Project 70

EVALUATING U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Office of Assistance Coordination

IUPUI
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS
What is Security Cooperation?

A variety of interactions undertaken by DoD to encourage partnerships between the United States and other nations to achieve strategic objectives and prevent conflicts.

Since 9/11, Title 10 of the United States Code has given DoD increasing authority to conduct a wide variety of Security Cooperation programs.

Today, the U.S. maintains Security Cooperation relationships with 148 partner nations.

Goals of Security Cooperation include but are not limited to:

- Building defense and security relationships that promote U.S. security interests
- Developing allied and friendly military capabilities for self defense and multinational operations
- Provide U.S. forces with peacetime and contingency access to host nations
What is Security Cooperation?

Goals translated into interactions with partner nations such as:
- combined exercises
- military education and training exchanges
- arms sales
- appointment of attaches and liaison officers
- flyover privileges
- base agreements
- visits of senior defense officials
- counter-proliferation programs
What is Security Assistance?

A set of Security Cooperation programs which, by law, facilitate the transfer of arms and military services to friendly foreign governments.

Goals of Security Assistance include but are not limited to:

- Ensuring U.S. military forces have long-term technological superiority over potential adversaries at lower costs
- Helping allies deter or defend themselves against aggression by building sustainable capacity
- Promoting regional stability in areas critical to U.S. interests
- Preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and their missile delivery systems
- Promoting peaceful conflict resolution, arms control, human rights, and good governance
INTRODUCTION
SECURITY ASSISTANCE

• What Types of Security Assistance Were Analyzed?
  • Types of Security Assistance programs include but are not limited to:
    • Title 22
      • Foreign Military Financing (FMF)
      • Foreign Military Sales (FMS)
      • Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR)
      • International Military Education and Training (IMET)
    • Title 10
      • 1206 - DoD Equipping and Training Foreign Military Forces for Counterterrorism and Stabilizing
The authors of this report have assessed the following hypothesis for Project 70:

- The amount of security assistance from the U.S. Government to a recipient country is directly proportional to the level of security cooperation between that recipient country and the U.S. Government, other than those listed as “high income” by the World Bank.
Shiites believe that leadership of the faith should stay within the family of the Prophet. This is a more conservative view. The Shiites are a minority making up 15 percent of the Muslim population.

Sunnis believe that leadership should fall to the person who is deemed most appropriate by the elite of the community. In all, 85% of the Islamic world is Sunni.

War erupted when Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib became fourth caliph, and he too was killed in fighting in the year 661 AD near the town of Kafka, now in present-day Iraq.

War has been a fairly consistent and bitter dark cloud for Islam ever since.

Grand Dichotomy: Most of our allies are Sunni; and so are most of our enemies.
The war in Syria is the war which has run out of adjectives describing human suffering and along with ISIS and the fragmenting of Syria, dominates the news, thoughts and concerns of the world.

These recent events in the Middle East continue to reinforce the global consensus of just how fragile the security situation in that part of the world continues to be.

More importantly, it shows us at a transition point where precise regional engagement is especially crucial in order to guarantee that the United States’ security and policy goals in the region are met.
IRAN - CONCERN THREE

- Iranian influence and intrigue can be seen regularly creeping into Bahrain; nurturing problems for Israel particularly in the Gaza Strip; promoting instability in Lebanon through Hezbollah; supporting the Houthi in Yemen and with ISIS already there, both create problems for Saudi Arabia via the Wahhabis.

- The Iranian Republican Guard Corps and Hezbollah are actively fighting in Iraq and Syria.

- Should Iran develop nuclear weapons Saudi Arabia most likely will get theirs from Pakistan.

- Our world could be slowly destabilizing.
The authors have examined relevant relationships with the following partner nations:

Bahrain
Lebanon
Oman
Jordan
Morocco
Most U.S. military assistance to Bahrain is given in the form of Foreign Military Financing (FMF).

Approximately 85% of Bahrain’s military equipment is of U.S. Origin.

Since 9/11, the U.S. has provided Bahrain with at least:
- Several hundred “Javelin” anti-armor missiles
- 9 UH-60M Blackhawk helicopters
- 6 Bell search and recovery helicopters
- 44 Humvee armored vehicles
- Several hundred TOW missiles, including 50 “bunker busters”
- Small funds for International Military Education and Training (IMET)
Security Assistance to Bahrain
(in millions)

- IMET: $8.11
- FMF: $279.12
- NADR: $10.4
- FMS: $1,369.22
- Title 10 1206: $50.74

All figures since 2001
In exchange, Bahrain has provided the United States with:

- Permission to station 17,500 U.S. troops and 250 U.S. combat aircraft at Shaikh Isa Air Base in 1991 “Desert Storm” offensive
- Permission to station the U.S. Navy’s Fifth Fleet at NSA Bahrain since 1995
- Operational and logistical support for international anti-piracy and anti-terrorism efforts, including the current fight against ISIL
U.S. interests in Bahrain are centered around maintaining stability in the Persian Gulf region.

To achieve this end, the U.S. works to keep the Al Khalifa family in power, which limits Iranian influence.

Sunni Government in a Shiite majority population poses problems

Iranian influence in the region would jeopardize the world oil market.

In 2002, President George W. Bush designated Bahrain a "major non-NATO ally, "qualifying Bahrain for several types of Security Assistance.
BAHRAIN
SECURITY COOPERATION

- Arab Spring 2011
  - Bahrain experienced violence
  - Bahraini government committed human rights violations
    - Limiting citizen’s rights to change their government peacefully
    - Lack of due process in legal system
    - Lengthy pretrial detentions
    - Restricting free expression and assembly
  - US has leveraged Security Assistance against the Bahraini government
    - Used to exert pressure on Bahrain to adhere to international standards for basic human rights

- US Navy’s Fifth Fleet
  - Naval dependents live on the Island, their safety of the utmost importance
  - Ideal location for US strategic goals in the region
Lebanon currently receives approximately $165 million dollars each year from the U.S. in the form of Foreign Military Financing (FMF), including arms sales and military training.

Since 9/11, the U.S. has provided Lebanon with at least:

- $230 million in security assistance aid, in addition to $770 million in supplemental aid
- Tires for tactical vehicles, spare parts for helicopters, small arms, ammunition, and improvements on the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) communications system
LEBANON SSA CONTINUED

- 25 ton trucks and 285 Humvees
- 12 unmanned aerial vehicles and 10 M60 tanks
- $10 million for sustainment and repair of current equipment, $14 million for acquisition of air, ground, and naval systems, $36 million for personnel, equipment, weapons, and ammunition, and $40 million for close air support
- 4,000 sets of basic duty gear, 3,000 sets of riot control gear, 480 police cars, 60 police SUVs, 35 handheld radios, 20 computers, 20 new and 24 repaired Harley Davidson motorcycles, and 21 refurbished Armored Personal Vehicles
Security Assistance to Lebanon (in millions)

- IMET $23.5
- FMF $901.27
- NADR $59.36
- FMS $444.87
- Title 10 1206 $171.79

All figures since 2001
LEBANON
SECURITY COOPERATION

• U.S. interests in Lebanon are centered around maintaining a strategic buffer between war-torn Syria and U.S. ally Israel.

• Lebanon is also a tactical front against terrorism groups in the region such as Hezbollah.
LEBANON
SECURITY COOPERATION

• Iran-Lebanon Connection
  • Both dominated by Shi’ite Muslims
    • Many senior clerics in Lebanon were Iranian born and trained
  • Hezbollah
    • Began in 1982, Iran sends 1,500 soldiers to Lebanon
    • Iran continues to supply Hezbollah in financing, arms, and training, in support of their terrorist missions.
    • Iran’s hatred of Israel is a concern as Lebanon is a border nation.
  • Syria
    • Iran and Hezbollah have fought along side Syrian troops to maintain President al Assad’s position.
    • The fall of the Syrian Regime would lessen Iran’s influence in the region.
OMAN
SECURITY ASSISTANCE

- Over the last decade, the U.S. has provided Security Assistance to Oman in the form of:
  - Foreign Military Financing ($78.65 million)
  - International Military Education and Training ($16.32 million)
  - Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, De-Mining and Related Programs ($16.45 million)

- Since 9/11, the U.S. has sold to Oman at least:
  - twelve F-16 aircraft
  - countermeasures for head-of-state aircraft
  - air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles
  - missile defense,
  - patrol boats
  - anti-tank weaponry
OMAN CONTINUED

- Oman has requested an additional $260 million in follow-up support for its existing F-16 fleet.
OMAN SECURITY ASSISTANCE

Security Assistance to Oman
(in millions)

- IMET $18.72
- FMF $239.2
- NADR $15.28
- FMS $1071.7
- Title 10 1206 $0.95

*all figures since 2001*
OMAN SECURITY COOPERATION

- Oman is described as a “vital” partner nation to the United States in terms of maintaining stability in the Persian Gulf region.

- Oman is a valuable member of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

- The U.S.’s cooperative arrangements with Oman date as far back as 1833, and has since proved to be a dependable and consistent ally in a volatile region.

- The UK has a long standing history of involvement with Oman as well.
In exchange, Oman has provided the United States with:

- Basing and maritime rights, particularly within Thumrait Air Base and the Straits of Hormuz.
- Permission to deport detainees from Guantanamo Bay into Oman.
- Intelligence and military cooperation against Al Qaeda since 9/11 and, more recently, ISIL.
- Diplomatic assistance, particularly as an intermediary between the United States and Iran.
In February, 2015 President Obama signed a 3 year memorandum pledging Jordan with $1 Billion annually in U.S. Foreign Assistance from FY2015 to FY2017.

Since 9/11, the U.S. has provided Jordan with:
- $15.83 Billion in aid in FY2015
- $1.275 Billion in Economic and Military aid in FY2016
- to $600 million from the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund
- F-16 Fighter Jets and Medium Range Missiles
In return, Jordan has provided the United States with:

- They have executed air strikes against ISIS, which is the main reason the U.S. is present in Jordan.
- They allow the U.S. to use their military bases.
- They have helped the U.S. with vast intelligence sharing.
- As the U.S. continues to support Jordan, it is important to keep relations with them as a leading Arab coalition member against ISIS knowing that security cooperation based on US SSA could be greater.
Security Assistance to Jordan
(in millions)

- IMET $46.53
- FMF $4351.38
- NADR $150.91
- FMS $2696.9
- Title 10 1206 $14,113.6

all figures since 2001
Jordan and the United States have worked closely together toward security and regional stability since the 1950’s.

U.S. military funding for Jordan has been steady at high levels over the last decade, and continues to grow.

Due to its powerful neighbors and strategic location Jordan will continue to be an important Strategic asset in the region. Jordan is a member of the “Arab Big Eight” and second in importance only to Saudi Arabia…which must not destabilize.
Currently there are 2,200 U.S. Military personnel in Jordan.

Jordan’s role in the coalition’s efforts against the Islamic State have been increasing, including air strikes, which escalated after the execution of a Jordanian pilot by the Islamic State in 2015.

Additionally, the U.S. has provided military training for senior leadership and counter-terrorism partnership training.

Jordan continues to allow the use of its bases by the U.S. and coalition forces, and plays an important role with the U.S. in regional intelligence sharing.
A highlight to the integration of U.S. and Jordan Forces is Eager Lion. It is the largest military exercise in U.S. Central Command where thousands of service personal from different countries build relationships and partnerships.

Jordan’s most important role in the region has been their increased role in the air campaign against ISIS, as well as housing 600,000 Syrian refugees which have put a strain on Jordan’s limited resources.
Is Jordan pulling their own weight?

- The US is receiving less than adamant Security Cooperation is from Jordan
- Assessments should be created to judge if the U.S. is getting the appropriate amount of Security Cooperation from Jordan
- The U.S. needs to clearly lay out what is expected of Jordan
- Jordan’ intelligence is thought to be advantageous for the US regarding ISIS.
Morocco is actively receiving U.S. military arms sales and assistance.

- Morocco has been provided 600 TOW Missiles and 300 TOW Launchers.
- Recently we stepped up with military training and exercises.
- US, Morocco, and Mauritania also conducted a joint intelligence training mission in preparation for the exercises.
- The U.S. has provided counter-terrorism training, as well as border surveillance and communications equipment.
- Morocco has received in total $29.872 billion dollars in total aid.
MOROCCO
SECURITY ASSISTANCE

• The U.S. has provided foreign assistance intent on countering violent extremism.
• There are 3 different programs significant to Morocco.
  • 1. Countering Violent Extremism in the Middle East and North Africa
  • 2. $66.5 Million in State Department to assist Morocco in building capacity to counter the threat posed by terrorist groups in the region
  • 3. $450 million in Defense Department Counter-Terrorism Partnership Fund (CTPF) for programs to build the counterterrorism capacity of Morocco and other countries in Africa to counter AQIM, Al Shabaab, and other terrorist groups
Security Assistance to Morocco
(in millions)

- IMET $26.06
- FMF $120.50
- NADR $16.61
- FMS $1,889.86
- Title 10 1206 $0.24

All figures since 2001
MOROCCO
SECURITY COOPERATION

• In exchange, Morocco has provided the United States with:
  • Supported the UNSC resolution that called on the Syrian regime to fully cooperate in the elimination of its chemical weapons program.
  • During Mali reconstruction, King Mohammed VI announced Morocco will train 500 Malian imams in the countries’ shared spiritual values of openness and tolerance.
Morocco and the United States boast a “Friendship & Commerce Treaty” which remains today the longest unbroken treaty in American history.

Morocco, is a strong partner with the US in terms of counter-terrorism in the region.

Share common values, mutual trust, and strong friendship and partnership.

As the 55th largest trading export market for US goods, Security Cooperation with Morocco is a strong priority for the US.
RECOMMENDATIONS

• Establish a framework
  • Set clear goals in Security Assistance
    • What is expected in return? Short term and long term.
  • Realistic Timelines for both
    • Short term
    • Long term
  • Recognizing qualitative vs. quantitative
    • There are times that qualitative measurements override quantitative data.
    • Strained relationships are better at times than no relationship at all.
CONCLUSION

• The U.S. should continue security assistance to achieve regional stability and in dealing with counterterrorism.

• Assessment constructs must capture both short- and long-term returns.

• The current threat of ISIS and the Syrian Civil War play a major role in the region, plus the US must ensure the stability of Saudi Arabia, and the war in Yemen is a threat there.

• We can conclude that tailored Security Sector Assistance (SSA) based upon knowing the values, ethnicity and religions of the region and especially the nations which we are assisting can be carefully crafted to produce acceptable U.S. security cooperation.
• This is anchored belief that most citizens of this region want security foremost and that only we can bring. With some sense of self determination as seen through the lens of differing religious beliefs, the United States is the only country that can bring that incrementally to these societies in hopes that one day they will peace and stability.

• That can be accomplished by mitigating threats through cooperative military and diplomatic initiatives…and the costs are too great to lessen or interrupt out Security Sector Assistance at present.
• Questions?