They have demonstrated this intention by using chlorine gas in three different incidents in Iraq, and although they presently have a primitive capability, it reflects their willingness to use more sophisticated capabilities. It would be catastrophic if they carried out a chemical or biological terror attack in any other spot in the world.

EVENT SEQUENCE

On 9 June 2014, Iraq, the Middle East region, and the world were caught by surprise with the IS rampage, seizing control of Mosul, Tikrit, parts of Diyala and other territories in Iraq. Five months earlier, Fallujah and oth-

er cities of Anbar province fell into IS militants' hands. These provinces had been in turmoil since the ousting of Saddam's regime.

This time, the threat was more severe than before. Iraqi army divisions plus a federal police division and local police forces abandoned their positions and weapons, giving the opportunity to a small force of 800 to 1,000 militants to drive them out. It was a domino-like collapse. An immediate intervention by U.S. troops was not possible, given that they left in January 2011, and, the U.S. administration was reluctant to intervene. The former Iraqi government made local, regional, and international enemies instead of friends. It was the first time since 2003 that the militants threatened the Baghdad perimeter and its international airport; this dire situation could have broken Iraq apart.

On 10 June 2014 in an attempt to gain control over the dramatic security deterioration, the Shi'a clergy in Najaf issued a Jihad Fatwa, mobilizing the people to confront and stop the IS militants' advance. Earlier, an IS spokesperson vowed to keep moving until taking control of Shi'a holy shrines in Samara, Karbala, and Najaf. Iraqi forces and special operations units supported by popular forces and tribes struggled to stop the IS advance towards the capital, in order to start a counterattack.

The turning point in combating IS was when the U.S. air force struck the militants' positions. As a result of their uncalculated blunder to approach Irbil in Kurdistan, the barbaric act of displacing Christians and Yezidis from Mosul and Sinjar, these acts attracted the world's attention. From that point on, an international coalition formed to degrade IS in Iraq and Syria. Simultaneously, on the domestic political front, new Iraqi Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi replaced Nuri Al-Maliki, ending the deadlock in the political process and, encouraging regional and international actors to participate in combating IS.

THE STRATEGY TO COMBAT ISLAMIC STATE

In order to tackle, undermine, and dismantle this Islamic radical organization, the campaign should not be limited to military operations, although it is crucial to defeating them. The campaign should first counter the narrative and the religious rationale they use to justify their terrorist acts. The second dimension of that strategy must include an end to the flow of foreign fighters, as well as their international financing. Otherwise, the campaign will become interminable and become a Whack-A-Mole game. The campaign should take on Islamic State in Iraq and Syria as one group to prevent them from regrouping. Below are key milestones to consider while crafting a strategy to defeat IS: The Arab- Israel conflict should not get involved in this strategy. In order to deprive the radical organization of an excuse to manipulate the campaign as one between Crusaders and Muslims, western countries should not be in the forefront of the campaign.

Sectarian rifts in the Middle East are the main source of radicalizing its youth. Therefore, the campaign should not be seen as a bias war against Sunnis. Otherwise, it would inflame the sectarian emotions against the campaign.

99% of terrorism victims are Muslim, therefore, Muslim entities and communities are morally and religiously responsible for combating this bizarre radical ideology that distorts the Islamic faith. Muslim countries should be in the lead of any strategy to combat Islamic terrorism. All Fatwa houses, clergies, schools, universities and theocratic organizations must be obliged to disprove and refute these misleading ideas.

Islamic countries, with the support of the international community, must monitor the financial transactions of charities and philanthropic organizations. They must monitor the travel of their citizens to these crisis zones. Countries that neighbor crisis zones should better control their borders and airports in order to stop the flow of foreign fighters.

Military operations: IS as an insurgency group has not been organized and prepared to hold seized territory for a long time. They are more used to “hit and run” tactics but because of the vacuum in Syria and Iraq, they found themselves in a position to fill it. Hence, sooner or later IS militants will be defeated and expelled from all the territories it occupies.

Special operations units supported by air power and reliable, credible and up to date intelligence are the appropriate forces to degrade and destroy IS’s military capabilities and take back occupied cities and towns. Targeting the key figures, command and control centers, the communications line, and logistic supply centers are vital to degrade their capabilities and break their will to fight.

IRAQ CAPABILITIES TO DEFEAT IS MILITANTS

The Iraq and U.S. administrations do not favor foreign intervention. Therefore, we should expect a long-term

“

ISIS’ inhumane behavior has alienated all Iraqi factions including the Sunni population. Therefore, in a sort of blessing in disguise, ISIS has united Iraqis for the first time in decades, regardless of their background.

campaign. It is now seven months since IS took control of large territories in Iraq. Iraqi forces and Peshmarga, with the crucial support of the coalition air forces, have been capable of stopping IS, regaining the initiative and starting counter attacks to regain occupied territory.

Because of the severe manpower shortage in army units, reinforcement, reorganization, and reinvigoration of the existing units are essential. Additionally, the formation of new units to compensate for disappeared units, must be a top priority. These processes will take time until all units can deploy in the area of operations. These processes are ongoing, and some units have been reorganized and redeployed again.

Another source of manpower compensation is from Shi’a recruits who responded to the Jihad Fatwa as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, another source of compensation is Shi’a militias that saw a precious opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities to fight their sectarian foe (ISIS). They have participated in regaining some towns and cities around Baghdad and are still deploying in inter-sectarian areas like Diyala, south of Salahadin and the south of Baghdad. They are non able to deploy in pure Sunni areas like Anbar, North Salahadin, and Mosul provinces, due to sectarian sensitivity. Although, in a very unusual occasion, some Anbar tribes called on them to join after IS massacred the Albo Nimir tribe in the town of Heet.

In order to free the rest of Iraq’s Sunni majority provinces, Iraq must form provincial forces to compensate for the shortage of Army units. These forces need time to be recruited, trained, equipped and deployed in the battle. This process may take about three months. Thus, Iraqi forces require 60-90 days to get ready to combat IS. Peshmarga also are getting reinforced, equipped and ready so they too will participate in the campaign to liberate the north, east, and west areas of Mosul, part of Kirkuk, and Diyala.

The other obstacle to accelerating the combat readiness of army units is the budget deficit associated with the drop in oil income. It is one of the most pressing challenges that the Iraqi government must address.

In conclusion, the battle to re-take Mosul requires special preparations that take time. The decision on the attack timing requires discretion and must be calculated carefully.

IRAQ VIABILITY AFTER THE ISLAMIC STATE PHASE

Iraq has always been at risk of breaking apart due to security threats, political process setbacks, and eco-

conomic disputes. The Iraqi government has assumed their responsibility with very devastating challenges. Each one is more important than others; all of them are top priority to address. It's distracting to determine which one to start with.

As mentioned earlier, the Islamic State organization will be defeated sooner or later, just like Al-Qaeda was defeated in 2008. The logical questions are, will Iraq be free of jihadi radical organizations? Will IS not be able to recompose itself and rebrand under a different name? Will Shia militias surrender their weapons to the government and be part of projected National Guard units? Will regional powers stop their negative intervention in Iraq's domestic affairs?

The answers to these questions should come from the Iraqi government, parliament, political and non-political entities, as well as from regional players such as, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and others.

It still cannot be predicted whether or not the Iraq government can by itself overcome all of its challenges without the genuine willingness of other political and non-political actors.

Although the new government has made notable steps to address part of its security, political and economic challenges, there remains much to be done to address the many issues that hinder long-term stability and peace in the country.

Iraq must find workable ways to share power and oil revenues. Ideally, parliament should mitigate these concerns by passing specific bills, like oil and gas law. Building state institutions, including the armed forces, based on professionalism, justice, equity and without marginalization should be a top priority for the government.

The government and parliament should work harder to achieve real national reconciliation through national consensus. These issues are debathification, reintegration of militias and tribal forces within the national security forces, the settlement of disputed areas between the provinces, and the relations with the Kurdistan regional government.

The fund for peace organization in its fragile states index 2014 suggested Iraq ranked as the 13th most fragile state in the world among 178 countries. The report attributed that to armed conflict and the government's inability to monopolize power. Therefore, the reintegration of militias is more crucial than others, and will reduce the influence of armed groups that subsequently may result in armed confrontation either between militias themselves or between militias and the army. The government must

monopolize the power to enforce law and order.

The government currently is drafting the National Guard law to be presented to the parliament, but the political parties and tribes that own these militias must accept the requirement to abandon the influence and control held over them. The National Guard units' chain of command should derive from either former or new military experts. It is necessary for the Iraqi government to consult international organizations and other countries (appropriate to Iraq's circumstances) that have successfully implemented reintegration of militias into its armed forces. This process should be part of the national reconciliation process.

Fighting rampant corruption is also critical to preserve national integrity. According to corruption perception index 2014 published by Transparency International, Iraq ranked 170 of 175 countries. Corrupt officials and military commanders undermine the nation's capability to build its institutions. It inflicts tremendous losses estimated at 10-15% of the national budget annually. A weak auditing and accountability system and political influence are the main sources for the spread of corruption.

Internally displaced people (IDP) who fled the conflict to seek safety, is adding additional burdens on the overwhelmed government. Their number has exceeded roughly 1.5 million persons. They have been dispersed all over the country in tough humanitarian circumstances. This crisis should resolve quickly, so they may return to their hometowns and end their miseries.

SUMMARY

There are four grave threats to the future of Iraq: sectarianism, terrorism, corruption, and a dysfunctional political system. Ousting Saddam's regime started sectarian confrontation. Radical Sunni- Shia armed groups were encouraged to fight each other. ISIS was founded to fight the Iraqi Shia government and the Assad regime in Syria.

The rise of ISIS must be sooner or later fade, and should be deprived of the ability to rebrand itself again in Iraq or any other country in the region. ISIS' inhumane behavior has alienated all Iraqi factions including the Sunni population. Therefore, in a sort of blessing in disguise, ISIS has united Iraqis for the first time in decades, regardless of their background.

An anti-ISIS strategy should not be limited to military operations. To counter their power, the milestones of strategy must be to stop the flow of foreign fighters and international financial support. Muslims countries, communities and clerics have a moral and religious obligation to counter their propaganda and actions.

For Further Reading

For more information about ISIS history, General Alsodani recommends Alastair Crooke's article titled "You can't understand ISIS if you don't know the history of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia" dated 08/27/2014

China's Air Force Foreign Relations Program and Implications for Interaction with the U.S. Air Force

BY MAJOR KENNETH ALLEN, U.S. AIR FORCE (RETIRED)

The People's Liberation Army's (PLA) foreign relations program is an integral component of the Chinese government's comprehensive foreign relations effort, which is guided by national policy and moderated by the state of relations with each individual country. The PLA's overall foreign relations program is managed by the Ministry of National Defense (MND) Foreign Affairs Office (FAO), which, in turn, is a front for the General Staff Department's (GSD) FAO and the Central Military Commission's (CMC) General Office. PLAAF Headquarters' Foreign Affairs Bureau (FAB) manages the PLAAF program under MND FAO's guidance.

As part of China's overall program, the PLAAF has gradually expanded from merely exchanging delegations to conducting combined exercises with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and individual countries. In 2001, the PLAAF Command College created a program for foreign officers that, since 2009, includes PLAAF officers and pilots. In addition, the PLAAF has begun to perform military operations other than war (MOOTW) abroad to support national goals. This article first addresses how the PLAAF interacts with the international community. It concludes with a focus on relations with the U.S. Air Force (USAF).

PLAAF INTERACTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The PLAAF interacts with the international community and foreign militaries through a number of channels. In November 2014, the PLAAF reported that more than 50 foreign air force commanders (chiefs of staff) have visited China in the past few years, and that it has sent more than 600 senior science and technology officers from units and academic institutions to visit and study abroad. In addition, over the past five years, not including combined exercises, it has sent 400 groups (3,000 personnel) abroad annually to attend conferences and discussions, as well as hosting more than 90 foreign delegations (1,500 personnel) per year.

- AIR FORCE ATTACHÉS

Since the early 1980s, China has established military ties with 150 countries. Since then, China has nearly doubled the number of military attaché offices abroad to about 110, while about 100 countries have created military attaché offices in Beijing.

The majority of China's military attachés are Army officers, most of whom are career intelligence officers. This is in large part a reflection of the PLA's ground-force dominated culture. At the end of the 2000s, the

PLAAF had attaché billets in only two countries (United States and United Kingdom). It appears, however, that the number of air force attachés abroad has expanded slightly, including an Assistant Air Attaché in Mongolia, who is of Uighur descent. Although the PLAAF has had Air Attachés in Washington DC since the early 1980s, only two officers – a former Assistant Air Attaché in the 2000s, and the current Air Attaché – have been career pilots.

Meanwhile, only a few countries have permanent air force attaché billets in China; however, some air force officers serve concurrently for two to three years as the Defense Attaché on a rotational basis with the other services. Even though countries have air force attachés in Beijing, they do not necessarily have the opportunity to interact with PLAAF officers on a regular basis. Normally, the only opportunity that foreign attachés have to interact with PLAAF officials is when they are planning for or escorting a visiting delegation or when they are arranging for a PLAAF delegation to visit their country.

- HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES

Overall, the number of PLAAF high-level visits abroad has not increased over the past decade. Historically, the PLAAF commander is allowed to travel abroad only once per year to one to three countries. From 1979-2012, PLAAF commanders visited over 35 different countries, including several countries more than once. The two most visited countries have been Pakistan and Turkey. Of note, PLAAF Commander General Xu Qiliang did not travel during 2012 before turning over his position to General Ma Xiaotian during the 18th Party Congress in October 2012, nor has Ma traveled abroad since assuming office. Although Ma has not traveled abroad in his new capacity, prior to assuming the commanders billet, he was one of the Deputy Chiefs of the General Staff, where he had the foreign relation portfolio and traveled abroad several times.

Meanwhile, the PLAAF's political commissar (PC) has averaged one trip every two years since 1996 and has visited over 16 different countries, with the most visits being to Russia and Cuba. PCs have yet to visit any other Asian countries. Although General Tian Xiushi became the PC during the 18th Party Congress, he has yet to travel abroad. Of note, Tian had never served a day in the PLAAF prior to becoming the PC. The commander's and PC's delegation usually consists of about 5-10 people, including personnel from PLAAF Headquarters and Military Region Air Force (MRAF) headquarters. Oc-

asionally, PAAAF officers are part of a delegation led by the Minister of National Defense, a Vice Chairman of the CMC, or one of the leaders in the General Staff Department or seven Military Regions. For example, during 2013-2014, three of the four PAAAF deputy commanders accompanied one of the two CMC vice chairmen, the Minister of Defense, the Chief of the General Staff, and the Director of the General Armament Department on visits abroad. Senior officers from the Jinan and Beijing MRAF's were also part of other delegations.

As a general rule, this is the only time the accompanying officers ever travel abroad; however, their participation often presages promotion. Historically, the PAAAF commander has hosted about five counterparts each year; however, even though Ma has not traveled since taking office in October 2012, he has hosted 14 air force leaders from Australia, Bangladesh, Belarus, Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russia, South Korea, Thailand, United States, and Zambia. He has also held separate meetings with other foreign military leaders hosted by other key PLA leaders.

- FUNCTIONAL EXCHANGES

The PAAAF has been sending delegations abroad led by senior colonels or major generals since the late 1980s that include discussions on personnel, training, logistics and maintenance issues. Since the media generally covers only high-level PAAAF visits, little information is available about the types and total number of functional exchanges.

These visits offer most PAAAF officers their only chance to travel abroad. PAAAF functional delegations visit the host country's air force headquarters, academic institutions, and operational units, where they receive briefings, ask questions, view equipment and sometimes see live demonstrations. From 2002 through mid-2014, the PAAAF's monthly journal, *China Air Force*, published about 25 articles written by PAAAF officers who have studied abroad or been part of delegations that visited flight schools and operational units, where they focused on pilot recruitment, education, and training, including simulators. The articles noted that pilots also had the opportunity to fly in the back seat of various aircraft, including a Mirage-2000 and Swedish L-39 trainer.

During its 60th anniversary in November 2009, the PAAAF held one of the largest functional exchanges in its history that included over 300 representatives from 35 countries. Since November 2010, the PAAAF has also become actively involved in the annual Zhuhai Air Show. During the December 2012 air show, the PAAAF co-hosted a Military Flight Training Conference, where it provided detailed information about reforming its flight training program. The PAAAF also often hosts selected members of the foreign attaché corps. For example, in November 2013, the PAAAF Aviation Medicine Research Institute hosted 38 foreign attachés.

- EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

The PAAAF Command College, located in Beijing, forms the foundation for educational exchanges, including sending students and faculty abroad and hosting foreign officers. These exchanges are rapidly expanding to allow PAAAF officers, including pilots, to interact on a wider range of issues with foreign air forces.

Each year, a PAAAF deputy chief of staff leads students from the college's Campaign Command Course abroad for two weeks to allow them to gain first-hand knowledge of foreign air forces.

The college also has sent faculty members abroad to several countries, including Russia and Italy, to study for one to three years. Other PAAAF officers have studied in military colleges in Britain, Russia, Pakistan, Italy and France. In some cases, they have had the opportunity to fly as part of the curriculum.

In 2001, the college began providing training for foreign field-grade officers. As of 2012, more than 600 air force officers from 75 countries had attended. The courses began with students from only one country, one language or one specialty at a time, but that model was replaced in 2009, whereby students from multiple countries, languages and specialties attend together. The new model also included PAAAF students, including pilots, for the first time. It was reported that 21 foreign students including 11 pilots came from 12 countries – such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, Uganda, Nigeria, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Singapore and Tanzania – attended one course. Each PAAAF officer was paired with a foreign counterpart during the course, and they all spoke English.

From September 2011 to January 2012, the college held a course that included foreign and PAAAF pilots with a focus on tactics, combat methods and simulated training. Besides six PAAAF pilots, a total of 69 officers, including several pilots, from 41 countries participated. The countries included Venezuela, the Philippines, Pakistan, Chile, Singapore and Saudi Arabia. During the training, the pilots simulated various tactics and techniques, including close-in engagements as well as reconnaissance and counter-reconnaissance.

The Air Force Aviation University, located in Changchun, Jilin Province, has also been involved in educational exchanges. For example, in May 2012, it hosted the first International Student Week that involved 22 officer students from foreign professional military education institutions in 11 countries, including the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. It has also hosted air force cadets from various countries, including the United States and France. In October 2014, it hosted the second session, which involved a total of 35 cadets from air force academies of 14 countries, including the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada.

In December 2013, the Air Force Engineering University, located in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, hosted a "Model United Nations Conference." More than 200 male and

female students from the university's Foreign Language Department attended the event, as well as cadets from several other countries; English was used throughout the event.

In a program that started in late 2014, the PLAAF and Thai Air Force will exchange four pilots each for training in each other's country. The exchange pilots will sit in the back seat and learn from the pilot in the front seat.

- COMBINED EXERCISES WITH FOREIGN AIR FORCES

In 2002, the PLA began conducting combined exercises, which it calls joint exercises, with other countries. To date, it has participated in more than 70 exercises and drills with militaries from over 30 countries. As part of this effort, the PLAAF has increasingly become involved in combined exercises with foreign air forces, including multirole combat aircraft, bombers, and airborne forces. These exercises have allowed the PLAAF to demonstrate its improving capabilities to the international community, observe and learn from foreign militaries in an operational environment, and serve as a vehicle for building trust and solidifying security cooperation with select countries.

The combined exercises can be divided into two categories: those with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and those with individual, non-SCO countries. Exercises to date included participation with Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Pakistan, Venezuela, Belarus, Thailand, and Indonesia. All of the PLAAF deployments abroad have been supported by IL-76 transports, and some of them have involved aerial and/or ground refueling en route. It should be noted that all of these exercises are highly scripted and the PLAAF trains on the individual components of each exercise for months in advance. However, from 22-28 July 2014, the Russian Air Force hosted Aviadarts-2014 at Voronezh, Russia, which included the PLAAF and Belarus Air Force. Three PLAAF Su-30s and six pilots competed in six separate events aimed at showing pilot skills in visual reconnaissance, navigation, single-plane or two-plane aerobatics, and air-to-ground attacks. They launched 24 rockets and fired 60 cannon rounds. Based on the total scores, Russia took first place, China took second, and Belarus third.

- BAYI AEROBATIC TEAM

The PLAAF's Bayi (August 1st) Aerobatic Team was founded in 1962 and has performed more than 500 times in China, including at the annual Zhuhai Air Show beginning in 1998. In 2009, the team began flying the J-10. Its first performance abroad occurred at the MAKS air show in Moscow in August 2013. During the 10th China International Aviation and Aerospace Exhibition (Zhuhai) in November 2014, the PLAAF's "Bayi" and the Russian "Knights" aerobatic demonstration teams performed.

PLAAF AND MOOTW

Although the PLAAF has always conducted domestic di-

saster relief operations, such as the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, its international relief efforts were minimal until the 2000s. One of the first PLAAF disaster relief efforts abroad occurred in early May 1991, when it sent two MI-8 helicopters to Bangladesh for a month to provide support after a typhoon. One of the first operations by PLAAF transports occurred in March 2002, when a single transport flew 400 tons of supplies to Kabul, Afghanistan, following an earthquake. In February to March 2011, the PLAAF sent IL-76s to evacuate Chinese civilians from Libya. Altogether, the aircraft flew 1,655 Chinese from Libya to Khartoum, Sudan, and then brought 287 back to China. In September 2011, four IL-76s took supplies to Pakistan following severe flooding and, in October 2011, three IL-76s took supplies to Thailand following flooding there.

During March 2014, two IL-76s and at least one Y-8, along with PLA Navy vessels, participated in unsuccessful search and rescue efforts for the lost Malaysian civil airliner MH370 in the Indian Ocean. The aircraft conducted several of their sorties out of Hainan Island, a Malaysian airfield, and Royal Australian Air Force Pearce Base near Perth. According to The Global Times, an influential tabloid published by the ruling Communist Party's official People's Daily, estimated that an IL-76 costs \$10,000 an hour to keep in the air on fuel alone, not including money spent on maintenance or accommodation for the crews. As the PLAAF continues to use its small fleet of ten IL-76s for these types of activities, it recognizes that they are probably overworked for their support to airborne training and combat unit deployments.

SINO-U.S. MILITARY RELATIONS

Since the United States and China initiated military exchanges in the 1980s, the relationship has had its highs and lows. Each side has certain core issues that have affected a more robust relationship. The U.S. side consistently cites a lack of reciprocity (places visited and issues discussed) and transparency (personnel, order of battle, and doctrine). Since 2000, China's military has focused on "building trust" and the "three obstacles": Arms sales to Taiwan, reconnaissance missions near China's border, and a plethora of Congressional restrictions imposed in 2000 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA).

PLAAF-USAF RELATIONS

The PLAAF and USAF have had only a limited military relationship following the June 1989 military crackdown in Tiananmen Square. Concerning high-level exchanges, the current Chief of Staff, General Mark Welsh, visited China in September 2013, which was the first CSAF visit since General Michael Ryan in 1998. Although General Xu planned to visit the U.S. in 2008, the trip was cancelled because of the Sichuan earthquake. As a result, in 1995, General Yu Zhenwu was the last PLAAF commander to visit the U.S.; however, he departed halfway

through the visit when the U.S. authorized Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, to be a graduation speaker at Cornell University. Relations came to yet another standstill after the U.S. inadvertently bombed China's embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in May 1999.

The next high-level air force exchanges occurred in 2007, when COMPACAF, General Paul Hester hosted the Nanjing MRAF commander, Major General Jiang Jizheng, and in 2008, when Major General Jiang hosted COMPACAF, General Howie Chandler for a reciprocal visit. Most functional exchanges between the two air forces, which can also be considered high-level exchanges based on who is leading the delegations, have been minimal over the past 25 years. Most recently Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs General Peter Pace and Admiral Michael Mullen visited PLAAF units in 2007 and 2011, respectively. General Martin Dempsey visited China in 2013, but visited only the Army Aviation Institute and an Army Aviation regiment.

General Welsh's delegation to China in September 2013 included COMPACAF, General Hawk Carlisle, and Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force, James Cody. CMSGT Cody was the first CMSAF to visit China; however, his predecessor, Chief Master Sergeant James Roy, led the first and only joint enlisted force delegation by any country to China in 2008 while serving as the Senior Enlisted Leader at USPACOM.

While in China, CSAF's delegation, which was hosted by General Ma, also met with General Xu, who became one of the two CMC Vice Chairmen in 2012 and is the first PLAAF officer to hold that billet. During the week-long visit, CSAF's discussions on future military-to-military relations touched on advancing cooperation in several areas, notably senior-level exchanges, military medicine and education, search and rescue, air-to-air safety, and disaster-relief operations. Besides meetings with senior leaders, the delegation visited Nanyuan Airfield just south of Beijing, where General Welsh had the opportunity to sit in a visiting J-10. The delegation also visited National Defense University, where CSAF gave a speech. Unfortunately, General Ma has declined a reciprocal visit to the U.S. or any other countries during 2014.

Although the USAF and PLAAF have engaged only minimally in any service-to-service high-level and functional exchanges since the 1980s, they have had various educational exchanges. Prior to 2014 the last visit to the United States by PLAAF Command College students was in 2007; however the USAF Air War College has sent students to China every year for 10-12 days since 2005 except for 2009 and 2010 because of the Taiwan arms sales issue. The delegations have visited the PLA's National Defense University (NDU), as well as PLAAF Headquarters, various colleges, and operational units. Of note, although USAF officers have attended the PLA NDU's foreign officer program, none have participated in the PLAAF Command College's foreign student pro-

gram.

In 2003, the U.S. Air Force Academy (USAFA), which has a robust 4-year Chinese language curriculum, and the PLAAF began a program of reciprocal cadet visits. USAFA cadets have visited the PLAAF's Aviation University and Engineering University, and PLAAF cadets have occasionally visited USAFA and Air University (AU); however, those visits have been eliminated. Some USAFA cadets also spend the summer in China studying Chinese; however, the number of students has been cut in half (from about 60 to 30) and length of time spent in China has been reduced from four to three weeks. In addition to USAF-PLAAF exchanges, USAF officers have also been part of U.S. NDU delegations that have visited PLAAF facilities in China over the past several years. Finally, several USAF officers have studied in China as an Olmsted Scholar.

In terms of non-service-to-service interaction, in 1998, the Department of Defense (DOD) and China's MND signed a Military Maritime Consultative Agreement (MMCA). Since then, DOD has asked to have MND include PLAAF officers, because the U.S. position is that operational safety extends to both the maritime and air domains and there is an obvious need for improvement in both. At the same time, DOD has also encouraged MND to include PLAAF officers in the Defense Consultative Talks (DCTs), which began in 1997. To date, however, no PLAAF officers have yet to participate in either venue.

In May 2014, the PLAAF Command College's commandant, Major General Ma Jian, led a 29-member delegation of faculty and students from the college ranging from lieutenant colonel to colonel to the United States, where they had separate meetings in Washington, DC, with the Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) and in Santa Monica, CA, with RAND. They also then spent a day at AU in Montgomery, AL, where they met with AU's Commander and President, Lieutenant General David Fadok, and toured several organizations, including Air War College and the Air Force Research Institute. The author of this article, who helped escort the delegation at Maxwell AFB, was extremely impressed with the fact that every PowerPoint briefing presented there used Chinese characters and was given by AU faculty and USAF officers who are native Chinese speakers. In addition, the key personnel from AU's Air and Space Power Journal, which has been published in Chinese for eight years, participated in the visit.

In September 2014, COMPACAF, General Carlisle, hosted the commander of the Nanjing MRAF, Lieutenant General Huang Guoxian, and a seven-member delegation for a visit to PACAF Headquarters. The delegation then visited Elmendorf Airbase in Alaska, where they had the opportunity to observe the F-22 Raptor for the second time. Finally, in November 2014, the COMPACAF, General Lori Robinson, represented the USAF for the first

time at the 10th semi-annual China International Aviation and Aerospace Exhibition (Zhuhai Air Show) in southern China, where she gave a speech. Her delegation also took a C-17 Globemaster III to display at the airshow.

TRANSPARENCY

One of the key issues for the USAF concerns its views of PLAAF transparency. Although the USAF would like to have detailed information about the PLAAF's personnel, such as numbers by ranks/grades and specialties, as well as types of weapons and equipment and order of battle information, the PLAAF does not provide that information publicly. However, the PLAAF has become much more transparent over the past decade. It has published a monthly magazine (China Air Force) since 1986, and its newspaper (Air Force News), which is published five times a week, has been available to the public since 2010. The PLAAF also has three online websites (kj.81.cn, PLAAF.net, and an aviator recruiting website <http://www.kjzfw.net/>) that carry current information. Various PLA publications such as PLA Daily and the biweekly PLA Pictorial, which are available in hardcopy and online, also cover PLAAF activities.

Even though the PLAAF has become more transparent, only a small percentage of the information is available in English, including the English version of PLA Daily (China Military Online). As a result, USAF is not aware of the majority of the information openly available about the PLAAF. Even though USAF has created a Regional Affairs Strategists (RAS) and Political-Military Affairs Strategists (PAS) program, whose officers are filling relevant billets, only a very small number of other USAF officers are qualified Chinese linguists who can conduct original research in Chinese language material. To help with this situation, the Air Staff created the Chinese Aerospace Studies Institute (CASI), which is similar in scope and mission to the U.S. Navy's Chinese Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI) at the Naval War College. CASI is based in RAND Corporation facilities near the Pentagon.

To help alleviate the issue of transparency, during the 10th Zhuhai Air Show the PLAAF conducted flight demonstrations with Y-20, KJ-2000, KJ-200, and J-10 aircraft. It also conducted ground demonstrations for 18 kinds of aviation equipment in active service, including the J-10, JH-7A, H-6M, Y-9, Z-8KA and unmanned reconnaissance and attack aircraft, as well as six ground-based systems, including the HQ VI missile-and-gun

defense weapon system, HQ XII ground-to-air missile weapon system launch vehicle, CSK002 parachute assault vehicle, and ZBD03-type light tracked infantry fighting vehicle. In addition, China's first female pilots performed flight demonstrations.

CONCLUSIONS

Over the past decade, the PLAAF has expanded its relationship with current and future air force leaders and pilots from multiple countries, including high-level visits, functional exchanges, combined exercises, and educational programs. These exchanges allow the PLAAF to evaluate itself and to identify how foreign air forces, including the USAF's friends and allies, recruit, educate, train, and operate. Meanwhile, PLAAF-USAF relations have been only minimal for 25 years. In order for the PLAAF-USAF relationship to move forward and prosper, it must include a wide variety of exchanges at all levels, which allow for a true reciprocal relationship to be formed and sustained. Part of the problem, however, is that there is a lack of trust between the two sides. For example, the PLAAF engages foreign air forces to either learn about them, to learn from them, or to teach them. Its view of engagement with USAF is that USAF, which conducts reconnaissance missions off China's coast, only wants to learn about the PLAAF. As a result, it is not as open as it may be with other air forces.

Yet another problem is that the interaction between senior PLAAF and USAF leaders will continue to be minimal for various reasons, including that PLAAF commanders can only travel once per year and rarely visit the same country twice during their four-to-eight year tenure. In addition, they rarely invite the same foreign commander back to China. Even though CSAF visited China in 2013, his counterpart has declined a reciprocal visit for at least the near future. As a result, they will most likely not meet again. Finally, CSAF and any lower-level USAF delegations must fit into the U.S. Government's list of leaders who want to visit China. Even when there is engagement, the U.S. delegations are limited by the 2000 Congressional restrictions. Finally, when USAF delegations visit China, they need to do their homework and learn as much as possible from multiple sources before they depart. In addition, USAF units that host PLAAF delegations also need to do their homework and prepare properly in order to have meaningful two-way discussions during the visit.

About the Author:

Ken Allen is a Senior China Analyst with Defense Group Inc. (DGI), where he focuses on China's military organizational structure, personnel, education, training, and foreign relations with particular emphasis on the PLA Air Force. During 21 years in the U.S. Air Force he served as an enlisted Chinese and Russian linguist and intelligence officer. From 1987-1989, he served as the Assistant Air Attaché in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, where he received the Outstanding Collector of the Year Award in 1988. He was inducted into the Defense Attaché System Hall of Fame in 1997. Mr. Allen holds B.A. degrees from the University of California at Davis and the University of Maryland and an M.A. degree from Boston University. He has written numerous monographs, book chapters, and journal articles on the PLA.

Why Nagorno-Karabakh Mediation Has Failed

BY DAN SINGLETON

While the Bishkek Protocol successfully brought large-scale combat operations in Nagorno-Karabakh to an end in May 1994, this disputed region of Azerbaijan in the south-central Caucasus is de facto an independent state. Both it and the surrounding region have remained in what is most charitably described as a state of cold peace for more than 20 years now. Armenian forces occupy not only Nagorno-Karabakh but seven other Azerbaijani territories as well. By its words, the international community calls this entire occupied area “Azerbaijan,” but by its actions or inactions, it calls it “Armenia.”

More than a half dozen different parties have attempted to mediate, but Armenia and Azerbaijan have still failed to make peace. This article seeks to determine why mediation has failed. In doing so, it will give a brief background and history of both the dispute itself and the attempts to resolve it. It will also endeavor to explain what has gone wrong and offer both a new philosophical approach to the problem and a possible method for resolving it. Given the highly contentious nature of both the immediate conflict and the region’s history, I must emphasize that my focus is not on a just resolution to the conflict but an acceptable one. The mediation’s focus

on legal issues should be commended insofar as it has been able to transcend widely diverging historical claims. However, I shall argue that one of the main reasons that mediation has failed is because it focused for far too long on getting the parties to agree to their legal analysis of the situation under international law while ignoring the realities on the ground. I argue that mediators should pursue, first, a realistic peace, and then, to whatever extent possible, a robust peace.

HISTORY OF THE CURRENT CONFLICT

After significant conflict before and during World War I, the Soviet Union managed to keep relative peace in the region for about 70 years. The groundwork for the current conflict was laid in 1987 when Deputy Prime Minister Heydar Aliyev, an Azerbaijani, was ousted from Moscow and some Armenians saw his loss of favor as an opportunity to move Nagorno-Karabakh into the Armenian column (Zeynalov 2012, 192). In 1988, the Karabakh Soviet voted to join Armenia, but Moscow rejected the move, dissolved the Karabakh Soviet (Zeynalov 2012, 197) the following year and began governing Nagorno-Karabakh directly, although it remained an autonomous oblast within Azerbaijan. This action and Mikhail Gorbachev’s personal opposition did nothing to discourage Armenia, which itself declared ownership of Nagorno-Karabakh in December 1989.

Inter-ethnic violence also began to increase, beginning with the murder of two Azeri youths in Nagorno-Karabakh in February 1988 (Taylor 2010, 141). The event was misreported as a large-scale massacre, leading to a retaliatory pogrom against Armenians in Sumgait (Kolsto and Blakkisrud 2012, 143) in March. As the violence and mistrust snowballed, ethnicities began to concentrate even more clearly into safe pockets.

It was in this environment that the Soviet Union finally collapsed. With the promise of coming freedom, Armenians changed tactics to take advantage of the ascendant liberal principles and Nagorno-Karabakh declared independence in a national referendum in December 1991. The Armenian army (and even a Russian infantry regiment) quickly got involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh war for independence. Both sides targeted civilians, beginning with the massacre of Azeri civilians in Khojaly in



Figure 1: Nagorno-Karabakh (Angel 2010).

February 1992 (Zeynalov 2012, 211). With Russian support, the joint Armenia-Karabakh forces seized not only Nagorno-Karabakh but also seven contiguous Azerbaijani provinces, clearing out ethnic Azerbaijanis as they did so, in order to solidify their positions. They have held this line since the cease-fire brokered in 1994. Before that, about 30,000 lost their lives and between 500,000 and one million were displaced (Nicoll 2011, 1; Kolsto and Blakkisrud 2012, 141).

PROBLEMS WITH THE MEDIATORS: THE COMPETITION PERIOD

On May 12, 1994, a cease-fire brokered by Russia and Kyrgyzstan during a meeting of the CIS Inter-parliamentary assembly went into effect. The agreement, later known as the Bishkek Protocol, called for end to fighting, the establishment of a buffer zone between combatants, and the deployment of peacekeepers (Avetisyan 2009, 28). It also began the involvement of international parties in the search for a permanent solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh dilemma.

While Russia was one of the first mediators, Armenia is confident that its military alliance with Russia prevails today under the cease-fire. Sergey Minasyan writes (2010, 46; translation mine): “In fact, Armenia is the only state in the South Caucasus that has entered into a multilateral military-political union and has a guarantee of security and collective defense from a third state, and that, a nuclear power and permanent member of the UN Security Council.”

Despite the thawing of Turkish-Armenian relations beginning with the so-called “football diplomacy” of 2008, because of their long history, Turkey has never been a candidate for mediation that Armenia would be likely to accept. Iran’s involvement in the conflict has also been very limited.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) began work to mediate the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as soon as Armenia and Azerbaijan were confirmed as members in 1992. From the beginning, it called for the respect of both minority rights and territorial integrity, scheduling a conference in Minsk in April to hash out the details of a settlement. The conference itself never happened, but the preparatory meetings became the basis for the Minsk Group, which has conducted and continues to conduct negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

As the OSCE took the lead in peace negotiations, Russia took exception to Western meddling in her former sphere of influence. She did not merely demand a seat at the table. She brought her own table. Russia also stood in the way of an OSCE peacekeeping operation, claiming an exclusive peacekeeping role in the former Soviet area (Zeynalov 2012, 302). Peacekeepers never arrived from either side for fear that a clash of peacekeepers would damage the peace process more than doing nothing at all.

This rush of multiple countries and organizations

to intervene had the effect of dragging the conflict out, forcing each party to listen to dozens of proposals rather than a few consolidated ones, and letting time work to entrench hostilities and make a peaceful settlement less likely. As Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev said, “[T]he competition to be the first one to resolve the conflict is unacceptable. Such rivalry can only complicate the search for peace, something the people of both Azerbaijan and Armenia urgently need” (Zeynalov 2012, 366). Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian similarly lamented that “until Russia and the international community come in with a single plan, there won’t be any peace” (Betts 1999, 178).

PROBLEMS WITH THE MEDIATION: THE CONSOLIDATION PERIOD

In 1997, the situation with the mediators finally began to stabilize under the Minsk Group umbrella now with the co-chairmanship of the United States, France, and Russia (Zeynalov 2012, 367). Since then, the essence of the problem has proven to be not the number of mediators but the content of the mediation. From the beginning, the mediators have naively pursued a settlement based on abstract principles rather than a settlement based on what both sides might agree to. The general principle of this mediation has been an adherence to customary international law (Kruger 2010) and was initially motivated by the international context (Kleiboer 1996, 373) of more than a dozen fragile post-Soviet states. This desire for stability within the framework of international law led the Minsk Group to stress territorial integrity as the guiding principle of the negotiations, thus committing to Azerbaijan’s side of the dispute. Because of this early commitment by the mediators, most of the mediation has consisted of trying to get Armenia to acknowledge the primacy of territorial integrity and abide by this interpretation of international law. The parties have thus been talking past each other on the question of territorial integrity vs. self-determination for most of the conflict period (Cheterian 2012, 706).

The mediators are, of course, either states themselves or composed of states, invested in preserving the status quo by affirming existing states with their present territorial borders intact and opposing the introduction of new ones. This conservative pull is so strong that the Minsk Group co-chairs (Russia, France, and the United States), despite being historical allies of Armenia, have generally supported the position of the less democratic country (Kolsto and Blakkisrud 2012), Azerbaijan, and cast the dispute in terms of territorial integrity—a triumph of ideological bias over party bias (Rauchhaus 2006).

Given the Minsk Group’s support for returning Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan, we must acknowledge that Azerbaijan has been extremely generous at the negotiating table. Take, for example, the principles President Heydar Aliyev submitted to the Lisbon Summit in 1996, acknowledging the territorial integrity of both Azerbaijan

and Armenia but offering increased autonomy and security guarantees for Nagorno-Karabakh as a part of Azerbaijan (Zeynalov 2012, 354). So why has this approach failed?

THE CASE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

The first reason is that the primacy of territorial integrity is not as clear *prima facie* as the mediators assume. There are several reasonable arguments for the right of self-determination to include:

First, in the contest for primacy between borders and self-determination, one is pitting an artificial construct against a human right. States are artificial entities, operating legitimately only with the consent of the people they govern. Since states rely on popular consent for their legitimacy, it follows that people are free to withdraw their consent to be ruled by one state and transfer that consent to another or even to create a new state of their own.

Second, the international community's focus has been on enabling ethnic self-realization within the context of existing states. But does not the fact that a society wants to secede from a state demonstrate that its self-realization within that state has failed?

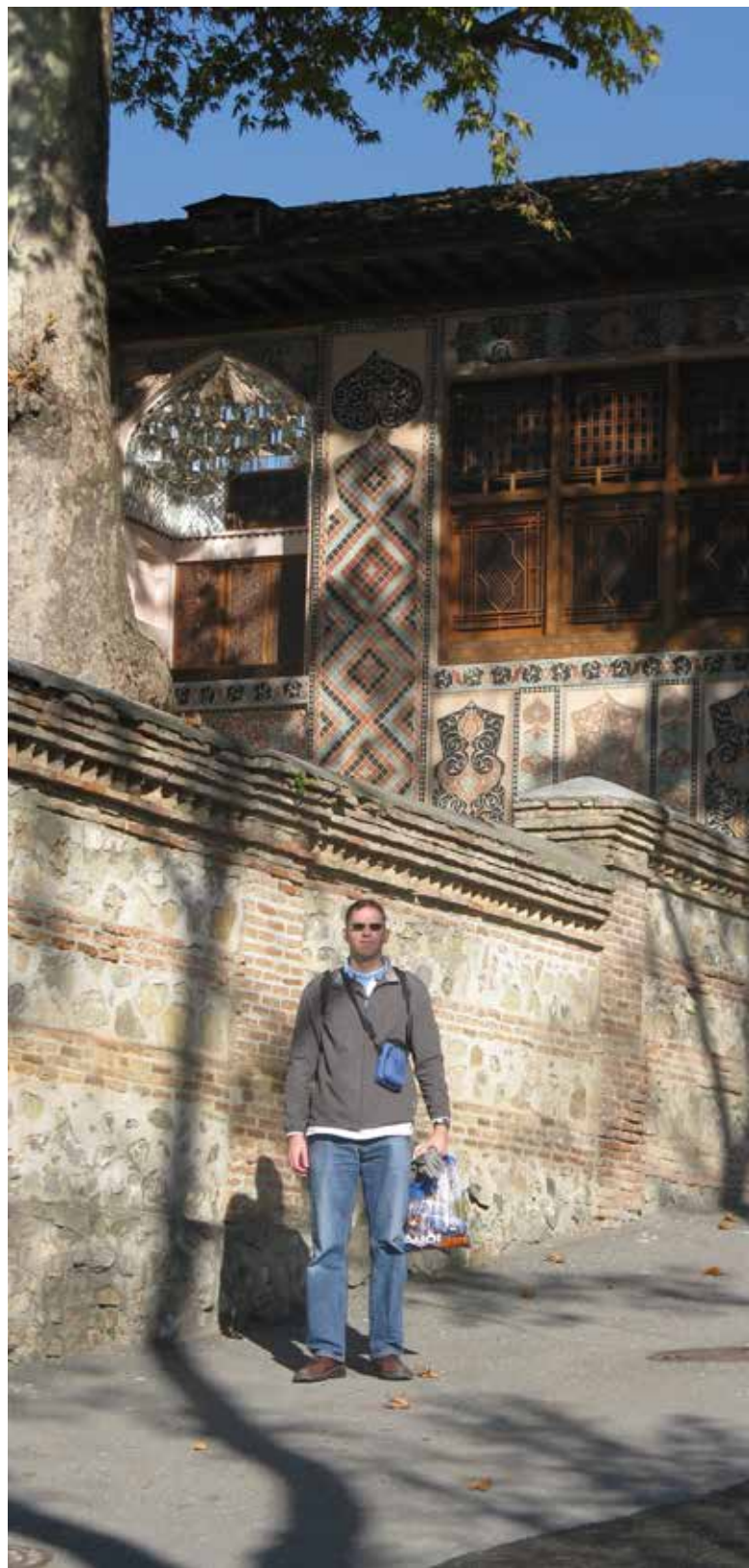
Finally, lawyers point to Armenia's involvement in the war for Nagorno-Karabakh's independence as a disqualifier because it means one state took territory from another by force. But since when does having an ally mean that a people's quest for self-determination is invalid? The more valid a secessionist movement is, is it not more likely to have allies?

These are not meant to be die-hard arguments that either Armenia's or the *de facto* Nagorno-Karabakh government's position is either legally or morally superior. I state them because arguments for the primacy of self-determination have been ignored at the bargaining table because the mediators have insisted on framing negotiations under the initial understanding that such claims carry no weight. How is any party expected to negotiate when its position is dismissed from the beginning?

THE FAILURE OF COERCION

Even if we grant a legal or moral superiority to territorial integrity over self-determination, basing a military conflict settlement entirely on international law ignores the calculations each party must make in order to accept the settlement. The second reason the mediators' approach has failed is that Armenia is what Andrew Kydd (2003, 601) calls "satisfied." It seized (or assisted in the seizing of) Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding regions by force and is now relatively satisfied with the territorial status quo. Armenia holds the field of battle and must be convinced that it will achieve greater utility by surrendering the land gained in battle than it will by holding on to it (Regan 2002, 59).

Azerbaijan and Turkey attempted to coerce Armenia



MAJOR SINGLETON VISITS THE KHAN'S PALACE IN SHEKI, AZERBAIJAN WHILE INTERNING AT THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BAKU



by closing their borders and isolating it from the rest of the world, except for an outlet to Georgia and an impassable mountain border with Iran. The gambit failed, with the dual effect of sinking costs for both sides and bringing an even more recalcitrant president to power in Armenia.

The sunk costs are most obvious in regard to two major economic development projects that would have gone through Armenia—the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan oil pipeline (Cheterian 2012, 707) and the Kars-Tbilisi-Baku railway (Valiyev 2012, 200), connecting Central and even East Asia with Europe as part of an “Iron Silk Road” (Payne and Singleton 2012). Because peace was not reached in time, economic sanctions against Armenia remained intact, and these two projects were built going up from Azerbaijan into Georgia and then back down into Turkey, bypassing Armenia entirely. But the economic threat stood little chance of success given the polarized positions of the two sides and the unwillingness of any state to back up its sanctions against Armenia with the threat of force (Elliott 1998). Given Russia’s pledge to defend Armenia if it is attacked, its earlier participation in this war, and its ongoing efforts to gain power in the Caucasus and Ukraine, this is a threat that must be taken seriously.

Not only did the economic isolation of Armenia fail to bring peace. After Ter-Petrossian began talking about the need to make peace, key ministers defected from his government, leading to his resignation and replacement as president by Robert Kocharyan, a nationalist from Karabakh (Zeynalov 2012, 371; Cheterian 2012, 707). In a sense, Nikolay Marinov (2005, 564) was right in his prediction that leaders who are targeted by economic pressure are more likely to lose office. The problem is that the pressure is supposed to bring someone to power who will be more likely to make peace. In Armenia’s case, it did just the opposite and brought an even more nationalist president to power.

Having finally recognized that its insistence on the primacy of territorial integrity was not working, the Minsk Group proposed the Madrid Principles in 2007, outlining an incremental approach to peace (Nicoll 2011, 2; Cheterian 2012, 707), which included a peacekeeping force, Armenian withdrawal from five of the occupied territories, a land corridor linking Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, and the right of return for internally displaced persons. Instead of insisting Nagorno-Karabakh should remain an integral part of Azerbaijan, the Principles called for an unspecified interim status for Nagorno-Karabakh to be followed by a legally-binding referendum at an unspecified time with an unspecified electorate.

Since then, even as Nagorno-Karabakh talks have stagnated, the international community has moved even further in the direction of self-determination, beginning with the recognition of Kosovo’s independence in February 2008, an event immediately welcomed by the government of Nagorno-Karabakh (Rasizade 2011, 224). Russian president Vladimir Putin then warned, “The Kosovo precedent is a terrifying precedent. It in essence is breaking open the entire system of international relations that have prevailed not just for decades but for centuries. And it without a doubt will bring on itself an entire chain of unforeseen consequences” (Cheterian 2012, 709). As it turns out, the next Russian president, Dmitry Medvedev, would be the first to take advantage of the precedent by recognizing the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia at the beginning of Russia’s war with Georgia later that same year. Then in 2014 Putin himself annexed Crimea citing controversial elections in that region as justification.

TRENDS IN NEGOTIATING STRENGTH AND THE POTENTIAL FOR SETTLEMENT

Now that we understand Armenia’s reluctance to give up any of their military gains, we turn to consider how the various parties’ negotiating strength may diverge over time, either providing opportunities for settlement or, conversely, losing them.

I shall frame negotiating strength in terms of how strongly the respective nations are committed to Nagorno-Karabakh as opposed to their many other concerns. One must keep in mind that the sides are not polarized on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue only because of the incompatible political arguments but because Azerbaijanis and Armenians generally

hate each other. Upwards of 90 percent of each group would not marry someone from the other group and most would not even consider doing business with the other. This explains why yielding Nagorno-Karabakh to the other side after so much blood has been spilled over it requires considerable political capital to overcome. It also reminds us of the uncomfortable irony that democratic mediators seeking a solution to Nagorno-Karabakh will be forced to encourage one or both rulers to behave undemocratically by acting directly against the desire of the vast majority of their constituents. Because of this polarization between nations, and not merely between rulers, negotiating strength in this construct will have nothing to do with the moral or legal strength of their position but rather with their ability to compromise while withstanding public backlash.

We already saw the resolve of the Armenian people in the fall of Ter-Petrosian's government. Without a change in the public mindset, giving up Nagorno-Karabakh seems an almost certain path to losing power in Armenia, even more so if a politician were to take that position within Nagorno-Karabakh proper. Generally speaking, Nagorno-Karabakh is less important to Azerbaijanis than it is to Armenians. As one writer opined, "For Azerbaijan the issue of Karabakh is a matter of ambition, for the Armenians of Karabakh, it is a matter of life or death." While I lived and traveled in Azerbaijan in 2012, I met people of all ages who were deeply concerned with the Armenian occupation of their lands, and some of them are still very bitter about the atrocities that accompanied their people's expulsion. That said, most of them have gotten on with their lives, and young people are growing up with new ideas, looking for economic and cultural expansion toward Europe rather than territorial expansion (or reacquisition) to Nagorno-Karabakh and the Middle East. The longer the status quo prevails, the more they will get used to it. This bodes ill for getting these lands back, but it also gives President Aliyev more room to maneuver while still retaining power.

Freedom to maneuver is one advantage Azerbaijan holds over Armenia. While Baku experiences the occasional protest, President Aliyev runs a fairly authoritarian yet still popular government. The son of an extremely popular president considered the father of the country, he can already govern within some broad limits without fear of losing power. At the Key West Summit in 2001, the elder Aliyev was reportedly on the verge of giving up Nagorno-Karabakh in return for Armenian withdrawal from the other territories, but his associates would not let him pull the trigger on the deal (Cheterian 2012, 707). Things have changed considerably since then.

The younger Aliyev has presided over the past decade's oil boom, which has transformed a poor, backwards state into a modernizing, European one nearly overnight. Baku now sports a modern city center with

architectural marvels that are the pride of the country, and the Aliyev family receives most of the credit for it. But as helpful as the oil boom was in consolidating his power and increasing his popularity due to all of the government services he began providing, much of it could be reversed if the major oil fields dry up by 2019 as projected (Razizade 2011, 228) and are not offset by new discoveries in the Caspian Sea.

As noted earlier, Azerbaijan is the only warring party that has much ability to be flexible, but this flexibility is largely related to the country's wealth. If there is any economic downturn resulting from loss of oil revenues, Aliyev's government risks losing some popularity and his flexibility in negotiating Nagorno-Karabakh is likely to decrease. The longer it takes to settle the conflict, the more likely it will favor the situation entrenched on the ground and result in Azerbaijan losing, not only Nagorno-Karabakh, but the seven other occupied territories as well. Mediators may use this analysis to urge Azerbaijan to attempt a settlement sooner rather than later and in a way that will minimize political damage to President Aliyev.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR RECONCILIATION

As far apart as the parties are, I believe I have identified at least the seed of an opportunity to address the underlying causes of conflict and establish a neighborly environment in the region over time.

President Aliyev has the opportunity to transform a polarized society into a diverse one. He would no doubt lose some local popularity, but he could gain a great deal of international prestige — and possibly some economic development deals to help restore his popularity (Kleiboer 1996, 372) — by proposing the recognition of an independent Nagorno-Karabakh, but only as a multi-ethnic state with the right of return (or compensation if they prefer) for refugees and displaced persons on both sides. Other countries could be encouraged to send migrants to help populate the new state and ensure that neither Azerbaijanis nor Armenians constitute a numerical majority (or, more realistically, possess a monopoly on the means of force) until mechanisms are in place to protect minority rights and an international peacekeeping operation determines it is safe to leave them on their own.

An announcement could be arranged in advance with Armenia, which could simultaneously begin a good faith withdrawal from all occupied territories besides Nagorno-Karabakh with their security guaranteed by the Minsk Group members, Russia, in particular. Turkey would reportedly reciprocate by opening its border (Roks 2013, 2). Armenia could also offer Azerbaijan a pathway to Nakhchivan in exchange for an expansion of the Lachin corridor, which connects Armenia to Nagorno-Karabakh, and possibly even Kelbajar.

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Meeting the Challenge: Leveraging the National Guard State Partnership Program to Achieve Foreign Area Officer Program Goals

BY COLONEL MARSHALL L. WILDE, U.S. AIR FORCE

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“As military capability and capacity increases in Asia, we will seek new ways to catalyze greater regional security cooperation.”

The National Military Strategy
of the United States, 2011

The National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) can fill a gap in the Foreign Area Officer program, to address longstanding deficiencies in linguistic skills, cultural expertise, and partnering at the Combatant Command (COCOM) level. The active component has struggled to adapt its personnel policies to build a core of linguistically and culturally competent officers with personal relationships in strategically important countries. All of the military services now have Foreign Area Officer (FAO) programs (the Air Force equivalent personnel are Regional Affairs Strategists – RAS). Active duty personnel do not develop these skills until mid-career and some of the services require alternating tours in an original career field and one related to foreign affairs. State National Guard personnel can build relationships and expertise efficiently through lengthy tenure and enduring state commitments to particular countries. The development of slow growth competencies such as language fluency and cultural competence and maintenance of long-term personal relationships support increasing engagement between the COCOMs and partner countries. In turn, this enhances diplomacy in peacetime, improves contingency response in a crisis, and builds effective partnerships between the National Guard and the COCOMs.

NATIONAL GUARD STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM BACKGROUND

The SPP was born at the end of the Cold War. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, countries in the former Soviet bloc needed military mentorship to transition to organizations that would support democratic governance and increase their professionalism and interoperability

to work with the U.S. and NATO partners. To alleviate Russian concerns about active U.S. military troops in their former satellite states, the Department of Defense (DoD) decided to implement these partnerships through a Reserve Component program. The National Guard Bureau stepped up and began to partner state National Guards with Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. At the request of European Command (EUCOM), the program expanded from the Baltic States to most countries in Eastern Europe. The success of the program and its political popularity led to its expansion into SOUTHCOM, EUCOM, CENTCOM, PACOM, and NORTHCOM. Currently, 49 U.S. states, two territories and the District of Columbia partner with 71 countries worldwide.

The SPP developed ad hoc, responding to needs, rather than by central planning. The National Guard operates the SPP through a variety of authorizations and appropriations, which Congress proposed to consolidate under HR 641, the SPP Enhancement Act, and which was eventually folded into the 2014 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). SPP partnerships have steadily increased, including some with former adversaries.

The SPP has the mission to “Support Combatant Command security cooperation goals and objectives by providing a consistent and stabilizing presence abroad, reinforcing deterrence, building capacity of U.S. and partner countries for internal and external defense, strengthening alliances, and increasing U.S. influence.”

The piecemeal development of the program through various appropriations has led to criticism that it lacks a clear authorization and focus. In particular, the Government Accounting Office (GAO) found that the SPP “lacks a comprehensive oversight framework that includes clear program goals, objectives, and metrics to measure progress against those goals, which limits the DOD’s and Congress’ ability to assess whether the program is an effective and efficient use of resources.” While 40 of the 41 ambassadors responding to a survey found the program valuable, measuring progress presents difficulties. GAO suggested the adoption of the recommendations of a RAND study, discussing the use of metrics. Accounting for the financing of the SPP presented insurmountable problems, as the diverse funding sources stymied attempts to even compile a total funding number. The available data suggested that FY 2011 funding on SPP events totaled \$13.2 million, divided between \$7.1 million for combatant commands (largely the overseas piece)

and \$6.1 million for National Guard Bureau (NGB) activities (largely the domestic piece). One goal of the SPP Enhancement Act, as enacted through the 2014 NDAA, is to resolve some of these problems through greater accountability and transparency.

Practically speaking, the SPP has largely operated ad hoc. Some states have a full time SPP coordinator, while some do not. Some states have full time bilateral affairs officers (BAO) stationed in the embassies of their partner countries, but many do not. Securing funding for an in-country full time presence, as well as the blessing of the COCOM and the Embassy, is a substantial task. Typical activities for the SPP include conferences for senior leaders, both in the U.S. and in the partner nation, COCOM-funded exercises with the host nation and the state National Guard, and training exchanges for particular functions. To date, the SPP has lacked an explicit contingency tasking in support of a COCOM mission.

Despite the organic nature of its evolution, the SPP has developed in response to proven needs and is well regarded by the stakeholders involved. It stands poised to coalesce around a clearer statement of its mission, principles, and funding sources. The NDAA's legitimization of the program comes along at the perfect time to allow the SPP to address a deficiency in the active component's ability to meet the goals of the Defense Strategic Guidance. In particular, the SPP can support the "Pacific Pivot" in a non-threatening manner similar to its partnering with the former Eastern Bloc countries after the fall of the Soviet Union.

THE FAO PROBLEM: INSUFFICIENT EXPERTISE, MANPOWER, AND ENDURANCE IN PARTNERING

Foreign Area Officers provide staff expertise for Combatant Commanders, Defense Attaché Offices, and other Defense agencies to promote effective relationships in peace and war. DoD requires the military departments to develop the FAO corps to include a broad spectrum of skills, knowledge of political-military affairs, familiarity with the region, and professional proficiency in a language from the region. The requirement includes competitive selection, education, and career management, including a specific requirement to provide opportunities for service at a Flag Officer rank. The Directive also requires the management and monitoring of a Reserve FAO program.

The Reserve FAO program exists to support DoD missions. Of note, DoDI 1315.20 specifically requires the military departments to not only manage the program and report annually, but also to ensure that they identify Reserve FAOs who are willing to serve on a voluntary basis after their separation or retirement. Thus, the policy itself recognizes the importance and low density of FAO skills.

The FAO program currently does not sufficiently support DoD missions. Recent conflicts and crises reveal

how little regional expertise the military has to offer in its active duty component. In the face of increasing demand, the active component has failed to provide adequate staffing of FAO positions. The State Department could not meet the demand for Foreign Service Officers (FSO) in Iraq and Afghanistan, instead augmenting the diplomatic staff with military members. Lacking an adequate cadre of active duty FAOs to meet the need, many reserve component officers deployed to meet the demand, but lacked the training and preparation for these assignments.

The military components have failed to support adequate development of FAOs. The FAO program remains understaffed, and the development of a Reserve FAO program particularly so, despite a 2007 DoD mandate. As an example, at the end of FY 2011, the Air Force totally lacked a Reserve FAO management program. This left the few Air Force Reserve FAOs to navigate assignments, training and mentoring on their own. Worse, the Air Force had no plans to start such a program, and four of the five positions in the active duty management program were vacant. Currently, the Army manages the reserve program primarily in the individual augmentee program, rather than in drilling units, capturing some of the expertise leaving active duty, but doing little to support the program organizationally. The Army and Air Guard both lack any coded FAO positions, although states with a SPP generally have two officers assigned to billets with duties analogous to those of an FAO.

Proficiency in a new language and culture does not come easily. A good language student may reach 3/3/3 Interagency Level Roundtable (ILR) proficiency in a year of full-time training, although this is by no means certain. DoD has recognized the need for and difficulty in training and maintaining this proficiency. The pipeline from entry in the FAO program to full qualification often takes three to five years and costs \$250,000, when language, regional expertise and other educational requirements are considered. In short, the active duty FAO program is an expensive, low-output program with low recoupment of initial expenses from follow-on assignments.

Because of this, fill rates for FAO positions at COCOMs remain low. In FY 2011, only 80% of FAO coded billets at COCOMs were filled, and fill rates in the critical positions at PACOM, AFRICOM and SOCOM were less than 70%. Similarly, quality remains a problem, particularly in language proficiency. Only 45% of FAOs assigned have reached an ILR Level 3, the desired level for service in many FAO billets.

The failure of the services to provide adequate language and cultural expertise in Afghanistan and Pakistan led ADM Michael Mullen to create the Afghanistan/Pakistan Hands Program (AFPAK Hands). In essence an accelerated FAO program, AFPAK Hands were to receive language training, then alternate deployed and home station area-related programs for approximately four years. Even with the support of the CJCS, this program had an

uneven record, with many AFPAK Hands used inappropriately, failing to develop the language skills and relationships necessary to succeed, and pulled back to their services before completing the full term of service. The AFPAK Hands Program lacked a reserve component analogue. In sum, the active component military has trouble filling FAO billets with qualified officers, and the FAO program is even more understaffed in the reserve components.

CAN THE GUARD FILL THE GAP? GROWING LANGUAGE, CULTURAL PROFICIENCY, AND PARTNERING WITHIN THE NATIONAL GUARD

The National Guard SPP can augment the Reserve FAO program to meet the requirement for the FAO program to fully support DoD missions. The National Guard has the management framework, the lengthy tenures necessary to develop expertise and relationships, and the contingency capacity currently lacking in the Reserve FAO program. Joint doctrine supports the use of the SPP in this role, to develop enduring relationships with emerging partner nations. The uniquely long tenure of National Guard personnel is well matched to existing opportunities to learn language and culture skills more efficiently than is currently the practice for active component FAOs. As General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, put it, “In that environment [of partnering with other nations], the State Partnership Program will compete very favorably. . . I think it is a modest investment for a pretty substantial return.”

The relatively long tenure of National Guard officers in their states and the officers’ multi-mission mindset provide a better organizational culture to build an effective reserve FAO program. The Defense Language Transformation Roadmap recommends that language and culture training should start as early as possible. While DoD certainly will not incur the full \$130,000 average cost of language training for all new National Guard officers, opportunities exist to start the slow growth of language capability early in an officer’s career for a fairly modest cost through developmental education requirements and retirement point incentives.

Language training can start early and cheaply in the National Guard. Guardsmen can acquire new language skills through the Rosetta Stone software program, Defense Language Institute online programs, Special Operations Forces Teletraining system, and within the civilian educational system. These gains can be effectively leveraged through the use of a cohort system, when the officers of a single National Guard all study the same language. While much of this would require self-study, opportunities for compensation exist, as the United States Code authorizes the award of retirement points for activities conducted through distributed learning.

To be effective, such an initiative would have to start earlier than is currently practiced. The Air Force recently imposed a language requirement for completion of Se-

nior Developmental Education (SDE). However, the Defense Language Transformation Roadmap encourages the acquisition of language skills even before an officer is accessed into the service, as well as for all phases of developmental education/Professional Military Education (PME). Moving this requirement to earlier in the officer’s developmental plan and setting milestones for progression provides the opportunity and incentive to develop to the skill levels necessary to formally acquire FAO designation.

The expansion of degree granting programs at service intermediate developmental education institutions provides an opportunity for Guard officers to acquire the necessary formal graduate schooling to be designated as an FAO. Most Intermediate Developmental Education courses now provide the opportunity to earn a master’s degree upon the completion of additional coursework. The Navy takes it one step farther, providing courses of study in Far Eastern and African Affairs at both the IDE and SDE levels. Expanding these opportunities is a cost-effective way of growing the expertise necessary, as well as being specifically required by the Defense Language Transformation Roadmap.

PART OF THE SOLUTION: FILLING THE RESERVE FAO HOLE

Clearly, not all National Guard officers can or should earn an FAO designation. However, the active duty FAO program consists of only approximately 2,000 officers. With a goal of only 200 Reserve FAOs for the initial cull, the National Guard could meet this goal with only four formally designated FAOs per state National Guard. More realistically, even if only two assigned SPP officers held the designation, the Guard would still meet 50% of the initial need. Realistically, the consistent development of the Reserve FAO program in the National Guard could easily result in a steady state of four to ten formally trained and assigned FAOs per state through the effective development of bilateral affairs officers with language and cultural educational opportunities. With the active component failing to meet the operational need for FAOs, the requirement for these additional trained FAOs is clear.

The SPP can go beyond merely meeting FAO program objectives to provide a more culturally competent force. While each state may only have one or two officers directly assigned to the SPP program, opportunities exist at all levels, including enlisted, to participate in SPP programs. The cultural competence gained by the organization is not limited to the formal throughput of FAOs. Consider the value to a pilot in having operated from a particular airport in the target country in the past or the value to an Army logistician of understanding the infrastructure of a major foreign port, even if these officers know little of the target language. Even beyond the formal FAO program, the development of this expertise at the state level assists both the National Guard and the COCOMs by building enduring relationships and exper-

tise.

CONTINUING THE OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD THROUGH COCOM PARTNERING

As the National Guard has moved from a strategic to an operational reserve, it has largely remained unconnected to the regional combatant commands (COCOMs). Instead, except for certain units, it has remained as a “labor pool” to fill deployments. Connections to a particular country were discouraged through the practice of assigning units to alternating tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. The SPP presents an opportunity to build enduring connections to a particular COCOM, multiplying the effectiveness of the COCOM through reserve augmentation in a crisis.

These “slow growth” opportunities can reap substantial gains in both peacetime and during a contingency operation. The Oregon/Bangladesh partnership through Pacific Command provides a good example of how a peacetime relationship can realize substantial gains. With the elimination of the Standing Joint Headquarters at PACOM, U.S. Army Pacific Headquarters (USARPAC) has assumed much of the load as the core of the contingency Joint Task Force. For the past three years, the Oregon State Partnership Program staff has assisted USARPAC with bilateral exercises with the Government of Bangladesh. Within three years, the USARPAC staff

“slow growth” opportunities can reap substantial gains in both peacetime and during a contingency operation

from these exercises will have turned over 100%, while the Oregon National Guard SPP personnel will remain available, preserving the advantages gained from experience in country, especially in terms of the relationships established with the partner country. To give but a single example, few active duty staff currently serving at USARPAC recall the 2011 coup d’etat attempt in Bangladesh, but the majority of Oregon National Guard officers who worked the issues arising from it remain in the Guard and available for service. It is often these experiences and the relationships that develop from them that facilitate the effective employment of the Joint Task Force (JTF).

Consider the response to the 2005 Aceh tsunami as

an example of what might have been. (Unfortunately, Hawaii’s SPP with Indonesia began after the tsunami, in 2006.) The lack of expertise within U.S. Forces in 2005 left a deficit of human and counterterrorism intelligence in an area with an active insurgency and delayed the transfer of intelligence functions to the JTF. An effective SPP would have provided critical background information, as well as the human relationships to expand quickly to meet evolving needs. In fairness, a partnership would not have been possible earlier, due to legal restrictions arising from the Indonesian military’s checkered past. In itself, this should make us question the advisability of disengagement. A partnership could have also reinforced rule of law without indicating the tolerance for human rights violations that foreign military sales or other security cooperation activities might have.

These relationships are a critical part of our national strategy. The Defense Strategic Guidance provides that conducting stability operations, including military-to-military security cooperation activities, is a primary mission of the U.S. Armed Forces. The use of the National Guard to accomplish this mission provides endurance and cost-effectiveness. As members of the civilian community and the force primarily called upon when natural disasters strike, the National Guard brings unique expertise to stability operations. The Guard has played an important role in stability operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan through service on Provincial Reconstruction Teams, the Agribusiness Development Team, and numerous other programs. Unfortunately, these efforts were largely ad hoc, based upon demonstrated needs on the ground, and not anticipated in advance. Long-term partnering with a country through the SPP allows the Guard to develop expertise about the unique governance and development needs of the partner country. Joint doctrine recognizes this and advises the leveraging of the SPP in foreign humanitarian assistance. While support through the SPP remains fairly low at the steady state, having that expertise available when resources become available in a crisis can contribute to the efficient deployment of support and well-targeted stability operations.

NATIONAL GUARD PARTNERING WITH THE U.S. EMBASSY

While both the Department of Defense and the Department of State might wish it otherwise, military augmentation of the Embassy staff in a crisis remains a reality. FAOs are certainly a first choice for these tasks, but DoD and DOS remain hampered by low density in the active component. In addition to participation in the Reserve FAO program, the National Guard SPP could result in important relationships with the Embassy staff, permitting effective augmentation in a crisis.

To give an example, Indonesia’s SPP relationship with Hawaii could result in effective cooperation in Humanitarian Assistance operations following a natural disaster. While the partnership did not begin until 2006,

and thus could not assist in the 2004 Aceh tsunami, it is not difficult to imagine how the SPP could be leveraged to address a similar incident in the future. The tsunami struck a region with an active insurgency. The U.S. formed two task forces – one to coordinate humanitarian relief and one to account for U.S. citizens. USAID contracted for relief through a variety of sources, including the Indonesian Red Cross. The military deployed a Joint Task Force centered on III Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) to provide military humanitarian assistance. Coordination between these two elements and the Indonesian military was hampered by the lack of an effective interagency process within the Indonesian government. Augmentation of the U.S. Embassy staff in Jakarta with Guardsmen with both expertise in humanitarian relief from the domestic context and pre-existing relationships within the Indonesian military could have significantly aided the Embassy's assistance to Indonesia.

BENEFITS TO THE NATIONAL GUARD

Leveraging the SPP to meet the FAO requirement benefits the National Guard as well. By engaging with an ongoing operational mission, the Guard fulfills the requirements of DoD Instruction 1200.17, which requires the Reserve Component to be managed as an operational force, participating “across the full spectrum of missions at home and abroad in providing operational capabilities according to the national defense strategy.” The Guard makes itself more relevant in the budget battles, as the Service Secretaries must, “[e]nsure resources are provided in a timely manner to ensure effective execution to meet mission requirements.”

One consequence of the organization of Guard as a strategic force is that it tends to be viewed as a labor pool by the active component. As such, Guard units frequently complain that they are subject to dismemberment to fill active component needs. In short, they go to war not with the people they trained with, but rather with active component units with whom they have no prior connections. While the Guard will always have a role as a strategic reserve, tying the SPP to the FAO program and the COCOM would allow Guard soldiers and airmen to develop relationships with the COCOM staffs and to deploy as part of a joint team for contingencies involving the partner country.

The Guard would also gain a broader training focus and potentially the resources to support it. In addition to the low-cost training described above through distance learning and PME opportunities, COCOM-sponsored exercises present an opportunity for the Guard to train with their active component and partner country compatriots. Having a country partner also provides the opportunity to match Guard training opportunities to partner country needs.

Joint credit remains a particular bone of contention between the active component and the National Guard.

The active component's unwillingness to recognize service in most positions in State Joint Force Headquarters as truly “joint” leaves many Guardsmen without significant opportunities to earn necessary joint credit. Partnering with a COCOM and country partner provides the opportunity for shared and integrated experiences during an officer's career, ensuring that these officers are available and qualified for appropriate command and staff positions.

Readiness and availability for short-notice deployments has improved, but remains a persistent challenge for the National Guard. The Secretary of Defense mandated the transition of the National Guard from a strategic to an operational reserve, but significant readiness discrepancies remain. However, effective use of the SPP only requires a small number of personnel to maintain enhanced readiness. Realistically, a relief operation in Bangladesh will not be performed primarily by Oregon National Guard personnel. However, maintaining the SPP personnel in a “ready to go” status provides improved expertise for short-notice deployments in an emergency, such as a Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief (HADR) event. In a larger contingency, the presence of institutional relationships and expertise on a grander scale can still be used, albeit after the traditional activation period, particularly in the period following the end of major combat operations, when stability operations come to the fore. In sum, giving the SPP augmentation of the COCOM staff as an operational mission benefits the Guard by keeping units together, providing a training focus, improving joint credit opportunities, and enhancing readiness.

CONCLUSION

Using the SPP to fill the Reserve FAO gap meets the national security goals of the U.S. by improving security cooperation. SPP provides a platform to address identified deficiencies in partnering and regional expertise at a reasonable cost. Both the U.S. and the partner nation benefit from assigning military personnel with a longer tenure than those available to members of the Foreign Service or active component military. These benefits flow to the COCOM, the U.S. Embassy, and the Guard itself, which would see a better match between its new status as an operational reserve and its continued organization solely as a strategic reserve.

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Azerbaijan – Where is this Relationship Going?

BY LTC JIM CHENEY, U.S. ARMY

Throughout the 1990s, from the fall of the Soviet Union through 9-11-2001, the United States largely ignored Azerbaijan – to the detriment of both sides. In the 2000s, we cooperated along a number of avenues of mutual interest; and, both sides have arguably benefited. The question of “what now?” looms as war-related requirements fade in significance and the U.S. ponders its post-ISAF posture. This paper argues that the United States has already lost a decade of relationship-building with this important partner, and we should not make the same mistake again.

STARTING OFF ON THE WRONG FOOT

In 1992, as the United States was reaching out to build relationships with the new countries born of the former Soviet Union, the U.S. congress deliberately opted out of a relationship with Azerbaijan. Section 907 (a) of the Freedom Support Act resulted from what has been called “one of the most successful lobbying efforts ever made.”

Though Armenia and Azerbaijan are in many ways equally culpable in their war over Nagorno-Karabakh (NK), an ethnic Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan, the U.S. Armenian lobby convinced Congress to single out Azerbaijan as ineligible for U.S. assistance until it ceased its “aggression.” The bill rider not only prohibited the United States

from providing any kind of direct assistance or aid to the Azerbaijani government, it began nearly 10 years of isolating Azerbaijan from the sort of consultations and assistance afforded to all other former-Soviet states.

The Clinton administration, DoD, and the State Department struggled with the ramifications of this legislation throughout the 1990s, but it took the acute needs of the post-9/11 War on Terror for the United States to widely recognize the importance of a relationship with Azerbaijan. The security imperatives of the post-9/11 environment led to the president waiving Section 907 in January of 2002 and the renewal of this waiver every year since. Furthermore, the new security environment

shed light on an entire list of mutual concerns such as Caspian security, illicit trafficking, proliferation, Russian encroachment, energy infrastructure development/protection, Azerbaijani self-determination, Iranian intentions, and Nagorno-Karabakh resolution. Each of these areas bears regional and transnational significance, underscoring the importance of an effective security partnership with Azerbaijan not only in the near-term, but also for the foreseeable future.

COMPETING NARRATIVES AND THE DANGER OF LOW EXPECTATIONS

Azerbaijan is neither a major geopolitical power nor a major force-providing NATO ally. Even within its niche as an energy supplier, it doesn’t rise to the level of a major exporter like Saudi Arabia. Because Azerbaijan is largely out-of-sight and out-of-mind at the eastern edge of the EUCOM area of responsibility, far-removed from our NATO-related core interests in the region, it is tempting to understand Azerbaijan in the form of a pat sum-

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the risks associated with disengaging from this part of Eurasia are substantial
... losing a friendly land bridge in the region
...a radicalized Azerbaijan
...a diplomatically jilted or shunned Azerbaijan

mary. The conventional narrative looks something like this: Azerbaijan is an authoritarian, Muslim, energy-rich Caucasus nation situated on the coast of the Caspian Sea, currently embroiled in a long-stalemated conflict with Armenia over the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

While accurate, statements like these set up low expectations for the bilateral relationship and make it easy to focus on those things we don’t like about Azerbaijan: lack of democracy, corruption, and an apparent Gordian knot of issues surrounding the frozen conflict. Moreover, U.S. near-term imperatives such as Northern Distribution Network and operational concerns cloud the picture. The problems seem hard, the payoffs seem low, and U.S.

interests appear short-term at first glance. Precisely because the U.S. has remained circumspect, the Azerbaijanis doubt that our interest in their country will outlive the ISAF retrograde. We can and should expect more of the relationship, and this starts with refined narrative: Azerbaijan is an energy-rich, secular Shia-Muslim Caucasus nation situated on the very edge of Europe and Asia along the historic Silk Road trade routes, whose economic potential is restrained by endemic corruption, authoritarian politics, and a lingering frozen conflict with neighboring Armenia.

This formulation helps emphasize some surprisingly positive aspects of Azerbaijan: that it is a relatively cooperative and stable state in a tense geopolitical region, that it borders three powerful regional players (Russia, Iran, and Turkey) and has enough economic prosperity to have a serious stake in regional stability. Azerbaijan is wholly averse to becoming Russian client state and it strongly resists continuous attempts at sectarian radicalization on the part of Iran.

Western-leaning Azerbaijan already aspires to greater European recognition and integration, and is investing large sums in an attempt to expand its role as an east-west commercial hub. Azerbaijan shares a cultural heritage with Turkey, the largest NATO Ally in the region, and has been a reliable, if small, contributor to the campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan. Its form of government and the NK issue aside, Azerbaijan is, in many respects, making an effort to play the part we wish it to assume in regional security – resisting the strongmen, emphasizing stability, and attempting to export security instead of consuming it. Azerbaijan has done these things not because the U.S. demanded it, but because it perceives them to be in its own interests. Having higher expectations for the Azerbaijan relationship will ultimately pay dividends all around.

WE SHOULDN'T JUST WALK AWAY

Azerbaijani feels it has been given the cold shoulder once already by the United States in the passage of Section 907, and its lingering still clouds our bilateral relations. Azerbaijan is cognizant of the fact that their relationship with the United States can be abruptly cut off by a failure to continue the Section 907 waiver. It will take time to convince the Azerbaijanis that we have a commitment to our stated mutual interests, and that any commitment will be long-term.

Despite this, we must continue in good faith because the risks associated with disengaging from this part of Eurasia are substantial. First of all, there is risk associated with losing a friendly land bridge in the region. Secondly, a radicalized Azerbaijan could become a threat in its own right. Thirdly, a diplomatically jilted or shunned Azerbaijan could become a regional spoiler.

Venezuela has demonstrated how a small wealthy country can, while never competing for wider hegemony, play an unproductive part in regional relations and be a

painful thorn in the side of contingency planners. While a poor nation like Belarus could never assume this role, a rich one like Azerbaijan could, and it would be very inconvenient for the U.S. to have a Venezuela in the EU-COM AOR. Lastly, there are broader security risks in the U.S. showing itself to be capricious in our commitment to small partners.

Even though we should not put too many hopes on Azerbaijan becoming a model of western representative democracy in the near term, we should nevertheless keep ties open and expanding to prevent them from turning away from the west. The nations lying across the Caspian to the east are the Central Asian despots with whom the U.S. was widely criticized for partnering during the war in Afghanistan. If future contingencies call for increased presence or demand renewed access, we will be far better off working with a longstanding partner, however imperfect, than trying to build ad-hoc relationships with pariah states.

MAINTAINING BRIDGES VERSUS BURNING THEM

Though part of a literal land-bridge linking the north and south, Azerbaijan is a key piece of an east-west arc between Europe and Asia. As the U.S. seeks to posture itself for the security environment of the 21st century through a "rebalance" or "pivot" towards Asia, it would be a mistake to look only westward across the Pacific. Instead, we should remember to look east through Europe, and in so doing, attempt to act by, through, and with our staunchest European allies. This will not only serve to balance perspectives on Eurasian security matters, but also reinforce the highly-collaborative nature of modern conflict resolution. Azerbaijan is in many respects our best partner in the eastern reaches of the EUCOM AOR. While not as outwardly welcoming and democratically aspirant as Georgia, Azerbaijan is an increasingly commercially-capable partner, seeking to develop and diversify its economy, with a large stake in the security and stability of the Caucasus, the Caspian, and Central Asia.

Azerbaijan's cultural link with Turkey will remain important, as the latter is a regional political heavyweight, emerging economic power, and existing bridge between east and west. Armenian-Turkish rapprochement, a resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh stand-off, and a corresponding development in regional economic cooperation could result in a profound spread of security and prosperity through Turkey and into the Caucasus.

We cannot, however, take for granted that all parties would welcome such a situation. Russia has spent the post-Cold War period lovingly tending the frozen conflicts in its former-border states, pursuing the nihilistic yet profitable angle of playing regional king-maker and refashioning localized instability into a form of Russian security. As empires, the Turks and the Russians were long-standing rivals, and Russia has already shown that

it has no interest in yielding the Caucasus to a creeping pan-Europeanism.

In general, this serves as a clear reminder that all our important relationships in theater are more than bilateral. Specifically, it underscores the notion that a relationship with Azerbaijan is contextually critical to our relationships with Russia and Turkey.

IN THE END, IT'S CHEAP

The costs of pursuing a pragmatic approach in dealing with Azerbaijan are low, and in fact, are more political than fiscal. Unlike most former-Soviet states (and most NATO-enlargement allies), Azerbaijan is reasonably prosperous. It can afford to pay their own way in most cooperation efforts: it has not required a Train-and-Equip program or a financial sponsor to participate in contingency operations; the government has made overtures about their desire to purchase major weapon systems and equipment outright; and the costs for the U.S. to conduct meetings, consultations, and senior-leader engagements are comparatively negligible.

For better or for worse, there is substantial political will in the United States to not cooperate with Azerbaijan and a political effort will be required to overcome this inertia. Senior leaders and policy makers will inevitably have to defend working with an imperfect partner in the face of opposition. The practical argument carries great weight though: because Azerbaijan sits at the intersection of cultural, economic, and political regional arcs the payoff for maintaining good relations is much more than bilateral. The cost-benefit ratio is simply too good to ignore.

The United States has much to offer Azerbaijan which can help it protect their economic lifeline in the Caspian, build a diversified economic base, counter regional threats, and protect its sovereign right to pursue its own path. The Azerbaijanis have a similarly large amount to offer us in their willingness to pay their own way and work diligently to contain state and non-state malignant actors in their region.

Though the United States legislatively tied its own hands for the better part of a decade, these areas of interest existed prior to 9/11 and they will not evaporate following the completion of the Afghan retrograde. Azerbaijan will remain a country situated directly on a political, economic, and geographic crossroads. Even assuming that substantial political sensitivities will remain, the U.S. should take a pragmatic approach in pursuing a defense relationship with Azerbaijan because it is an inexpensive way to maintain access, a hedge against regional power struggles small and large, and a contributing effort in a pivot toward Asia.

About the Author

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CONCLUSION

Given the long history of conflict between Armenians and their Turkic neighbors, one should not be surprised that a comprehensive peace has not yet been secured in Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding area. Anyone seeking to mediate the process had a difficult task from the beginning. But the existence of numerous eager mediators made the debate more about which forum to use than about which concessions to make. Once the mediation was more or less consolidated within the Minsk Group process, the mediators made the mistake of framing the eventual settlement according to their own bias without accounting for the realities of who physically held the territory under negotiation and without any serious commitment to use force to back up their position. We have also seen how economic sanctions were insufficient to move Armenia from its position, more because of the intransigence of public opinion than that of public officials. It is clear that Azerbaijan's government is more able than that of Armenia to make serious concessions and remain in power. However, this bargaining flexibility roughly mirrors its oil fortunes, which, unfortunately for the peace process, are beginning to decline. This may be the last

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Due to space limitations, footnotes have been removed from this article. A complete copy of the article will be available at FAOA.org after the issue goes to print.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD: “Nothing is normal here”

The Challenges of U.S. Security Assistance in Iraq, 2013-2014

BY MAJOR JAMES OLDEN, U.S. AIR FORCE

U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE BACKGROUND

Truman’s declaration paved the way for normal diplomatic relationships to include military advice and equipment, eventually making the U.S. the world’s leading arms exporter. In a “normal” country with a U.S. Foreign Military Sales program, a security cooperation organization consists of a small military contingent at the U.S. Embassy. In the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) process, the security cooperation organization serves as the interface between the host nation military (the customer) and the U.S. Government Program Office, which in turn, negotiates with the U.S. contracted company.

The members of the security cooperation organization are the face of the U.S. military on the ground, addressing the needs of the customer and shepherding the acquisition of U.S. equipment, training, and services from the identification of the requirement through the life of the contract.

The FMS process is an arduous, bureaucratic feat of sausage making. It requires deliberative processes established by the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act, as outlined in the Security Assistance Management Manual. The process – from request to offer, congressional notification, signature, down payment, contract negotiation, contract award, manufacture, delivery, and implementation – takes years. The process, my colleague would remind me, “is like steering the Titanic.” Yet the FMS process is byzantine for a reason. It is designed to stave off corruption by creating a paper trail and reducing the likelihood of bribery and fraud. Together with the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, it is attractive to foreign government officials who want to steer clear of abuses of power and keep up appearances of legitimacy. Furthermore, it advertises the total package approach, sustaining equipment with associated training, parts, and services to prevent weapon systems from falling into disrepair and neglect. Finally, it requires independent vetting for human rights abuses in compliance with the Leahy Amendment, ensuring materials and training are not

“...we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security”

U.S. PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
JANUARY 20, 1949

“Over the last few months, the final work of leaving Iraq has been done. Dozens of bases ... have been closed down or turned over to the Iraqis”

U.S. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA
DECEMBER 14, 2011

delivered into disreputable hands, and tracks items to end use. Customers know they’re getting a quality product and long-term sustainment, but they must compromise on the duration and complexity of the process.

THE CASE OF IRAQ

In 2013 Iraq, the security relationship was anything but normal, coming off the heels of the staggering cost of the Iraq War and the withdrawal of U.S. combat forces in December 2011. By September 2013 the Office of Security Co-

operation-Iraq had transferred the last U.S.-run military bases to the Government of Iraq, officially putting an end to U.S. military presence at outlying sites. Some of the bases were completely abandoned, leaving only empty shells, ghost towns reminiscent of the previous decade of U.S. presence. Others were handed over to the control of Iraqi Security Forces, who continue to conduct operations once executed in close coordination with U.S. military advisors and trainers. Without a Status of Forces Agreement in place, soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines, who advised and trained their counterparts day in, day out, were demobilized, not to return. While the U.S. Government (USG) drove down the number of military personnel in Baghdad, it tasked the Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq with preserving existing Iraqi military capabilities and promoting the acquisition of additional capabilities with the intent to stabilize the country.

THE U.S. EFFECTS OF NORMALIZATION

President Obama’s pronouncement not only set goals for the U.S. relationship with Iraq; it presented a challenge to senior diplomats and military leaders, saddling them with implementing a normal relationship against daunting odds. It challenged them to maintain the U.S. preponderance of arms sales in Iraq, while simultaneously abandoning the closest of military partnerships and drastically reducing U.S. presence. And it required them to

do so in a non-permissive environment before anyone on the ground in Iraq could reasonably consider the situation secure. Notwithstanding the challenges, the USG rushed headlong into the transition to a normalized relationship with the Government of Iraq.

By normalizing relations, the U.S. would no longer bear the burdensome expense of sustaining military bases across Iraq. It would no longer pay for trucks to deliver materiel and food to Iraqi bases from Kuwait. It would no longer use U.S. military aircraft as the primary means of shipping spare parts for base equipment. And it would not pay for security personnel to stand guard in the watchtowers lining base perimeters. While U.S. defense contractors would in some cases still provide these services, the Government of Iraq would henceforth absorb the costs, using existing FMS cases as the funding mechanism. Unfortunately the cases were not designed to sustain military bases and were thus unable to shoulder the new burden. They were intended to keep aircraft flying and tanks rolling, and to train Iraqi officers in the maintenance and operation of U.S. defense hardware. Other sources of funding would have to be tapped to keep the bases running.

It fell to the Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq to convey this process to the Iraqi Government and to ensure essential services continued. Unlike combat forces operating under Title 10 of the U.S. Code, the military personnel supporting security assistance serve under Title 22, acting as the executors of the Department of State's FMS program under the purview of the U.S. Ambassador. Their task: to develop a "modern, accountable, and professional Iraqi military capable of defending Iraq and its borders".

Committed to the normalization construct, the USG was slow to adapt to change in Iraq. Confronted with conflicts from Syria to Afghanistan, U.S. Central Command had no shortage of high interest missions in 2013. Leaders in Washington wanted to put Iraq in the rear view mirror, as Iraqi Security Forces were maintaining order under an elected civilian government. Keeping with the theme of political disengagement, grant funds under the Foreign Military Financing program fell from \$850 million in fiscal year 2012 to \$300 million in fiscal year 2014 and were forecast to decrease to \$250 million in fiscal year 2015.

Relations were supposed to normalize. But they didn't. And as Iraq's security situation worsened, some policymakers in Washington called for more foreign assistance. The sight of cities like Fallujah falling into the hands of Islamist forces after so much blood and treasure had been spent became a call to action. U.S. leaders on the ground in Baghdad were determined to "not let them

fail" in the struggle against forces conspiring to disrupt and fragment the country.

Nevertheless, support for the security assistance mission in Iraq faced roadblocks in the U.S. Congress and witnessed a lack of resolve to commit more forces. Two reports surfaced, one in February 2014 revealing a potential purchase of ammunition from Iran, a would-be violation of the arms embargo imposed by U.N. Security Council Resolution 1747; the other in March 2014, alleging Iraqi soldiers had committed atrocities in the vicinity of Ramadi. These reports slowed the already arduous congressional notification process and jeopardized the sale of significant military equipment to Iraq. Finally, not until the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham overtook Mosul and Tikrit in June 2014, did the White House send an additional three hundred advisors to Baghdad and increase surveillance activities.

"Everywhere there are bombs," said Abu Ahmed, describing a recent explosion in Baghdad, catching elderly passersby and playing children in the blast. "This is our life."

The collective violence erupting in Iraq forced USG per-

"We're here to ... begin a new chapter in the history between our countries – a normal relationship between sovereign nations, an equal partnership based on mutual interests and mutual respect"

U.S. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA,
DECEMBER 12, 2011

sonnel behind the walls of the International Zone, home to embassies and government ministries, the threat of indirect fire frequently driving personnel under cover. The increasing operational risk on Iraq's roadways made forays to outlying cities a rare exception. With no Status of Forces Agreement, military personnel were protected under diplomatic privileges and immunities, which applied to interactions with Iraqi Security Forces and Iraqi Police, but which would provide no quarter with insurgents. The fortress mentality was well ensconced at "Camp Cupcake" as the U.S. Embassy, Baghdad, is sometimes referred. This is not a slight on those serving in Iraq, rather a manifestation of the frustration felt over the inability to effectively engage with the Iraqi people and government counterparts. The Benghazi-effect cemented the risk-averse approach of U.S. senior leaders and guaranteed force protection was the number one priority at the expense of the mission.

Either due to U.S. lack of persistence or dysfunctional Iraqi ministries, or both, the full implications of the transfer of fiscal responsibility did not quickly spread throughout the Ministry of Defense or through the ranks of the Iraqi Security Forces. Iraq's coalition government was less than one year old and plagued by divisiveness and gridlock. Relationships were strained between some ministries, and communications piecemeal. The Iraqi national elections approaching in April 2014 made it even less likely for politicians to spread the bad news. Lacking its own infrastructure and security, the Iraqi Government continued to pay top-dollar for U.S. service contracts. The costs of base life support and security at Iraqi military bases soared. Three-year contracts were spent in less than a year. As a result, the sticker shock of normalization became a bitter pill for the Iraqi Government to swallow when it finally came time to finance the forecast expenditures.

The Iraqi Government was obliged to fund FMS cases in advance, as it did not qualify for dependable undertaking, which would have allowed it to finance multi-billion dollar defense projects. In other words, it could not put Apache helicopters on layaway. When the costs of normalization became a reality, Iraq's defense budget was limited, as the government had failed to approve a national budget. The shortfall risked the termination of base sustainment in Iraq.

The troubled path to normalization was not due to poor military leadership. Iraqi military leaders have long been keenly aware of their requirements. Faced with dire circumstances on the ground, their calls for additional support have traveled up their chain of command, through government ministries, and across the desks of political leaders before entering the equally lengthy U.S. Foreign Military Sales process. Requests for weapon systems needed for counterinsurgency operations often languished in bureaucratic purgatory. Political impasse and the lack of an approved budget spelled the death of many a defense program. The Government of Iraq signed less than fifty percent of contracts requested by its Ministry of Defense. Despite occasional exceptions to the slow pace of progress, all told, the Government of Iraq was unable or unwilling to adapt to the rapid pace of normalization relative to the typical glacial pace of changes to a bureaucracy.

"YOU CAN'T BUY THAT FOR FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS"

Another obstacle to enhancing current capabilities was the prioritization of the Iraqi F-16 program. The pursuit of the F-16 program was geared towards a conventional

geopolitical security strategy rather than addressing the insurgent threat. It neglected the approach to counterinsurgency, which aims to tailor "only those resources and capabilities necessary to enable the HN [Host Nation] government to provide a secure, predictable, and tolerable living environment for the population". The incongruity between conventional and unconventional warfare is echoed in Colonel José D'Odorico's study of air superiority in which he states, "violent outbreaks frequently occur in urban areas, where detecting enemy forces is very complicated and where strike aircraft cannot intervene without risking friendly casualties as well as undesired political effects". The targeting dilemma leads

Col D'Odorico to conclude countries with developing air forces ought not squander limited resources on air superiority assets at the expense of other necessary missions such as "offensive reconnaissance, tactical air transport, airborne command and control, psychological operations, close air support, combat search and rescue, and medical evacuation". While the Government of Iraq remained committed to the delivery of the F-16, other programs went by the wayside. Platforms tailored to the counterinsurgency fight such as light attack and intelligence surveillance and reconnaissance assets

were unnecessarily delayed. Iraq had not yet developed a military culture that prioritized reconnaissance operations, something it took the U.S. Air Force decades to achieve. The cultural shift from conventional warfare to counterinsurgency operations requires institutional change – something you can't put a price tag on.

NORMALIZATION AND THE DEFENSE CONTRACTOR

Every sophisticated weapon system requires a robust support structure consisting of operators, mechanics, training and infrastructure. Governments have to tap into a skilled workforce, whether at home or abroad, to fulfill these requirements. Iraq's once renowned universities have not yet recovered from three decades of war and internal strife. Thousands of professionals have either fled the country or been killed. As a result, Iraq lacks a skilled English-proficient workforce required to sustain and operate advanced aircraft and other sophisticated military hardware. Growing a skilled workforce would, at best, take a generation during peacetime and economic growth under solid political leadership and rule of law.

Because Iraqi Security Forces lacked the technical expertise to maintain and repair its radios, fire trucks, K-loaders, generators, liquid oxygen plants, Humvees, tanks, and up-armored Suburbans, U.S. defense contractors remained in Iraq to perform these functions and to train Iraqis to do the same. Iraqi military leaders recognized

"Maliki will win re-election or the rivers will run with blood."

ANONYMOUS

"If Nouri al-Maliki stays, 'Iraq will break into 1,000 pieces'"

BARAQ TAQAN ALI

the vital nature of this training. With a limited budget, it is far more cost effective to employ local talent than to continue funding U.S. technicians. But until Iraq builds its technical base, foreign defense contractors will be necessary. In non-permissive environments like Iraq, U.S. defense contractors must either rely on U.S. forces, host nation forces, or private security firms to guarantee their safety. Following the departure of U.S. forces, defense contractors required private security providers rather than relying on Iraqi Security Forces, which were not manned or equipped for the task. It would have taken years for Iraq to build the infrastructure and workforce required to support its own more cost effective services. What's more, the government in Baghdad tended to award sole source contracts at a premium.

Normalization reached Tikrit in early 2013. The Government of Iraq signed a sole source contract with a U.S. based engineering and development services provider, which kept Tikrit Air Base, formerly Camp Speicher, open. It also kept the Iraqi Air Force College, recently relocated from Kirkuk, open. The Air Force College trained future pilots and officers, offering them the opportunity for a professional military education and flight training. But as soon as normalization efforts forced military personnel from Tikrit in May 2013, Prime Minister Maliki ordered the evacuation of the 32 training aircraft fleet to Imam Ali Air Base, formerly Talil Air Base, in An Nasiriyah. The Ministry of Defense cited security concerns. Once the aircraft departed, defense contractors in Tikrit were limited to flight simulator instruction and scheduled maintenance on the few remaining aircraft. They could not relocate due to the lack of infrastructure at Imam Ali Air Base. Such a transition would have required contract modifications and a host of new Iraqi-financed construction projects. Not only did current contracts not allow for the relocation, the Government of Iraq never formally asked the U.S. for a proposal to relocate the defense contractors and services. The Government of Iraq simply maintained the status quo, with its fleet of aircraft sitting idle on the ramp at Imam Ali Air Base. Things came to a head when the funds remaining on the FMS cases at Tikrit, then providing base sustainment, ran out. The Government of Iraq did not fund the cases and the defense contractors departed in December 2013, thus derailing Iraq's pilot training pipeline for the foreseeable future. No longer on a war



Iraqi Special Operations Forces receive training on a remotely operated video enhanced receiver provided by the Iraqi Security Forces Fund, New Al Muthana Air Base, June 2013.

"The temporary presence of U.S. forces in Iraq is at the request and invitation of the sovereign Government of Iraq and with full respect for the sovereignty of Iraq."

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT
NOVEMBER 17, 2008

footing, the USG could no more keep defense contractors in the country unilaterally than it could combat troops. The departure of U.S. defense contractors would also deny support to Iraqi Air Force C-130J, Cessna Caravan, King Air, and F-16 aircraft.

While the U.S. security relationship held strategic value for the Government of Iraq, as a sovereign government, it was compelled to reach out to other arms providers. Some stalwarts in the government were committed to U.S. equipment, services, and training, but had to be careful how they used their political leverage in Baghdad. Speaking out too much in favor of the U.S. was to put one's political capital in jeopardy.

Branching out to other defense providers allowed the Government of Iraq to diversify its assets, build relationships, avoid long lead times required of the U.S. FMS process, and circumvent some of the stringent security requirements required of U.S. contract providers. From 2013 to 2014 the Government of Iraq signed contracts for Russian helicopters, Korean light attack fighters, Pakistani basic trainer aircraft, and Czech light attack and training aircraft. Nevertheless, this approach is prone to the loss of continuity in parts, services, and training. Diversifying complex weapon systems eventually yields diminishing returns due to parts incompatibility and difficulty growing experienced mechanics well versed across multiple platforms. Furthermore, the Government of Iraq was expending de-

fense funds on new systems rather than sustaining and improving existing programs. It continually pursued new products rather than enhancing current capabilities.

THE TOTAL PACKAGE

“COIN [counterinsurgency] requires unified action through interagency and interorganizational coordination of the instruments of national power to support an HN’s [Host Nation] political, security, economic, and information components that reinforce the legitimacy of the HN government...” – Joint Publication 3-24

Foreign Military Sales are not a panacea. They cannot work in a vacuum. Political will constitutes the basis of security cooperation, and any faults in the political will of the partner nation threaten the viability of the strategic relationship. Achieving a balance between political wills, desired end states and allocated resources requires constant analysis. To affect the desired outcome, governments must conduct

economic and political assistance concurrent with security assistance. All of the instruments of national power need to work in concert to reach the desired end state of stable governance. Operating alone, security assistance cannot overcome a government unable to achieve reconciliation among a divided people. The U.S. Government was ill-prepared to assist Iraq with its growing crisis. It overestimated the pressure it could bring to bear with Foreign Military Sales and underestimated the political leverage it lost when it withdrew forces from Iraq and implemented normalized relations. From 2013 to 2014 the U.S. continued to reduce its diplomatic and economic footprint beyond January 2012 levels. Today, as Iraq erupts and U.S. Government and civilian personnel draw down, Iraqi Security Forces are largely on their own to succeed or fail, faced with an immediate threat from militants claiming loyalty to the Islamic State and threatening to unseat the government in Baghdad, begin a sectarian war, and permanently fracture the state.

Implementing a normalized security cooperation posture in Iraq was fraught with difficulties. The condensed timeline of normalization and a lack of political will on both the U.S. and Iraqi sides stymied the progress of political engagement and security assistance. Iraq’s non-permissive environment kept diplomats behind walls and tied the hands of defense contractors. The U.S. consequently faces a smaller stake in Iraq’s defense market vis à vis its global competitors, while the Iraqi people face a longer road towards producing a sustainable and skilled workforce. The current collapse of security in Iraq will keep it at the forefront of U.S. security policy in the Middle East and obliges the U.S. Government to meet its obligation to provide military advice and equipment to Iraq backed by political resolve if it is to remain a free nation.

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The author (right) with Iraqi-American interpreter, Louie Hajjar, New Al Muthana Air Base, 2013.



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Minding the Gaps

MAJOR CHRIS JONES, U.S. AIR FORCE

What do the following statements have in common? Ernest Hemingway, a novelist and short-story writer who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1954, famously said ‘all thinking men are atheists.’ American icon George Washington said ‘It is impossible to rightly govern a nation without God and the Bible.’ The amazing Helen Keller said ‘All the world is full of suffering. It is also full of overcoming. I can see, and that is why I can be happy, in what you call the dark, but which to me is golden. I can see a God-made world, not a man-made world.’ While seemingly unrelated at a glance, these respective quotes on intellect, government, and theodicy have this in common: Each one reflects the worldview of the speaker: unspoken presuppositions that define how each individual viewed their world. A recent immersion experience in several European countries was a reminder of both the

nearness and distance in worldview between American statesmen living and working in Europe, and our European friends and colleagues. Generally, Americans tend to view Europeans as more “like” them than people from other parts of the world. In some ways, such a notion is understandable and justifiable, particularly in Western Europe: English is widely spoken, cultural and social parallels are numerous, and the economic, political, and strategic cooperation between the U.S. and European nations both bilaterally and through international organizations such as NATO bear witness to complementary interests and values in many social, cultural, and political areas. However, one quickly discovers in the course of interaction with European friends and colleagues that value gaps remain, despite such social, cultural, and political ‘nearness.’ Of course, one does not need to look outside of the U.S. to find value differences between individuals or groups, but in the context of international relations, such differences extend to issues of corporate national history, language, culture, and society in ways that may not be immediately obvious to the non-national. It is of significant importance, then, that the statesman possesses an intellectual framework for understanding how national identity and history shape unseen and often unspoken assumptions and presuppositions about the



world. In other words, each national and cultural context has unique factors that influence and shape the worldview of its populace. For the individual engaged in international relations, the challenge is twofold: First, to understand the unique worldview-shaping factors of a given international context, and second, to understand how the resulting attitudes are congruent or divergent with his or her own worldview presuppositions, thereby contributing to improved mutual understanding and more effective engagement. To begin, one should define the term in question - what exactly is a worldview? A worldview is a way of viewing or interpreting all of reality. It is an interpretive framework through which or by which one makes sense out of the data of life and the world. There are a number of ways this can be illustrated; one might imagine the analogy of a pair of glasses with colored lenses. If one looks at the same object through yellow-colored glasses, he or she will see it as yellow; while another looking at the same object through blue glasses will see it as blue. It is the difference in worldview that causes people to often see the same objective facts in a very different way. For example, an orthodox Jewish individual might interpret the exodus of Israel from Egypt as a case of divine intervention. A naturalist, on the other hand, would likely view the same event as an anomaly, that is, as an unusual natural event. Both could affirm the narrative as factually true and yet come to entirely different conclusions concerning what the narrative means because of different worldviews. Therefore, worldviews make a world of difference, even in how one understands the same objective fact. The analogy of glasses, however, has its limits. First, worldview glasses are never removed. They are the enduring lenses by which one interprets everything he sees. American philosopher and theologian Norman Geisler notes ‘the worldview is...the integrating center of one’s entire personality.’ [Worlds Apart: A Handbook on Worldviews]. Second, one not only reads (interprets) through his worldview glasses, one also lives by means of them; because it includes within it value indicators or principles by which one makes value judgments. Third, a worldview is a more dynamic and flexible entity than are ordinary glass lenses, and capable of

undergoing changes. Like a living organism, it is capable of changing yet, in most cases, it remains substantially the same. In practice, an adopted worldview change is often referred to as a conversion or a paradigm shift. With a working definition of a worldview in mind, let us examine the workings of a worldview. To appropriate an analogy from theater, one might compare the effect worldview to a scrim. For those unfamiliar with the term, a scrim is a special type of theater stage curtain with unique properties. When lit from the front, a scrim appears opaque and reflects the scene upon the fabric – the ocean, a city, a living room, a park. When lit from behind, however, a scrim appears transparent, and the viewer can see what is behind it.

To use another illustration, one might compare a worldview to modern and ancient understandings of vision: For modern humans, biology explains the process of vision: our eyes reflect visible stimuli, which are then interpreted through a series of electric signals to the brain. The ancients' concept of sight, however, was a bit different. They assumed that seeing began in the heart, and then emanated like beams from the eyes. These two perspectives are complementary and helpful in describing the function of a worldview. Physical seeing is a matter of taking in objective stimuli, but the stimuli are then shaped according to our worldview. German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) illustrated the idea another way, recognizing that the mind could not function as an empty container that simply receives data from the outside, concluding that the 'stuff' of knowledge comes through the senses, but the 'shape' of it comes from the mind. In other words, people see the same things differently. Therefore, the character of seeing is dependent upon the character of the individual. Our worldview, then, is our scrim - When lit from the front, the eyes of our head take in the objective stimuli of our world. But when lit from behind, the eyes of our individual character, the scrim becomes transparent, and the worldview that shapes the stimuli behind it can be seen.

The role of understanding one another's worldview in international engagement cannot be overemphasized: Many areas of debate and discourse in political and social circles have worldview differences at their root. Within the tremendous diversity of human culture, language, politics, and social constructs, one thing is common among all people: Every person processes reality through their own worldview, which informs their interpretation of the world around them. Ethicist Simon Blackburn writes: "It [our worldview] determines what we find acceptable or unacceptable, admirable or contemptible. It determines our conception of when things are going well and when they are going badly. It determines our conception of what is due to us, and what is due from us, as we relate to others. It shapes our emotional responses, determining what is a cause of pride or shame, or anger or gratitude,

or what can be forgiven and what cannot." [Being Good: A Short Introduction to Ethics]

One need not look far to see the effect of national worldview influences on thinking about current issues. For example, the Pew Research Center recently published a study citing U.S. use of military force, the role of religion in U.S. society and politics, and American individualism as issues that highlight the "values gap" between Americans and Europeans [Richard Wike, "Anti-Americanism Down in Europe, but a Values Gap Persists," Pew Research Global Attitudes Project]. Looking beyond the bar graphs of various opinion polls, one can see the effect of national worldview influences on any of the aforementioned issues. Consider, for example, U.S. use of force against terrorist targets with unmanned aircraft systems (UAS), currently a key element of President Obama's foreign policy. Despite President Obama's re-election in the U.S. and his continued popularity in Europe, his UAS engagement policy is notably unpopular in Europe, despite an overall favorable view of anti-terrorist activism. Of eight European nations polled by the Pew Research Center (report published June 2012), more than half of those surveyed in every country disapproved of the U.S. conducting drone missile strikes to target extremists in places such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia [Ibid]. In contrast, a significant majority of Americans supported the president's UAS policy in the same survey.

WHY DOES U.S. PUBLIC OPINION DIFFER SO SIGNIFICANTLY FROM ITS EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS? | HOW MIGHT NATIONAL WORLDVIEW FACTORS PLAY SIGNIFICANTLY INTO THE DIVERGENT PUBLIC OPINIONS?

First, it should be noted that a majority in the U.S. and the surveyed European nations were in agreement that the use of military force is necessary to maintain world order. However, acceptable methods of applying such force were a cause of divergent opinions. Specifically, a majority in all of the European nations agreed that military action should be taken only as part of a coalition with U.N. approval. In contrast, U.S. respondents were evenly divided over the necessity of U.N. approval [Ibid]. One sees, then, that the U.S. public is more likely to approve unilateral engagement than its European counterparts. This finding dovetails with the survey's findings regarding the U.S. UAS policy, which is supported by Americans but viewed as unilateral action lacking international sanction by Europeans. How does this finding relate to national worldview influences? Simply put, the finding that Europeans individually are less likely to agree with unilateral action mirrors the national strategies of European nations when compared to the U.S. Consider the following example: The U.S. National Security Strategy of May 2010 specifically declares the legitimacy of the U.S. to act unilaterally in the use of military force when necessary, although it will make efforts to seek international support in organizations such as the U.N. and NATO

INFORMATION PAPER: The APCSS Edge

BY COMMANDER ALAN CHACE, U.S. NAVY

Foreign Area Officers (FAOs) specializing in countries in Asia – and their detailing officers – need to know about the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). More than “know,” APCSS should in fact, be aggressively mined for all of its potential by military FAOs. It is the one Asian location within the Department of Defense that fuses the military with the civilian, the theorist with the practitioner, and the expert with the student, all while strengthening ties and increasing mutual understanding between the peoples and nations of the region. The Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies has earned itself a renowned reputation both domestically and abroad as a center for empowerment and capacity building.

As a U.S. Department of Defense institute that invites military and civilian representatives of Asia-Pacific nations and the U.S. to its comprehensive program of executive education and workshops, APCSS has hosted more than 8,500 Fellows from 99 countries in its 131 courses and 169 regional workshops. The Fellows are from the diplomatic, security, economic, academic, governance, scientific, health, and military sectors to name just a few. They are influential in their own right, often setting national policy, initiating key programs, and managing crises and disasters. APCSS alumni include three heads of state, three deputy heads of state, 35 ministers or deputy

ministers, 102 ambassadors, and 58 chiefs of defense or chiefs of service. APCSS has become a remarkable facilitator to regional discourse because of its dedicated workforce and steadfast mission focus.

Currently led by retired U.S. Air Force Lt. Gen. Daniel Leaf, the organization’s fourth director since its inception in 1995, APCSS is focused on its mission of building capacities and communities of interest by educating, connecting, and empowering security practitioners to advance Asia-Pacific security. At present, 130 professionals contribute to providing a world-class learning experience for the Fellows. From logistics, to information technology, to facilities, to finance, the APCSS team ensures that every attendee benefits from a streamlined and efficient program whose sole priority is executive education.

The team includes former ambassadors, generals, doctoral professors, computer experts, and individuals from 13 nations. Also key to its success are seven resident Foreign Area Officers from all four services. With experiences ranging from Theater Combatant Command staffs, Defense Attaché and Security Assistance positions, foreign war college instructors, operational staffs, and recent in-country training tours, these FAOs have practical and current expertise to share with one another. The presence of these officers on board the staff at APCSS enhances the curriculum in a unique way that no other professional can. In turn, APCSS provides an environment perfectly suited for maintaining and broadening the FAO skill set. The unique first person discussion and cooperation that occurs during every course and workshop is core to FAO development. Joint FAOs

are paired with civilian subject matter experts to lead daily seminar sessions. Seminars are comprised of 13-16 visiting Fellows from as many countries. Seminars are purposefully comprised of a mix of genders, backgrounds, experience, and competing interests to enhance dialogue and contrasting points of view. Nowhere else will FAOs be exposed to daily discussions between nationals of India, Pakistan, Korea, Japan, China, Taiwan, Myanmar, Philippines, Indonesia, Australia and every other Asian nation on timely and topical matters important to each.

For Joint FAOs this preparation is crucial to future success. Because most FAOs are theater-based and not

THE MANY NATIONS THAT ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES HERE INCLUDE:

- seven of the ten smallest,
- the world’s largest democracy,
- the busiest sea lanes in the world
- the smallest republic in the world,
- the largest Muslim-majority nation,
- nine of the world’s ten largest ports,
- the most populous nations in the world,
- and two of the three largest economies in the world

single country focused it is imperative that we maintain a broad understanding of the region's key issues and problems. APCSS offers the perfect means to do so. In addition to the leadership roles amongst our international Fellows, one is working alongside scholars and experts with career long experiences, as well as a full library to support any and all research requirements.

ADM Samuel Locklear, the Pacific Commander, described the Asia Pacific as, "...incredibly culturally, socially, economically, and geo-politically diverse. The many nations that associate themselves here include: two of the three largest economies in the world; seven of the ten smallest, the most populous nations in the world, the world's largest democracy, the largest Muslim-majority nation, the smallest republic in the world, nine of the world's ten largest ports, and the busiest sea lanes in the world." (East Asia and Pacific Media Hub Teleconference, Feb. 1, 2013) For the U.S. to prosper in this region a combination of dedication and skill will be required –dedication to maintain our presence and influence over the long term, and the skill to accomplish that challenging goal. The Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies offers the Foreign Area Officers of the U.S. military the single best opportunity to succeed in both objectives. U.S. military services must take advantage of this capacity and continue to detail only the highest qualified candidates for permanent tours as a mandatory pre-requisite for regional assignments to key positions of authority.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

CDR Alan Chace is a professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii. He is a U.S. Navy Pacific Command Theater Foreign Area Officer, with 22 years experience in the region, with training in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Spanish. His area of specialty is multi-lateral defense cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region with additional focus on humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and conflict resolution. His earlier assignments included the U.S. Defense Attaché Office Tokyo and Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans and Policy for Commander Naval Forces Korea. He has also worked with NATO, serving a tour with Maritime Component Command Northwood in the United Kingdom.

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Taking Stock of the Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific

BY CAPTAIN BRENT DROSTE SADLER, U.S. NAVY

In the fall of 2011 the Strategic Choices Group, a group of senior defense officials, in collaboration with the White House, drafted what became the Defense Strategic Guidance (DSG). Since its January 2012 release and ensuing congressional testimonies and speeches, senior administration officials have further articulated the President's vision of the Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific, a long-term interagency focus of intellectual, resource, and diplomatic capital to this important region.

What follows is the perspective and views of one action officer involved in executing the Rebalance since the DSG. In terms of national strategy lifecycles, Cold War strategy could be measured in decades; the Rebalance is still new. And as a new strategy, to date it has been more about increasing resources to existing programs, initiatives, and senior leadership attention, but as time goes by new strategic approaches will undoubtedly emerge. In this light, as the DSG passes its two year anniversary, it is a good time to take stock and review what has been accomplished and what has yet to be done. A Visible RebalanceThe visible delivery on U.S. commitments, communicated by frequent senior leader engagements and a robust forward presence over the last two years, has convinced many nations in the region that the Rebalance is real. That said, the Fiscal Year (FY) 2014 defense budget, for which the appropriations bill passed Congress last December, is the first Department of Defense budget formulated from the beginning with the DSG as a guide. In that budget, U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM) and the Office of the Secretary of Defense have advocated for over 30 initiatives worth billions of dollars in investments to execute the rebalance.

USPACOM has continued that advocacy, with the support of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, for the FY15 budget. Some efforts predate the DSG, such as the Defense Policy Review Initiative (DPRI) and the Marine Corps' distributed laydown, and the Navy's shift of 60% percent of naval platforms to the Pacific by 2020. Progress nonetheless has been challenged, most notably during sequester cuts early in 2013. Those cuts affected planned operations and exercises in the region and resulted with some in the U.S. and abroad questioning the sustainability of the Rebalance. These questions have largely been put to rest by the visible action taken to signal commitment to our regional partners of the sustainability of the Rebalance.

Those actions include:

- The rotation of U.S. Marines to Darwin, Australia and the return of 1st and 3rd Marine Expeditionary Forces and the Army's 25th Infantry Division to the Pacific.-

- Arrival of the USS FREEDOM in Singapore as the first of several Littoral Combat Ships to operate there on a rotational basis.
- Deployment of Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) to Guam in response to North Korean provocations.
- Recent deployment of an additional armored cavalry battalion to South Korea on a recurring basis.
- Increased U.S. engagement and presence in support of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN): ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) disaster relief exercise (DIREX) 2013 and ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) multinational humanitarian assistance exercise.
- Increased China engagement, including an invitation to the regional exercise Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) 2014, participation at the ADMM+ humanitarian exercise, and the first ever Chinese participation as an observer during the U.S.-Philippine Balikatan exercise.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Sustaining the rebalance requires continued commitment along four pillars of effort articulated by former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta at the Shangri-la dialogue in July 2012. They are: principles, alliances/partnerships, posture and presence, and power projection. Long-term success in the Rebalance will be contingent on success in each.

PRINCIPLES

The vision for the Asia-Pacific is an open and inclusive one, respecting the rule of law and secure free access to the shared domains of sea, air, space, and cyberspace. Tensions in the East and South China Seas stress the importance of upholding these principles as the U.S. works with regional institutions like ASEAN towards a Code of Conduct.

ALLIANCES AND PARTNERSHIPS

An essential element of the long-term Rebalance vision is ensuring confidence in America as a security partner. This requires advancing U.S. alliances and partnerships for seamless security cooperation. Through regular training exercises with U.S. allies and partners, USPACOM has built trust, assured further cooperation, and enhanced interoperability. Those exercises will continue and must expand as a visible and tangible expression of U.S. efforts to enhance our alliances and remain the security partner of choice.

POSTURE AND PRESENCE

Relationships matter in the Asia-Pacific, and only by being there can the U.S. hope to retain the

trust and confidence of our partners. With a broader, more diverse “footprint” in the region, U.S. forces will be better positioned than ever to provide support to humanitarian, disaster relief, counter-terrorism, and other missions that contribute to the well-being and stability of this crucial region. Key to this is the return of Army and Marine Corps forces to the region from Central Asia and the Middle East, and the forward deployment of 60 percent of Naval forces and Air Force overseas-based forces to the Asia-Pacific by 2020. It is vital that U.S. forces forward be resourced for the highest readiness levels so as to respond and deliver on the above missions.

POWER PROJECTION

The Department of Defense seeks – through concepts, doctrine, and plans – to integrate new technologies with current forces that can ensure freedom of action throughout the region. If the U.S. is to remain a credible security partner in the Asia-Pacific region, it must be able to defeat threats and retain its unique ability to project military power. Over the next five years it is important that USPACOM acquire new stealth F-35 fighter and long-range bomber aircraft, advanced conventionally armed cruise missiles, modern Virginia class nuclear submarines, a new fleet of P-8 anti-submarine patrol aircraft, more capable theater missile defense systems, upgrades to the RADARs and electronic warfare components on our existing fleet of combat aircraft, and enhancements to our cyber defenses.

LOOKING AHEAD

Success in the above four pillars of effort will take years, perhaps a decade, to be fully realized. In that time frame the Rebalance will shift national focus to the Asia-Pacific through budget priorities, force presence, and senior leader engagements. This requires overcoming several challenges but also making long-term investments in the four pillars mentioned – beginning today.

There are four challenges that the Department of Defense must manage in order to execute the Rebalance over the coming years.

- The first challenge is to overcome the institutional inertia that avoids changes to the ‘normal’ processes and priorities.
- The second challenge is to overcome inter-agency rivalry and to foster increased collaboration and pooling of resources and expertise necessitated by shrinking budgets.
- The third challenge is to manage conflicting equities and “turf” between the military Services; this is especially sensitive regarding big ticket budget programs and authorities.
- The fourth challenge, to ensure consistent and appropriate policies and initiatives, will be daunting due to the size and complexity of the Asia-Pacific Theater.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter attempted to address these challenges during his tenure through a specially focused periodic Deputy’s Management Action Group Asia-Pacific (DMAG A/P) with the Services, Joint Staff, and Office of Secretary of Defense leadership. This senior level decision-making body did much to focus leadership and resources on delivering the Rebalance.

Seizing opportunity and maintaining the initiative in the region will require renewed investment in several key areas important to the Rebalance.

- The first of these is to expand resourcing of joint and combined exercises with our regional partners that advance concepts of operations such as Air Sea Battle, Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC), and new Army force employment models³ to the field.
- The second challenge is investment in new capabilities such as autonomous platforms, rail gun, advanced strike capabilities, and enhanced communications so that the joint force can effectively overcome attempts to deny our forces access.
- A third investment requirement, in tandem with these new capabilities and enhanced exercises, is in new planning constructs designed to confound a potential adversary’s own strategic views. Key to this effort will be enhanced and timely inter-agency collaboration in indications and warning and crisis management.
- Lastly, new budget mechanisms should be explored that enhance the regional combatant commander’s ability to resource the Rebalance in a predictable multi-year manner.

An approach similar to that used by Special Operations Command (SOCOM) -- funded through an independent budget line -- could help mitigate the burden the Services currently bear in funding regional combatant commands and enhancing strategic focus. Overall, investment in these four areas would do much to improve combat effectiveness of the joint force in contested spaces, while also enhancing the cost effectiveness of such a force. This is a daunting task.

Overcoming the plethora of challenges and delivering on the recommended investments will require creative thinking and risk taking. At the same time, maintaining the momentum of the Rebalance over the long-term will require agency and senior leadership realization that the stability enjoyed today in the Asia-Pacific is not a given. Growing risks posed by the potential migration of violent extremists groups as the war in Afghanistan winds down, North Korean missile and nuclear developments, and an uncertain Chinese military modernization and expansion program indicate that it is more likely that tension and instability will increase in the Asia-Pacific. Safeguarding against that potential future poses an increasingly tough choice in

The Peru-Chile Maritime Border Decision and Latin America Border Conflicts

BY PAT PATERSON AND RORY FLYNN

DISCLAIMER: THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN THIS ARTICLE ARE OUR OWN AND IN NO WAY REFLECT ANY OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE WILLIAM J. PERRY CENTER FOR HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE STUDIES OR THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

INTRODUCTION

Recent tensions over land and maritime border disputes in Latin America threaten to upset the fragile peace between nations that has characterized the region for years. Enmity over these territorial boundaries has festered since the era of Latin American independence. Some resulted in the mobilization of military forces, a dangerous escalation that can generate combustible relations among countries. So far, none of the recent incidents have resulted in armed conflict. Nonetheless, this is a worrisome trend in a region in which border disputes are responsible for the majority of the conflicts in the last two centuries. Coupled with bellicose language from national leaders, these confrontations could trigger a military response to interstate tensions.

Despite this tense environment, a January 2014 decision by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) managed to resolve one of the longest lingering border disagreements in Latin America. Other disputes are waiting for arbitration. These events show that contemporary Latin American nations are more likely to seek to resolve their issues in international legal institutions rather than resorting to military force. This occurs for two reasons. First, institutions like the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the Organization of American States (OAS) provide an appealing alternative to military force. International bodies like the United Nations (UN) are now widely accepted as legitimate and impartial adjudicators of justice. Second, the use of military force is considered a stigma among Latin American nations. A number of international treaties specifically prohibit the use of force among signatory parties and levy punishment on those nations that break from the accords. In sum, tensions are high in Latin America over smoldering disagreements on international boundaries. For now, international structures - both legal institutions that resolve ongoing disputes and treaties that prevent nations from taking action - have deterred Latin American nations from fighting over territorial border disputes.

HISTORY OF BORDER DISPUTES IN LATIN AMERICA

Since the era of independence in the early 1800s, the most violent conflicts in Latin America occurred over territorial discord in the region. In fact, wars initiated over bor-

der disputes caused more conflicts in Latin America in the 20th Century than any other reason, and caused thirty times as many casualties as all other inter-state conflicts of the same period.

The bloodiest confrontation in Latin American history occurred because of territorial tensions between Paraguay and the combined forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay from 1864-1870. The Paraguayan War – commonly referred to as the War of the Triple Alliance – began over Paraguayan President Solano Lopez’s expansionist policies in the strategically vital Rio de La Plata river basin. The ensuing six-year conflict claimed nearly 400,000 lives among the warring parties. In fact, according to one historical scholar, nearly 60% of the Paraguayan population died during the conflict, making the war the most destructive conflict in modern times.

Another 19th Century conflict during the same period also resulted from territorial aspirations. The Mexican-American War of 1846 broke out as a result of the annexation of Texas, an area claimed by both Mexico and the United States. Dispute over the territory began in the 1820s as Americans settled into the area and Mexico neglected to establish control of its remote and desolate northern territory. Mexican territorial control was reasserted in 1836 when the Mexican Army under General Santa Ana defeated the Texans at the Battle of the Alamo. The debate over sovereign control of the territory lingered until the U.S. Congress recognized Texas as a U.S. state in 1845. Both countries mobilized their military forces to the border and, the following year, a violent confrontation between armed patrols roving through disputed territory along the Nueces River triggered the Mexican-American War. The conflict eventually caused nearly 30,000 casualties between the two armies.

The most violent of the 20th Century Latin American conflicts was the 1932 war fought over the Gran Chaco region that Paraguay and Bolivia claimed as sovereign territory. Claims that the area was rich in petroleum reserves heightened the stakes and enmity between the competing factions. More than 100,000 Bolivians and Paraguayans lost their lives in the ensuing conflict. The border discord was so contentious that it wasn’t officially solved until 2009 when both sides agreed on the demarcation of the international boundary between the two countries.

Another long-term disagreement exists between Guyana and Venezuela. This dispute pertains to a 56,000-square-mile area of land in the Orinoco basin referred to as Guyana Esequiba. As in other regional



modern Guyana.

In 2007, the dispute nearly erupted into military conflict. According to Guyanese officials, Venezuelan military forces crossed the border into Guyana and destroyed two mining dredges. Guyanese military forces responded to the area but Venezuelan forces had already withdrawn, preventing an encounter that may have proven bloody and under similar circumstances as those that ignited the Mexican-American War of 1846.

Map caption: The Guyana-Venezuela border dispute centers around the Essequibo River. The disagreement originates from the era of independence and almost resulted in a confrontation between Venezuelan and Guyanese military forces in 2007. Map compliments of the Library of Congress.

In addition to the Chaco War and the Venezuela-Guyana dispute, Peru and Ecuador fought over the Andean Ridge border on three separate occasions during the century, in 1941, in 1981, and most recently in 1995. Many other potential conflicts were resolved before they resulted in violence. In December 1978, Argentina and Chile seemed to be headed for a military confrontation over strategically located islands in the Beagle Channel that both countries claimed. Only a papal intervention prevented an outbreak of violence.

In sum, contentious and enduring disagreements over national boundaries triggered most military confrontations in Latin America. The following section of the manuscript will examine four of the most volatile border disputes in Latin America. Each has been addressed or is currently submitted to the International Court of Justice. All four represent a threat to the stability of the countries involved and have potential to erupt into a violent conflict that could destabilize what until now has been the most peaceful region of the world.

boundary disagreements, the dispute spawned from the era of independence when disagreements over the borders between Venezuela and the former British Guiana remained unsettled. Venezuela claims all land west of the Essequibo River, an area that covers 5/8 of the territory of



In the remainder of this essay, we examine a number of the current border disputes in Latin America that threaten to generate state-on-state violence. The analysis includes both land disputes as well as conflicts over territorial waters and maritime economic exclusion zones. We explore the historical roots associated with each one. We also appraise the macro-level international structure in Latin America to determine how conflict resolution issues are managed. Finally, we assess the larger political ramifications of the disagreements and attempt to determine why the Latin American countries behave the way they do.

The International Court of Justice judged on the dispute over maritime borders between Peru and Chile in January 2014.

Year	Incident	States Involved	Outcome and Remarks
1902	Acre War	Brazil and Bolivia	Fought over control of rubber plantations in disputed territory in the state of Acre along the Bolivian-Brazilian border. Bolivia eventually ceded the territory to Brazil.
1932	Chaco War	Bolivia and Paraguay	One of the bloodiest wars in South American history. The war offered access to the sea to whichever could control the area near the Paraguay River. However, neither country benefited geographically from the conflict; both countries, the only land-locked nations on the continent, lost territory to neighboring countries.
1932	Leticia Incident	Colombia and Peru	Dispute over the Leticia region in southeastern Colombia.
1941	Ecuadorian-Peruvian War	Ecuador and Peru	Ecuador and Peru went to war over border disputes along the Andean Cordillera. Both sides claimed the other initiated the conflict.
1969	Soccer War	Honduras and El Salvador	Fought over immigration issues.
1981	Paquisha Incident	Ecuador and Peru	The Peruvian Army occupied three Ecuadorian military outposts along the Cordillera del Cóndor.
1982	Falklands War	Argentina and Britain	Argentina invaded the British-controlled Falkland Islands, long considered by Argentines as part of their sovereign territory.
1995	Cenepa War	Ecuador and Peru	War breaks out over the Cordillera del Cóndor near the headwaters of the Cenepa River, a 78-kilometer strip of territory claimed by both countries.

20TH CENTURY INTER-STATE WARS AMONG LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS.

ONLY THE 1969 HONDURAS-EL SALVADOR WAR WAS FOUGHT OVER SOMETHING OTHER THAN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.

PERU-CHILE MARITIME DISPUTE

On January 27, 2014, the International Court of Justice resolved a maritime dispute between Peru and Chile. Peru lost a section of its territory to Chile as a result of the War of the Pacific, a conflict that took the lives of nearly 11,000 Peruvians. After two years of fighting for sea control, Chilean soldiers reached Peru's capital city, Lima, and proceeded to sack and loot the city. Peruvian resistance forces in the Andean Cordillera continued fighting using guerilla warfare tactics for nearly three more years. When both countries finally agreed to truce terms in the 1883 Treaty of Ancón, Peru surrendered the province of Tarapacá and Arica to Chile. The province of Tacna was also under Chilean control until 1929.

The two nations previously tried to resolve the dispute. In 1952, Peru and Chile signed the Treaty of Santiago to divide the sea territory into exclusive fishing zones. However, Peru considered the treaty to be a temporary accord and, in 1986, sent an envoy to Santiago to negotiate a definitive maritime border. However, Chile believed that the 1952 Treaty of Santiago had already established those maritime limits and refused to negotiate further on the issue. Additional attempts to resolve the issue bilaterally were unsuccessful.

On January 16, 2008, Peru introduced the case to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The action proved to be extremely popular move for President Ollanta Humala; presidential approval ratings jumped six percentage points from 44% to 50% following the announcement of the legal actions. Some estimates indicate that an ICJ decision in Peru's favor could generate \$800-\$900 million in local revenues. About two-thirds of Peruvians polled in a recent survey indicate they expected a ruling in Peru's favor. Almost the same number believed that Chile would ignore any ICJ decisions unfavorable to them.

The ICJ decision, expected in mid-2013, was delayed until early 2014. In its decision, the court appeared to try to find a compromise that would appease both countries. The court handed control to Peru of almost 19,000 square miles of ocean. Chile was able to keep control of approximately 6,000 square miles. Peruvian officials celebrated the court ruling, which cannot be appealed. Disappointed Chilean officials warned that it could jeopardize relations between the two countries. Soon after the decision, leaders from both nations met in private and reached an agreement in broad terms on how to implement the court's de-

cision. Peruvian President Humala declared, “Peru and Chile have given an object lesson to the international community in how to confront and overcome their differences in the most constructive way possible, each defending their positions with responsibility, seriousness, and maturity.” In Chile, implementing the court’s decision falls to President Sebastian Piñera’s successor, Michelle Bachelet, the incoming president who assumed office on March 11, 2014.

THE FALKLANDS ISLANDS

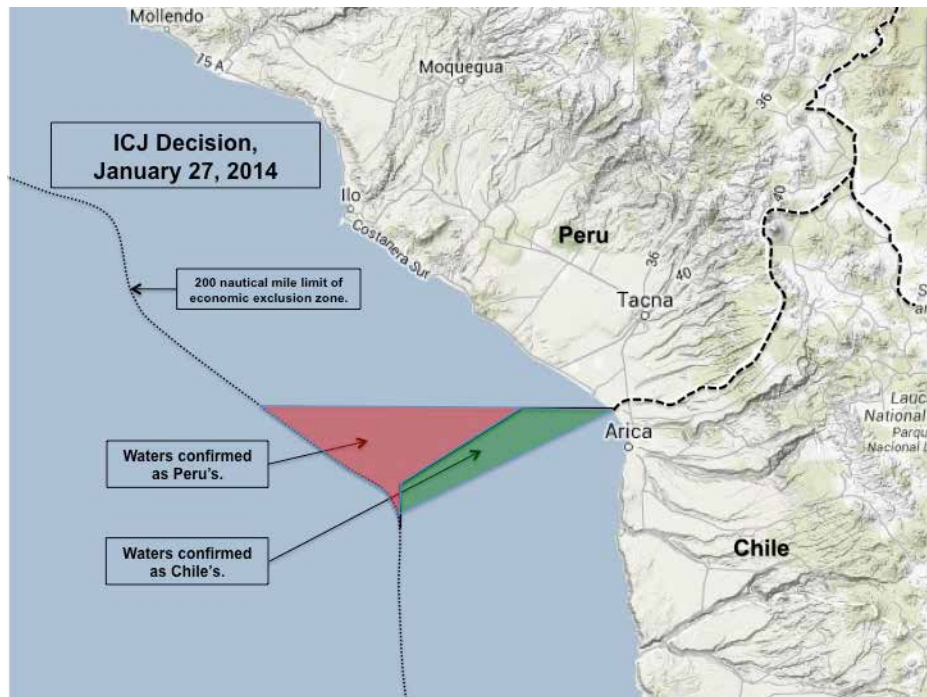
The longest ongoing dispute in Latin America and the only one that involves a nation from outside the region is the quarrel over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic Ocean. The conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina – that calls the islands the Malvinas Islands – dates back to the early 1800s when the British first made a claim over the South Atlantic archipelago because of its strategic value as a naval base. The British have exercised de facto sovereignty over the islands ever since with the exception of a short period of Argentine control during the 1820s and 1830s.

The two sides finally clashed following a 1982 attempt by Argentina to seize the islands. An Argentine task force landed 600 troops on the island, captured the small British contingent of soldiers stationed there, and declared the Malvinas Islands as sovereign ground for Argentina.

A short but violent war ensued. Under great logistical challenges and facing the onset of an inhospitable South Atlantic winter, the British sailed a naval task force almost 8000 miles to the islands to recapture the British territory. For the next 74 days, the two sides engaged in a modern war-at-sea conflict unlike anything seen since the end of World War Two. A British nuclear submarine torpedoed an Argentine cruiser, sinking it and killing over 300 crewmembers. Argentine aircraft sank seven British ships with Exocet missiles or bombs. Aircraft carriers from both sides nearly had a showdown at sea until the Argentine carrier aborted the attack because of inadequate deck winds. British Special Forces sabotaged Argentine aircraft at an airbase on the mainland and then escaped overland into Chile. British soldiers eventually conducted an amphibious assault on the islands, then were forced to march over the rugged island terrain to liberate the capital, Stanley. Nearly 650 Argentines and 250 British died in the conflict.

In 2010, tensions over the long-term dispute flared up again. That year London authorized oil prospecting around the islands. In October, Argentina lodged a formal protest to the United Nations, denouncing a British military build-up and exercises around the islands, calling it a provocative action and adding that the British were “militarizing the South Atlantic.” Britain has a permanent military presence on the islands and maintains a force of 1,076 troops, four Typhoon strike fighters, and four ships in the region.

The confrontation is at risk of spreading beyond the two countries. In December 2011 members of the South



Peru and Chile have had a long dispute over maritime lines of demarcation off their Pacific Coasts.

American economic bloc known as the Common Market of the South (Mercosur) agreed not to permit British naval vessels or ships flying the Falklands flag from entering their ports. These countries – Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile – decided to close their ports to British vessels to demonstrate their solidarity with neighboring Argentina. The following month, HMS Clyde was turned away from Rio de Janeiro. Peru also refused docking authority to British vessels.

In 2012, Venezuela’s Hugo Chavez and other members of the Bolivarian Alliances for the Americas (ALBA) coalition joined the debate. Chavez offered to side with Argentina in the event of a conflict. He announced, “If it occurs to the British Empire to attack Argentina, Argentina won’t be alone this time.” Such solidarity is shared by most South American nations. Ecuadorian President

Rafael Correa called for sanctions against Britain as an additional measure. At the 10th Conference of Defense Ministers of the Americas in Punta Del Este, Uruguay in October 2012, leaders of nearly every South American nation said they “back Argentina’s legitimate claim over the Malvinas, South Georgia and Sandwich islands” and expressed their “concern for the increasing militarization of the South Atlantic and the armed exercises being carried out on the Malvinas Islands.”

For its part, Argentina claims that the Malvinas Islands are occupied national territory. Argentine President Cristina Kirchner said her country was forcibly stripped



Zones of maritime jurisdiction around the Falkland Islands, highlighting area disputed between the U.K and Argentina.

of the Falklands in “a blatant exercise of 19th-century colonialism.” Furthermore Kirchner accused Britain of expelling the Argentines from the islands when it took control in 1833 and beginning a “population implantation process similar to that applied to other territories under colonial rule.”

In response to the bellicose saber rattling by Argentina – including violent protests in which rioters threw Molotov cocktails at the British Embassy in Argentina – Prime Minister David Cameron convened the British National Security Council to examine contingencies for the defense of the island. Britain subsequently ordered one of its modern destroyers, HMS Dauntless, to the islands. As Dauntless sailed for the South Atlantic, Foreign Secretary William Hague added, “We will always be in a position to defend the Falklands if necessary.” When asked if Britain would fight to keep the islands, Prime Minister

David Cameron responded, “Of course we would.” The Prime Minister’s policy reflects public opinion in Britain. A 2012 poll by the Guardian showed that 61 percent of respondents believe Britain should defend the islands “no matter what the cost.”

Despite the national fervor associated with the Falkland Islands, Cameron’s and Hague’s declarations of certainty may not be grounded in the fiscal realities that England currently faces. Admiral Sandy Woodward, the commander of the naval task force that recaptured the islands in 1982, said the recent budget reductions of the British Armed Forces make the islands “perilously close to being indefensible.” He made those remarks during the decommissioning of HMS Ark Royal, the country’s last aircraft carrier, a class of vessel that played a critical role in achieving airspace domination and permitting an amphibious landing during the 1982 conflict. “The simple truth is that without aircraft carriers, we would not have any hope of doing the same again today,” he said. The head of the Royal Marines, who led the amphibious assault on the islands in 1982, shares Woodward’s bleak assessment. Retired Major General Julian Thompson stated that Britain would be unable to recapture the islands again without the Royal Navy carriers to provide critical air support.

For now, Argentina does not appear to have any intention of retaking the islands in a military operation. Instead, the South American nation is relying on diplomatic and economic pressure to bring Britain to the negotiating table over the sovereignty of the islands. Argentina even leveraged the new Pontiff in its diplomatic effort to reacquire the islands. Pope Francis, who hails from Argentina stated the territory had been “usurped” and was “ours” [Argentina’s].

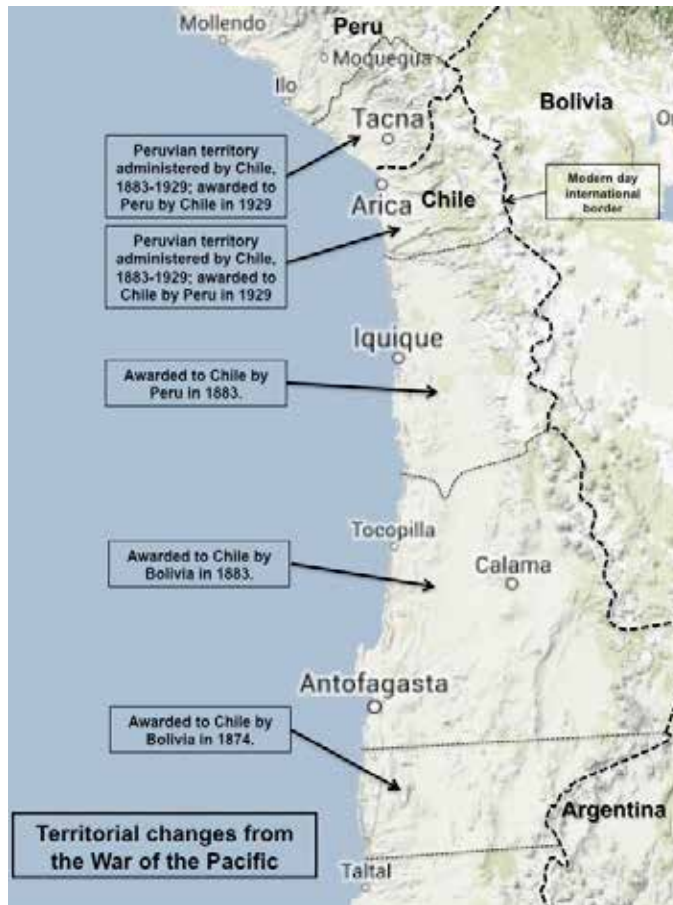
The dangerous rhetoric and militarization of the island dispute drew attention from UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. The UN leader appealed to both sides to avoid an escalation of the situation and to try to reach a diplomatic accord over the disputed territory. However, numerous previous attempts by international courts have failed to resolve the sovereignty issue. The case was heard in the International Court of Justice three times: 1947, 1948, and 1955. The ICJ denied Argentina sovereignty all three times. In 1964, the UN passed a resolution calling on the two nations to find a peaceful resolution to the problem. A series of talks took place over the next 17 years, none of which was able to satisfy Argentina.

Almost as old as the Malvinas dispute, Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean has been a territorial issue among the Andean Ridge nations of South America since the middle of the 19th Century. Like the Malvinas conflict, the border along the Atacama Desert between Chile and Bolivia was never clearly established during the period of Latin American independence. The issue became economically important when nitrates and minerals were discovered there in the middle of the 1800s. Control of the lucrative products from the region (important for the booming fertilizer and explosives industry of the period) proved a catalyst for another violent episode in Latin American history. The 1879-1883 War of the Pacific took the lives of over 13,000 Chileans, Peruvians, and Bolivians. The subsequent truce in October 1883 and the 1904 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Chile and Bolivia deprived the latter nation of 250 miles of Pacific coastline.

Chile considers the territory ceded by Bolivia and Peru in the war as the spoils of victory. President Sebastian Piñera considers the 1904 Treaty to be a binding agreement on the borders between the two countries. "No one in the world will accept that a country unilaterally dismisses a treaty which is in full force," Piñera stated in 2013. The territory Bolivia lost is the site of some of the world's largest copper deposits, many operated by the Chilean state-owned National Cooper Corporation (CODELCO in Spanish), and is an important source of revenue for the country. At the same time, Chile recognizes Bolivia's desire for access to the coast. As part of the 1904 Treaty, Chile agreed to permit Bolivia unrestricted transport of its commercial goods to the sea via road and rail, an arrangement that remains in

place today.

Bolivia's landlocked status has frequently created groundswells of national irredentism. In 1978, it resulted in a break in diplomatic relations with Chile. Popular sentiment rose on the 100-year anniversary of the 1904 treaty and the issue has been a lightning rod for President Evo Morales, elected in 2006. In October 2012, Morales raised tensions between the two nations when he called Chile a threat to Bolivia. Relations further deteriorated later that month when Santiago Chile mayoral candidate Waldo Mora stated, "The only reason Bolivia wants a sovereign outlet to the sea is to ship drugs." The remark was widely excoriated by the Bolivian press. Morales subsequently refused Chile's offer for bilateral negotiations stating such talks would be a "waste of time." In April 2013, Morales filed a suit at the International Court of Justice to reclaim access to the Pacific Ocean.



Results of the territorial changes from the War of the Pacific including subsequent treaties. Map information drawn from U.S. Library of Congress Country Studies.

THE SAN ANDRES – PROVIDENCIA ARCHIPELAGO

While Peru and Chile waited for the ICJ judgment on their maritime borders, another recent ICJ decision had significant consequences further north. In a November 2012 decision, the International Court of Justice declared that the waters surrounding the San Andres and Providencia Islands, a cluster of small islands off the Central American

coast, belonged to Nicaragua rather than Colombia. The Court decision left the islands under Colombian control but drew a demarcation line in favor of Nicaragua in the nearby waters.

The islands in question lie 125 miles off the eastern Nicaraguan coast but almost 450 miles north of Colombia. The court said the territorial waters extending out from the seven islets should not cut into Nicaragua's continental shelf. The decision by the 15-judge panel greatly expanded Nicaragua's economic exclusion zone (EEZ) by granting it a large horseshoe-shaped area of the sea and seabed stretching from its mainland coast around the Colombian islands. The decision, which has substantial prospects for offshore oil, gas deposits, and lucrative

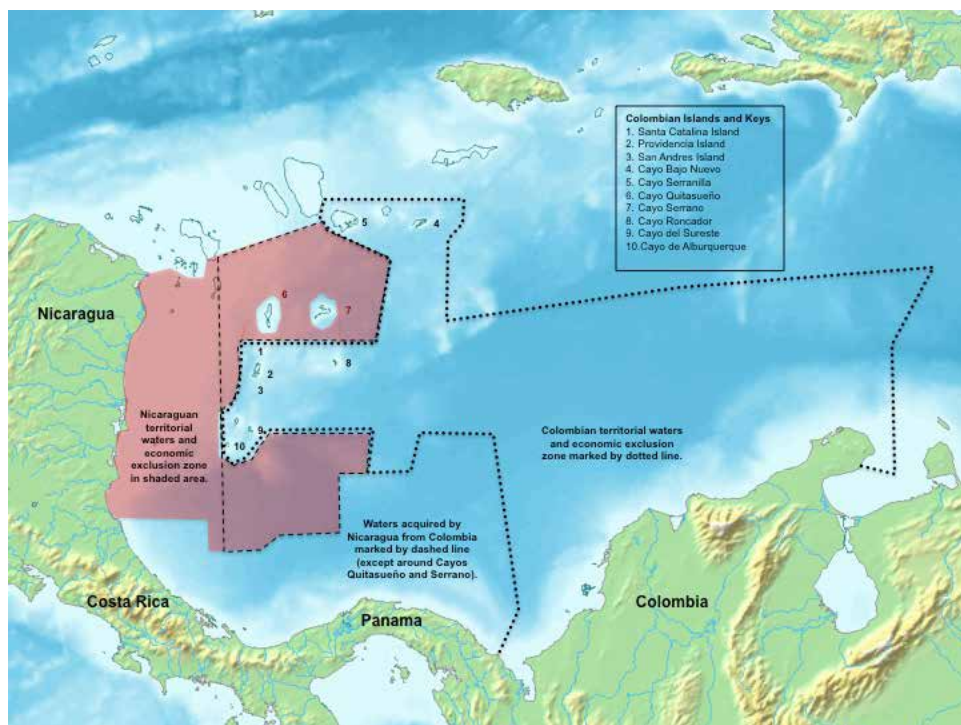
fishing grounds, reduced the expanse of ocean controlled by Colombia. Colombia maintained control of the territorial waters and seabed immediately surrounding its islands and cays but the court decision jeopardized the livelihoods of thousands of Colombian fisherman who live on the islands and rely on fishing as their primary source of income.

The dispute over the islands has long created a volatile atmosphere between the two nations. The month be-

ters harassed them in the waters awarded to Nicaragua. In response, Nicaragua deployed Coast Guard ships to the waters to protect its fishing interests. In an indication of a potentially explosive confrontation, Colombian announced it would maintain sea and air patrols of the region despite the ICJ decision. One Colombian Navy commander said he received instructions from the government to “maintain the sovereignty of Colombia’s maritime jurisdiction as it has historically been known.” In a

survey that shows the level of resistance in Colombia to the court decision, 85% percent of Colombians believe their government should ignore the ruling even if means war with Nicaragua.

Faced with few alternatives – the court decision is considered binding and not subject to appeal – Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos announced Colombia would remove itself from the 1948 Bogota Pact which recognizes the court’s jurisdiction to resolve international disputes. The decision to quit the international treaty does not provide Colombia any new options with regard to the decision about the islands. The country had agreed to abide by the court’s arbitration before the decision was made.



A November 2012 decision by the International Court of Justice awarded a sizable portion of Colombian waters to Nicaragua.

fore the court decision, Nicaragua provocatively ordered one of its research vessels, the Mede-Pesca III, into the disputed zone. The captain of the ship said he received, “clear instructions from the government of Nicaragua to continue his navigation.” In an incident with potentially violent consequences, Colombian warships and a C-130 Hercules aircraft allegedly harassed the vessel to prevent it from conducting research in Colombian-claimed waters. In turn, Nicaragua complained that Colombia assumed a “hostile posture” toward its civilian research ship.

Both President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua and President Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia said they hoped to avoid war over the contentious decision. Despite that, the situation immediately grew testy in the disputed waters following the ICJ decision. Nicaraguan fishermen claimed that Colombian military warships and helicop-

ANALYSIS

There are a number of important takeaways from the contemporary territorial disputes in Latin America. First, all the inter-state wars in the 20th century involved territorial disagreements, with

the exception of the 1969 Honduras-El Salvador Soccer War. Latin America is not unique in this regard. According to Vasquez and Henahan, territorial disputes are a common underlying cause of interstate wars. Studies of modern wars indicate that issues related to territory complicated over half of all conflicts.

Second, poorly demarcated international boundaries following the era of Latin American independence compounded all the border conflicts of the 20th Century. The Center of Systemic Peace indicates that nearly all of the armed conflicts that occurred across the globe that occurred in the 1990s and 2000s involved an escalation in a long-standing dispute rather than an outbreak of a new conflict. Moreover, such territorial disputes frequently endured for long periods because they involved profitable natural resources. Other scholarly studies support the fact that border disputes are recidivist. In a 1994

study, Paul Hensel determined that militarized confrontation followed over 85% of interstate disputes in Latin America. In other words, the majority of all armed conflicts do not successfully alleviate the tensions between the participants. Furthermore, territorial disputes were more likely to generate greater resentment, produce more hostility, and prove more intractable than any other type of dispute.

Third, since the conclusion of the 1995 Cenepa War, nearly every nation involved in a contemporary border dispute has sought arbitration from an international legal institution rather than resorting to unilateral action. Despite often-inflammatory rhetoric and some limited military mobilization, no country has resorted to military force. This is remarkable in a region historically dominated by war-prone military regimes. In the past, even mobilization of forces by a potential opponent was enough to trigger a spiraling escalation of force. As Robert Jervis noted in his classic *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, military buildups by adversaries are often misconstrued by their opponents as not only a potential threat but also preparation for hostile action.

Last, the actions of the Latin American nations demonstrate a due regard for an international system that is contrary to the fundamental tenets of realism. Classical realism, frequently rejected by political scholars because of its lack of explanatory power, proposes that the international system is anarchic. That is, no international community or government dictates actions of sovereign nations. Rather, states – unitary, rational actors, according to classical realists – tend to pursue goals that satisfy their own interests. Foremost among those interests are to attain as much territory – especially resource-rich territory – as possible. Consequently, military power is considered critical to project power. At the same time, according to realist doctrine, international bodies such as collective government institutions and non-governmental organizations have little influence on sovereign behavior.

However, in the case of the contemporary Latin American border disputes, no nations have resorted to military power when at variance with another country. Instead, the accepted custom has evolved to include international arbitration from a collective body, an action that realists have long dismissed as inadequate. This represents a structural change in the international system, one that constrains the ability of sovereign nations to act unilaterally. The international system is now characterized by the opposite of what classical realists called structural anarchy – the lack of a powerful world governing body to punish perpetrators and maintain international order. Just the opposite, international norms and treaty obligations strongly influence nations' actions. In sum, Latin American countries acceptance of international legal institutions like the ICJ as legitimate represents a tectonic shift in sovereign relations, one that discourages military confrontation and instead accepts international arbitra-

tion to resolve disputes. Even when a nation is ordered to surrender its territory – normally an unthinkable concept for a realist sovereign entity – not one resorted to force to preserve its territory.

Certainly it is true that military power remains a powerful deterrent. In two of the four case studies in this essay – the Bolivia-Chile feud over Bolivia's access to the sea and the Nicaragua-Colombia dispute over the Caribbean islands – one of the participants has a decisive military advantage over the other. In the other cases – Peru and Chile, for example – the military capabilities of the participants are relatively equal. Even with a rapidly shifting situation in the South Atlantic (Britain's diminishing ability to project power at long distances), no nation has resorted to military action. Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, an accomplished military leader with decades of combat experience, said, "We are totally discarding the use of force," and that he hoped to avoid a military confrontation with Colombia and instead to rely on diplomacy to solve the territorial dispute.

If the classical realist theory that militarily advantageous nations use their power to protect their own interests, Colombia would have rejected the ICJ decision on the waters surrounding the San Andres-Providencia archipelago and maintained control of their economic exclusion zone, something they could easily have done with the Colombian Navy's substantial advantage over that of the Nicaraguan Navy.

CONCLUSION

The recent escalation of border disputes represents the most significant risk of breaking the decades-long peace among nations in Latin America. Furthermore, the historical trends in the region – territorial disagreements caused nearly all recent conflicts – indicate that such discord could be a catalyst for armed conflict. The recent ICJ decision on the Peru-Chile maritime dispute reflects a new direction of international relations. In the other case studies examined in this essay, Latin American nations seem to accept arbitration by international legal institutions such as the International Court of Justice in place of unilateral action. For now, regional state actors choose to use international structures that promote peace rather than resorting to previous inclinations of aggression and conflict.

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Formalizing Security Cooperation with Partner Nations across Combatant Commands

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The Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff view security cooperation as a critical enabler for future global operations. Security cooperation is a Department of Defense (DoD) instrument to advise, train and equip a partner nation to build their defense capacity and provide security for their populations and territories.¹ This DoD instrument, defined across U.S. strategic and operational documents, such as the National Military Strategy (NMS), the Guidance for Employment of the Force (GEF) and the Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan (JSCP), helps to develop relationships and build trust with U.S. partner nations, while establishing or augmenting their security foundation. Although strategic guidance validates the need for global synchronization, the fact is that we lack the processes to operationalize the strategic guidance to conduct security cooperation globally in new areas and across Combatant Commands boundaries with third nations' resource providers.

The current construct, in the void of formal mechanisms, is informal and driven by personal connections. A formal doctrinal process is necessary to enable combatant command staffs to consistently cross the seams of their regional boundaries and to delineate authorities, processes, programs, and organizational relationships. This process would improve the integration of partner nation resource providers into our security cooperation planning activities, which in turn, would better support the Theater Campaign Plan of each combatant command during peacetime (steady-state) as well as future global operations. U.S. security cooperation with Brazil in Africa will be used as a case study to demonstrate the requirement for formal mechanisms and then to derive recommendations to institute formal processes that will enable combatant command staffs to cooperate across their seam boundaries on a regular basis without depending solely on personal relationships.

STRATEGIC GUIDANCE FOR U.S.-BRAZIL SECURITY COOPERATION IN AFRICA

Before delving into the details of the U.S.-Brazil case study regarding Africa, it is important to understand the strategic guidance in place for both Brazil and the U.S. Brazil has strong ties with Africa culturally, linguistically, geographically, economically and more recently, in security and politics. Brazil's National Defense Strategy provides the strategic guidance for the Brazilian Military to prioritize the South Atlantic region in its defense posture, especially the West Coast of Africa.² Brazil seeks to build a cooperative environment in the South Atlantic all the way to Africa specifically by leveraging several military agreements to conduct its own security cooperation activities with West African countries, like Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Namibia and São Tomé and Príncipe.³ Brazil has also taken a leadership role in defense matters within the Community of Lusophone (Portuguese) Speaking Countries (CPLP). Without any U.S. involvement, the Brazilian Navy hosted a conference at their War College for CPLP nations in 2012 in Rio de Janeiro to discuss maritime defense issues.⁴ The Brazilian Ministry of Defense also hosted a maritime security conference in 2013 for South American and African nations bordering the South Atlantic.⁵ Although the U.S. is not part of several of Brazil's multilateral initiatives in the South Atlantic, that does not preclude the U.S. from cooperating with Brazilian defense efforts bilaterally and multilaterally so that we are complementary to each nation's resource management.

At the strategic level, the Brazilian and U.S. governments have already agreed to cooperate in Africa. In 2012, Brazilian Defense Minister Celso Amorim and U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta provided strategic direction through the newly created bilateral Defense Cooperation Dialogue (DCD) in which they agreed to have our militaries cooperate in support of African nations.⁶ It makes sense that the two largest democratic nations in the hemisphere with common African security interests would work together more efficiently to help African nations find African solutions to African problems. The 2011 National Military Strategy (NMS) defines the strategic requirement and vision for global security cooperation. The NMS supports the Secretary of Defense's decision to cooperate with Brazil in Africa. The NMS

states that U.S. interests are deeply intertwined with the security and stability of the broader international system, a system of alliances, partnerships, and multi-national institutions.⁷

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's Global Integrated Operations (GIO)⁸ concept is also consistent with the Secretary of Defense's guidance to cooperate with Brazil across U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM) and U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) boundaries.⁹ The Chairman forecasts in the GIO concept that our security challenges will become increasingly transnational.¹⁰ With limited resources, we will need to leverage partner nation resources, like those of Brazil, to help shape the operational environment during peacetime. The Chairman's direction as articulated within the "Capstone Concepts for Joint Operations: Joint Forces 2020" validates the requirement of more extensive global security cooperation for the future.

THEATER CAMPAIGN PLANS

To better understand the security cooperation case study with Brazil, it is also important to understand how combatant commanders, who work directly for the Secretary of Defense, take the strategic guidance he provides and operationalize it for their assigned region or theater using Theater Campaign Plans. The challenge for the USSOUTHCOM and USAFRICOM combatant commanders in the case study is taking the strategic guidance to cooperate with Brazil in Africa and operationalizing it into concrete security cooperation, because each combatant command is regionally and not globally focused. Combatant commanders communicate regularly amongst themselves, but their staffs may not without a formal process in place. It is important to highlight that combatant commands do not have the authority to conduct security cooperation efforts in a neighboring combatant command's theater without prior permission from the neighboring combatant command. This artificial boundary limitation directly affects the strategic guidance requiring combatant commands to work security cooperation globally. Brazil geographically lies within the USSOUTHCOM boundaries, yet funds its own security cooperation activities without any U.S. involvement in the USAFRICOM geographic region. When there is a dispute across boundaries in Theater Campaign Plans, the Joint Staff is the authority for resolution, per Title 10 U.S. Code.

Currently, security cooperation across combatant commands is personality-driven, limited by the time and resources one combatant command and its subordinate component commands can devote to support the writing and execution of another combatant command's Theater Campaign Plan. Although the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may promulgate strategic guidance that is global in nature, the combatant commands are sometimes hamstrung in operationalizing some of that guidance across theater boundaries in the

planning phase if their staffs do not have regular communication.

CASE STUDY:

U.S.-Brazil Security Cooperation in Africa
Security cooperation with Brazil outside the USSOUTHCOM theater is a relatively new concept for both USSOUTHCOM and USAFRICOM. It is therefore understandable that formal processes might not yet be in place to cooperate between combatant command staffs to facilitate an increase in security cooperation with Brazil in Africa. Brazil's recent growth in economic, political and military stature has enabled Brazil's policy makers to increase their military's global footprint.

In 2010, the U.S. Navy South staff (a component command of USSOUTHCOM) invited the U.S. Navy Africa staff (a component command of USAFRICOM) to provide the Brazilian Navy with a comprehensive brief of U.S. maritime security cooperation activities in Africa. The intent was to provide transparency to see where the U.S. and Brazil could combine or de-conflict efforts considering each nation's limited resources. The U.S. Navy South's staff members, who realized the need to work collectively with Brazil, drove the initiative. Although security cooperation with Brazil in Africa was not a priority for USSOUTHCOM's Theater Campaign Planners (since they were focused on the Western Hemisphere and not Africa), U.S. Navy South recognized that they needed to initiate a security cooperation discussion with Brazil based on Brazil's growing political, economic and security interests in the Gulf of Guinea. USAFRICOM's interests in Africa and strategic guidance from each government also compelled U.S. Navy South and U.S. Navy Africa to initiate the discussion with Brazil. Nothing immediate came from the initial brief, but it was the genesis for developing U.S.-Brazil maritime security cooperation in support of the Gulf of Guinea nations. It was an initial formation of potential future opportunities driven by the staff and leadership of one combatant command and received well both by Brazil and the staff and leadership of the other combatant command. However, without any formal planning mechanism in place, these efforts became stagnant and ultimately expired.

The informal process was kick-started again in 2011. While the Brazilian Navy operationalized their strategic guidance and pursued maritime security cooperation with the U.S. and African nations in the Gulf of Guinea, the U.S. Embassy personnel in Brazil (working directly for the USSOUTHCOM commander) took the initiative to contact the U.S. Navy Africa staff to ask if Nigeria could extend an invitation for the Brazilian Navy to observe an exercise that Nigeria was hosting in the Gulf of Guinea. The effort worked and Brazil sent two officers to Calabar, Nigeria to observe exercise OBANGAME EXPRESS in the Gulf of Guinea in February 2012.¹¹ As a result of this interest and participation, the same USSOUTHCOM

personnel working in the U.S. Embassy in Brazil contacted U.S. Navy Africa again to see if they could facilitate future invitations for the Brazilian Navy to participate in more maritime exercises around Africa.

With the Gulf of Guinea as a geographical parameter, the U.S. Navy Africa staff helped facilitate additional invitations for the Brazilian Navy to participate in the planning conferences and exercises in the Gulf of Guinea. Cameroon sent an invitation to Brazil to participate in OBANGAME EXPRESS 2013. Brazil accepted the invitation and sent a five person mobile training team (MTT) to embark on a Belgian ship to train African partner nations during the exercise; it was a show of true multinational cooperation in helping Africa find African solutions to African problems. But this security cooperation was not part of a formal planning process led by USSOUTHCOM or USAFRICOM as part of their Theater Campaign Strategy. There was also no role for the Joint Staff to execute its Title 10 authority to resolve any type of dispute across combatant commands, because the issue at hand was a planning issue and not an actual dispute.

The U.S. and Brazilian Navies' maritime security cooperation in the Gulf of Guinea is just the tip of the iceberg in (informally) operationalizing the strategic guidance our civilian defense leaders put forth. In accordance with its strategy, Brazil has been searching for more cooperation across other combatant commands, in the past few years. Brazil has been interested in better understanding multinational counter-piracy structure and doctrine, observing the international counter-piracy efforts off the coast of Somalia. As a result, Brazil sent observers to the U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM) theater to embark on U.S. and Combined Maritime Force (CMF) coalition ships to observe counter-piracy operations and staff planning.¹² In 2014, Brazil also observed U.S. Pacific Command's (PACOM) exercise RIM OF THE PACIFIC (RIMPAC) for the first time ever. In both cases, the bulk of the coordination was done by the U.S. Embassy in Brazil and component command staffs to facilitate Brazil increasing their security cooperation across our artificial boundary lines.

To further understand the need for planning across combatant commands with Brazil, it's essential to understand USSOUTHCOM's steady-state priorities. USSOUTHCOM is inherently focused on countering transnational criminal organizations within the region, specifically along the Southern approaches into the U.S.¹³ Although USSOUTHCOM's Joint Interagency Task Force (JIATF-S) in Key West, Florida is focused on countering the threat from illicit trafficking into the U.S., there is no formal planning process (like the Theater Campaign Plan) yet for delineating how we will share illicit maritime trafficking information with Brazil seamlessly across the combatant command boundaries

with USAFRICOM, USEUCOM, and USCENTCOM. In other words, USSOUTHCOM should consider devoting resources to more cooperation with other combatant commands because the return on the investment is higher for everyone involved in comparison to applying a theater-specific solution to a trans-regional problem.

RECOMMENDATIONS DERIVED FROM THE CASE STUDY WITH BRAZIL

The global stage has changed significantly within the past ten years and we need to adjust joint doctrine and processes accordingly. The U.S. Embassy in Brazil and component commands can continue facilitating security cooperation across combatant command boundaries on an ad hoc basis, with the authorization of the USSOUTHCOM Commander, USAFRICOM Commander, and U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, but that coordination and cooperation is still informal and personality-driven. In a time of critical budget cuts, we need to establish the processes that will leverage greater partner nation participation in security cooperation both within and across combatant command boundaries where those partner nations have common interests with us.

There are several recommended approaches for near-term improvement, but they are not to be confused with a requirement for long-term solutions engrained in formal processes for global security cooperation. The proposed recommendations for the short term are mere gap fillers to bridge the divide until legislative authorities and/or military directives can be updated and enter into force. The best long-term solution might be changing the Unified Command Plan (UCP). The near and long-term recommendations below are reflective of the case study with Brazil, yet are examples of actions that can be implemented in any combatant command. In some cases, these recommendations may already be in effect, driven by the astuteness of staff members and combatant commanders who recognized the need for temporary solutions across the seams, such as the close cooperation that has evolved between USSOUTHCOM and U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM) in response to the growth in transnational organized crime across theaters.

1. CONTINUE STRATEGIC DIALOGUE AND GUIDANCE.

The Secretary of Defense and Joint Staff should continue strategic dialogues with partner nation providers to discuss new opportunities for global security cooperation. Citing the case study as an example, the U.S. should continue talks with Brazil at the strategic level to cooperate in support of Africa during the Defense Cooperation Dialogue (between Defense Ministers) and the annual Joint Staff Talks with the understanding that a formal planning process is still required for combatant commanders to operationalize the strategic guidance across their boundaries.

2. CONTINUE AD HOC COOPERATION.

Until formal processes are in place, component commands and U.S. Embassies should be encouraged to continue the informal, personality-driven cooperation across boundaries already started, such as maritime security cooperation with Brazil in the Gulf of Guinea. These service-level initiatives can be the foundation for greater joint and combined cooperation in Africa.

3. LEVERAGE ANNUAL TALKS.

Component commands should invite the staffs of their neighboring component commands (or even combatant commands if deemed appropriate) to annual operational staff talks. The case study demonstrated how this is already informally happening between U.S. Navy South and U.S. Navy Africa, since 2010. The Army, Air Force and Marine Corps could benefit from this recommendation in the near-term to open doors for cooperation with Brazil in Africa.

4. SEND LIAISON OFFICERS.

The combatant commands that host partner nation providers coming from another theater, such as USAFRICOM in the Brazil case study, should strengthen their near-term cooperation by sending a liaison officer to the neighboring combatant command. The liaison officer could be placed at the neighboring command either periodically (e.g., during the planning phase for the Theater Campaign Plan) or permanently, like the existing arrangement between USSOUTHCOM and USNORTHCOM. As we've learned with the Brazil case study, new initiatives require close dialogue in the incipient stages to be able to operationalize strategic guidance.

5. RECEIVE LIAISON OFFICERS.

The same combatant command (hosting a partner nation provider from another theater) should also consider inviting the partner nation to periodically send a liaison officer to their command. In Brazil's case, USAFRICOM and its component commands should invite Brazil to send an officer to their headquarters periodically, especially during the planning phases for security cooperation and during the writing of the Theater Campaign Plan. USNORTHCOM collaborates with the Mexican military during the writing of their TCP, so there is precedence. U.S. Navy Africa has already invited the Brazilian Navy to spend additional time at their headquarters during the planning conferences for exercise OBANGAME EXPRESS. We can be either synergistic in our security cooperation or at least de-conflict our individual efforts in Africa, but we at least need to be talking regularly about each country's initiatives there.

6. USE NEW TECHNOLOGY.

The combatant command staffs should leverage new technology to cooperate across theaters. A new program

called Global Theater Security Cooperation Management Information System (G-TSCMIS) came online in March 2013.¹⁴ "With this "global view" the security cooperation community will have for the first time, a comprehensive view of steady-state activities conducted by all Department of Defense (DoD) components."¹⁵ Although tracking security cooperation with a partner nation provider is different from planning security cooperation with them, the program could give staff planners' ideas for how to expand cooperation across theaters. Periodic video teleconferences between combatant command staffs could also facilitate more security cooperation across theaters.

7. ADJUST THE UNIFIED COMMAND PLAN (UCP).

The UCP, signed by the President of the United States, already provides flexibility for planning across the confines of combatant command borders. Past UCPs were adjusted to create functional commands, such as U.S. Special Operations Command, that operationalize strategic guidance to globally support all combatant commands. If the UCP were adjusted to ensure there is a formal process to plan security cooperation globally with third nation resource providers, we would truly leverage our limited resources and implement cooperation.

CONCLUSION

Brazil is an example of one country conducting security cooperation without U.S. involvement and across combatant command boundaries. The Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff advocate for greater innovation, agility and partnering in addressing future challenges to our nation. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff highlights that with limited resources, we need to leverage the security that our partner nations can provide for future GIO. For example, the new economic community called the "Pacific Alliance" consisting of Chile, Peru, Mexico, and Colombia also has growing security interests with its economic partners located in the USPACOM theater. These countries have the potential to be future partner nation providers in the USPACOM theater, although they are currently artificially bound to planning U.S. security cooperation activities primarily within the USSOUTHCOM theater due to the lack of formal mechanisms in place for planning security cooperation across combatant commands. The Secretary of Defense wrote in 2012 how the Western Hemisphere is undergoing a remarkable transformation and that there is an imperative to developing partnerships to enable these partner nations to provide security and stability beyond their borders.¹⁶ Current political and military global developments and U.S. strategic guidance demonstrate that the urgency exists for formalizing security cooperation with partner nations across combatant commands during peacetime (steady-state) to better support each combatant command's Theater Campaign Plan. The question is

not whether to formalize security cooperation across combatant commands boundaries but rather how quickly can those changes be implemented?

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light of compelling and competing requirements in the Middle East and elsewhere. As the wars of the past decade are coming to a close, defense budgets have shrunk. However, unlike at the end of the Cold War there will be no peace dividend. In the face of diminishing U.S. regional military predominance relative emerging powers, our forces must retain the ability to contain a host of crises and dangerous North Korean provocations. The harmful effect of mandated across-the-board sequestration cuts are not helpful in managing this strategic transition. Future cuts in defense funding must consider the strategic environment the nation confronts, and not be based on satisfying a mathematical formula for budget reduction. The wars following the attacks of September 11th have shaped the military we have today. However, potential competitors have not stood still. They have studied our way of war, and have grown their capac-

ity and advanced key capabilities to challenge us. The post- 9/11 era in the Asia-Pacific will be characterized in part by the uncertain trajectory of emerging powers. The Rebalance attempts both to manage these risks as well as to seek opportunity to build on a decades long legacy of providing stability and bolstering U.S. partners' capacity as together we shoulder the burden of ensuring a peaceful world.

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[U.S. National Security Strategy, 2010]. In contrast, Denmark's strategy states that UN, NATO and EU cooperation is the foundation for Danish security and defense policy, and it makes no mention whatsoever of unilateral engagement [Danmark Regeringsgrundlag, Oct 2011, author's translation]. Needless to say, there are many reasons for the difference in strategic approach, not least military strength and capability.

However, one can see a similar phenomenon in other European countries when compared to the U.S.: That the smaller lands are more dependent on coalition with other lands for defense and strategic engagement has influenced the public worldview notion that coalition sanction is necessary and appropriate for legitimacy as well as effect. In contrast, the U.S. public's worldview of engagement is shaped in part by the capability of the U.S. to engage either unilaterally or in coalition, therefore making international sanction less important in the eyes of the American public. And, as the governments in question are mostly made up of popularly elected officials, it is no surprise that one sees congruency between worldview values between individual and government strategy. In any form of international engagement, it is important to understand the unique worldview-shaping factors of a given international context if one seeks mutual understanding and effective engagement. Needless to say, each individual is different and it would be unwise to automatically assume a complete set of worldview paradigms in a given context, but being aware of national worldview shaping influences may help the American statesman to be more discerning, more articulate, and ultimately more effective in international engagement.

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