SECURITY COOPERATION WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

by
Jessica Linn Jacoby

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Abstract

This thesis examines different elements of security cooperation and intelligence sharing within the European Union. The first chapter examines how the growth of the European Union has affected security cooperation among member states post-Cold War through the examination of the creation of security based institutions, weapons policies, and military forces and capabilities. The finding of this chapter is that the growth of the European Union has increased security cooperation among member states. The second chapter of this thesis compares intelligence sharing between the European Union and NATO. To determine which organization's intelligence sharing was more effective, the chapter examines the actors and relationships, trust, institutions, infrastructure, and resources of each organization as compared to their ability to bolster or hinder intelligence sharing amongst member states. The conclusion of this chapter is that despite being roughly the same sized organization, NATO enjoys a greater level of intelligence sharing than the members of the European Union due to the level of mistrust, voluntary participation, and restricted intelligence dissemination process of the European Union. The third and final chapter determines if the economic crises of states within the European Union have had an adverse effect on security cooperation among member states. This is determined by examining the particulars of each country's economic crisis and bailout, defense spending, and governmental social spending prior to, during, and after the economic crisis. The finding of this chapter is that the economic crises did have an adverse affect on security cooperation. The amount of impact that economic crises had on security cooperation varied in each case study. Overall the three chapters of this

portfolio highlight a number of factors that affect security cooperation within the European Union.

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Introduction

For more than 3,000 years there have been innumerable proposals for collective security systems. The oldest such example of a collective security system is that of the Amphictyonic League, which was formed by Greek city-states. The purpose of the collective security system formed by the city-states was to protect all cities of the Amphictyons and was upheld by a vow of all the city-states to march united against any aggressor that threatened one of the member states.[1] This example is one that shows a successful collective security system. While there have been numerous proposals for collective security systems throughout history, there have been fewer attempts to put specific plans in place and even fewer successful collective security efforts. The purpose of this thesis portfolio is to study one of the world's most powerful emerging regional organizations, the European Union, to examine the factors that have helped and hindered security cooperation within the European Union as well as examine various external factors, specifically the recent financial crises to examine the impact on security cooperation.

Security cooperation, as defined by the United States Department of Defense in 2004, is "all interactions with foreign establishments to build defense relationships that promote security interests and develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations."[2] While in theory security cooperation seems straight forward, it is important to recognize that there are a number of factors that have

[1] Ulusoy, Hasan, "Collective Security in Europe," http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Hasan-Ulusoy2.pdf (accessed September 12, 2014).
[2] "Introduction to Security Cooperation," Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, http://www.disam.dsca.mil/DR/01b%20Chapter.pdf (accessed January 30, 2012).

the ability to, and often affect a state's willingness to promote and or participate in security cooperation within regional and international organizations.

Chapter one of this thesis is entitled "The Growth of the European Union and Security Cooperation". The research question for this chapter is how has the growth of the European Union affected security cooperation among member states post-Cold War? After examining the expansion of the European Union in 1995 and 2004, the chapter states that the growth of the European Union has yielded an increase in security cooperation. The indicators used to support this finding are an examination of security based institutions, weapons policies, and military forces and capabilities.

To help determine how the three indicators listed above contributed to an increase in security cooperation among EU member states; this chapter examines two case studies. The first case study examines the creation of security based institutions, weapons policies, and military forces and capabilities in regards to the 1995 enlargement of the European Union. The 1995 enlargement was seen as a natural progression of European integration after the cold war and included Austria, Finland, and Sweden. The second case study examines the 2004 enlargement of the EU, the single largest expansion of the European Union in terms of territory, number of states, and population. This enlargement included ten countries including: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

The main findings that the research produced in terms of the creation of security based institutions is that during both major expansions there was a dramatic increase in the creation of security based institutions. During the 1995 expansion the new security based institutions played a helpful, but not essential role in creating trust and cohesion

amongst the existing member states. Throughout the 2004 expansion the security based institutions played a pivotal role in developing and enhancing security cooperation among member states and the new members because they created forums for states with fundamentally different frameworks, thoughts, and resources to have the ability to work together and create common trust and values. The creation of common trust and values that these institutions helped make attainable led to an increase in security cooperation. In terms of weapons policies the creation of policies to control weapons, including a strategy to prevent the creation and acquisition of weapons of mass destruction while also creating a the European Defense Agency (EDA) to support defense capabilities of all European Union member states arguably also increased security cooperation among member states. The last indicator examined in this chapter, military forces and capabilities, also produced evidence that due to the creation of the EU Military Staff and establishment of EU battle groups produced avenues that encourage sharing of information particularly within the military realm with member states which ultimately leads to an overall increase in security cooperation.

The literature review for this chapter provides information on the re-emerging view of security communities as founded by Karl Deutsch and also examines the two dominant schools of thoughts on organizational growth and cooperation as presented by Kenneth Oye and Joseph Grieco. The positive results in this section were found by examining scholarly literature and current new articles discussing the expansion of the European Union and the impacts that had on security cooperation. It was through the examination of these documents that the results of this chapter became evident.

Chapter two of this thesis is entitled "Intelligence Sharing within the European Union and NATO". The research question for this chapter is what factors affect intelligence sharing within the European Union and NATO? After examining the four potential factors that affect intelligence sharing within international organizations including: actors and relationships, the degree of trust among states, institutions, and infrastructure, the chapter shows that intelligence sharing within the EU and NATO is vastly different and offers recommendations drawn from the NATO example of intelligence sharing to increase intelligence sharing within the EU.

To help determine the varied levels of intelligence sharing the chapter examines the four factors identified as affecting intelligence sharing in relation to the European Union and NATO. The actors and relationships section examines the hierarchical agreements within the organization. The trust segment scrutinizes the rules governing intelligence sharing and public comments made by prominent members of the organization. The institution piece examines the number of institutions designed to facilitate intelligence sharing, the level of participation, and the ability to disseminate intelligence among member states. Finally, the infrastructure and resources of the organizations pays particular attention to the state of the intranet.

The main findings that the research produced when examining the four factors that affect intelligence sharing as compared to the two organizations in question is that the European Union suffered from an overall lower level of intelligence sharing as compared to NATO. While the European Union and NATO are roughly the same sized organizations, the EU lacks a dominant state able to create hierarchical agreements within the EU while NATO, possessing a dominant state with the United States of America is

marked by hierarchical relationships. Additionally, the institutions within the EU lack rules requiring member states to share intelligence while NATO has established trust through frequent, successful intelligence transactions among member states. Institutionally, although the EU has the same number of groups designed to facilitate intelligence sharing as NATO, they are marred by voluntary and often incomplete participation of member states and have a restricted dissemination process within Europol.

Chapter three of this thesis is entitled "Economic Crisis and Security Cooperation within the European Union". The research question for this chapter is how has the economic crisis in Europe affected security cooperation? After examining three case studies, the chapter shows that the economic crisis did have an adverse effect on security cooperation. In order to come to the conclusion provided above, this chapter examines three case studies. The three case studies examine the economic crisis and bailout, defense spending, and social spending of Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

The main finding that the research produced is that the economic crisis did have an adverse effect on security cooperation within the European Union. In the case of Greece the countries defense spending directly affected by the economic crisis while their governmental social spending stayed stable throughout the crisis indicating that the political will and public support for security cooperation decreased. Spain's defense spending was directly correlated to the health of the state while their governmental social spending increased while defense spending fell as well as increased at a rate faster than that of their defense spending when it rose. In the case of Spain it was concluded that while political will stayed fairly neutral throughout the economic crisis, the public

support for security cooperation fell slightly during and after the crisis as indicated by social spending numbers as compared to defense spending. Finally, in the case of Portugal defense spending fell as budget deficits increased while social spending held steady at levels seen prior to the economic crisis indicating that the political will and public support for security cooperation declined.

The literature review for this chapter surveys four varied definitions of collective security as well as presents the four principles of collective security as presented by Rourke and Boyer. This chapter was built on a theoretical framework but was bolstered by current news stories detailing the emerging information of the economic crises within Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

Chapter 1: The Growth of the European Union and Security Cooperation

For decades scholars and leaders around the world have been examining and debating the effectiveness of regional organizations. With an ever connected world, this examination has come to the forefront of research, especially in the security cooperation arena. The aim of this chapter is to determine how the growth of the European Union has affected security cooperation among member states in the post-Cold War era. First, this chapter will introduce working definitions of a regional organization and security cooperation and the specific indicators extrapolated from that definition used to identify the effectiveness of security cooperation. It will then offer information on the re-emerging view of security communities as founded by Karl Deutsch and examine the two dominant schools of thoughts on organizational growth and cooperation as presented by Kenneth Oye and Joseph Grieco. Subsequently, this chapter will explore examples of each indicator which have resulted in a decrease in security cooperation, as well as an increase in security cooperation. Finally, this chapter will attempt to show that the growth of the European Union, after the Cold War, has increased security cooperation among member states by examining security cooperation after the last two large expansions of the Union.

In order to examine the European Union as a regional organization it is imperative to understand the definition of a regional organization. Regional organizations, according to the United Nation, are "organizations that incorporate international membership and encompass geopolitical entities that transcend a single nation state,"

whose membership is characterized by similar defining characteristics.[3] Most regional organizations ultimate aim is to foster cooperation among member states and states closely associated with that organization. While many regional organizations are formed with this purpose in mind, few achieve complete success, specifically in the realm of security cooperation.

The phrase "security cooperation" has a number of competing definitions. For the purpose of this paper, the working definition of security cooperation will be based around a loose interpretation of the phrase by the United States Department of Defense, established in 2004, which outlines security cooperation as, "all interactions with foreign establishments to build defense relationships that promote security interests and develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations."[4] While this definition of security cooperation is vague by design, it suggests three major indicators that can examine the level of security cooperation occurring within regional organizations. These are: the creation of security based institutions and initiatives among regional organizations, policies toward developing weapons and controlling weapons acquisitions outside the organizational structure and the military forces and capabilities of each regional organization. Current literature on security cooperation among members of regional organizations tends to be limited in scope and quantity, especially when examining growing regional organizations.

Until the late 1940's the realist consensus, shared by the majority of the political community, was that states could not work in meaningful cooperative groups because

[3] "Cooperation with regional organizations," United Nations, Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (1995).
[4] "Introduction to Security Cooperation," Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, http://www.disam.dsca.mil/DR/01b%20Chapter.pdf (accessed January 30, 2012).

anarchy ultimately caused the states to seek advantage over their neighbors.[5] However, this theory was contested in the early 1950's with the proposal of the concept of security communities by Richard Van Wagenen. While a celebrated alternative to the realist school of thought, this concept was not developed until 1957 when Karl Deutsch offered the first empirical and theoretical study of security communities.[6] This study yielded major advances in the understanding of security communities. First, it defined security communities as, "a group of people, or states that had become integrated to the point that there is an assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other, but settle their disputes in some other way."[7] Secondly, it delineated between two types of security communities: pluralistic and amalgamated. While Karl Deutsch's study offered an alternative to the widely held belief that anarchy ultimately did not allow for cooperation among states to occur, the theory was largely unsupported and not further researched until after the Cold War. While Deutsch provided fundamental information on cooperation of security communities, only a few scholars have provided a framework for examining the effect of organizational growth on security cooperation.

The first school of thought, as presented by Kenneth Oye, suggests that a growth of actors decreases cooperation. Oye, in *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, hypothesizes that, "The prospects for cooperation diminish as the number of players increases because the problem with large numbers is defection."[8] Alternatively, there are two dominant schools of thoughts that challenge Oye's theory that an increase in actors decreases

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[5] Adler, Emmanual, and Michael Barnett. *Security Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
[6] Ibid, 6.
[7] Ibid, 6.
[8] Helen Milner, "International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses," World Politics 44 (1992): 466-496.

cooperation. Joseph Grieco proposes the first alternative to Oye's hypothesis by arguing, "A larger number of players may be better because it provides more opportunities and enhances the likelihood of relative gains."[9] Echoing Grieco, Duncan Snidal states, "The possibility of cooperation in a relative gains environment can be enhanced by increasing the number of players."[10] Both schools of thought are supported by examples from security communities in major regional organizations around the world when examined in conjunction with this paper's indicators of security cooperation.

Security Based Institutions

The first indicator utilized to examine the level of security cooperation occurring within regional organizations is the creation of security based institutions and initiatives. Under the liberal intuitionalist theory, states, as rational actors, must believe that institutionalized coordination and cooperation will serve their interests in order to successfully participate in regional organizations.[11] Security based institutions provide a forum for states within a regional organization to build trust through frequent interactions among members. These frequent interactions create cohesion and help develop common values, which are both fundamental building blocks to the creation of security communities in the constructivist approach. The constructivist approach emphasizes that a community refers to a collectivity of shared norms among its members due to common values, identities and goals, which ultimately create a feeling of solidarity among

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Laurie Nathan, "The Peacemaking Effectiveness of Regional Organisations," Crisis States Research Centre (2010): 1-20.

members.[12] In turn, this collective identify that has been created among members leads to established patterns of actions, which creates a sense of security. Therefore, if a growing regional organization can establish numerous successful security based institutions and initiatives, which leads to cooperation and development of common values in the security arena, they should experience an increase in security cooperation among member states. Regional organizations around the world have provided examples of both failed and successful attempts at establishing security based institutions and initiatives and its effects on the organization's security cooperation.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an example of a regional organization that has undergone three periods of growth after the Cold War, but has failed to successfully create security based institutions and initiatives. This was exemplified with ASEAN's inability to formally create a Political-Security Community (APSC). On March 1, 2009 an APSC blueprint was presented and accepted at the 14th annual ASEAN summit, but to date has not been formally established.[13] Because ASEAN has failed to launch successful security based institutions and initiatives with all current members, they have not had a forum to continue to build trust through a collective identity, which has ultimately led to stagnant security cooperation.

In contrast to ASEAN's failure to create security based institutions, the African Union (AU), which has also seen a consistent growth in member states, has made significant strides. Its first success was seen in 2003 with the creation of the Peace and Security Council. This council is responsible for the deployment of peacekeeping and

[12] Raimo Vayrynen, "Stable Peace Through Security Communities? Steps Towards Theory-Building," in *Stable Peace Among Nations*, 157-186. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.
[13] ASEAN, http://www.aseansec.org/ (accessed February 22, 2012).

quick intervention missions on the African continent.[14] Less than a year later, the African Union once again made strides to increase security cooperation among member states by adopting and implementing the Common African Defense and Security Policy (CADSP), which aims to ensure the defense of Africa, using both traditional and non-traditional military forces.[15] The creation of the Peace and Security Council has provided an arena for AU members to be in frequent communication, which arguably has led to increased trust and ultimately improved security cooperation.

Weapons

The second indicator utilized to examine the level of security cooperation occurring within regional organizations is the policies towards developing weapons and controlling weapons acquisitions outside the organizational structure. This is an important feature of the rationalist approach to the theory of security communities and as a result security cooperation. The rationalist approach to communities states that members of a community try to control the resources that are of value to them, within a security community those resources arguably encompass weapons.[16] Because no member can ultimately control all resources by themselves, they have to engage in transactions with other members of the security community or regional organization.[17] This interaction typically leads to the creation of mutual interests among members involved and ultimately leads to a level of security cooperation.

[14] "African Union," African Union, http://www.au.int/en/ (accessed February 20, 2012).
[15] Ibid.
[16] Raimo Vayrynen, "Stable Peace Through Security Communities? Steps Towards Theory-Building," in *Stable Peace Among Nations*, 157-186. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.
[17] Ibid, 164.

Consistent with Kenneth's Oye's hypothesis, ASEAN once again demonstrates the inability of a regional organization that has experienced growth to cooperate in the realm of weapons policies. ASEAN's founding members have proposed the creation of a Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC) among member states. This collaboration would encourage cost savings on defense spending and incorporate weapons standards across the organization.[18] While this proposition seems good in theory, it poses two great challenges that have resulted in a decrease in security cooperation as related to weapons. First, the proposition by the founding members fails to recognize the disparity in the member states knowledge and industrial base for producing weapons.[19] Secondly, it fails to recognize that budgets for defense vary among member nations. These two missteps by the ADIC have resulted in member states directing resources "towards externally oriented weapons systems, including submarines, surface ships, fighter aircrafts, and missiles," which suggests that the members of ASEAN are engaged in a "competitive arms process."[20] Because of their engagement in a competitive arms process, member states are still ultimately trying to accumulate all needed resources on an individual basis, which does not lend itself to successful security cooperation.

Exemplifying Grieco and Snidal's hypotheses that growth in a regional organization increases security cooperation because it increases the chance for relative gains specifically in weapons policies is the AU. The AU has seen the adoption of two major weapons policies including: the Treaty of the African Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone,

[18] Ahmad Hamidi, "ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration," ZULFAQAR: JURNAL ASIA PERTAHANAN DAN KESELAMATAN 1 (2001): 1-16.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

as well as the Common Position on Illicit Proliferation, Circulation, and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons, adopted in 2000.[21]

Military Forces

The third indicator utilized to examine the level of military security cooperation occurring within regional organizations is the military force and capabilities. Developing and maintaining military forces is an important indicator of security cooperation within regional organizations because they are arguably a key indicator of collective defense. Collective defense by definition is a "coalition of nations which agree to defend its own group against outside attacks."[22] In order to defend a collection of nations from outside attacks one aspect that must be examined is the coalition's ability to maintain military forces. If a regional organization has strong military capabilities both internally and externally their ability to defend themselves is arguably very strong. If the nations in a coalition feel as though they are militarily secure the likelihood of them participating in regional organizations increase, and ultimately security cooperation increases. Conversely, if a regional organization is lacking strong military capabilities their ability to defend themselves weakens. If the states involved in the regional organization do not feel militarily secure, their tendency to share information, and thus increase security cooperation will be much weaker or may not occur.

ASEAN and the AU both lend themselves to exemplifying the ability of a growing regional organization to increase security cooperation in military forces and capabilities. Currently, ASEAN engages in bilateral military exercises that span across

[21] "African Union," African Union, http://www.au.int/en/ (accessed February 20, 2012).
[22] "Collective Security," http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/good7497.htm (accessed November 20, 2012).

air, naval and land forces.[23] Member states have also increased security cooperation in the military arena by engaging in officer exchanges.[24] However, ASEAN is not the strongest example of a correlation between growth and military cooperation as the member states "still lack a common language and doctrine, as well as a war reserve contingency pool."[25] The AU is a more advanced example that indicates the relationship between growth of a regional organization and an increase in military security cooperation. The Peace and Security Council of the AU, a security institution established during the organization's periods of growth, currently has military and peacekeeping missions launched in: Darfur, Comoros, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and other African States.[26] These military and peacekeeping missions are made possible because the AU established the African Standby Force, which is the current standing army of the African Union.

While the current international arena offers two distinct schools of thought in relation to security cooperation in growing regional organizations, it does little to offer specific examples and case studies to promote a prominent theory on the subject. This chapter will specifically focus on examining the European Union's (EU) expansion at two distinct times to ultimately determine if security cooperation increases as a regional organization grows in size.

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[23] Amitav Acharya, "Regional Military-Security Cooperation in the Third World: A Conceptual Analysis of the Relevance and Limitations of ASEAN," Journal of Peace Research 29 (1992): 7-21.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] "African Union," African Union, http://www.au.int/en/ (accessed February 20, 2012).

The European Union

The European Union and its predecessor, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), share over a 50 year history of making significant changes to the European environment. The European Coal and Steel Community was established on July 23, 1952 with six members including: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.[27] From the time of its founding, until the Treaty on European Union was signed at Maastricht on February 7, 1992, the ECSC saw a growth of 6 members, which included: Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Portugal, and Spain.[28] While the ECSC doubled its original size in a span of 34 years the European Union has seen an increase of fifteen members in just half that time.[29] This dramatic increase in growth inadvertently has had an impact on the security cooperation among member states and the two case studies provided in the following sections will provide the opportunity to examine how the growth of the European Union, following the Cold war, has affected security cooperation among member states in the context of the creation of security institutions and initiatives, weapons policies, and military capabilities. When examined against the three working indicators of this paper's definition of security cooperation and coinciding with the trends of current literature addressing the growth of the European Union, it becomes apparent that the European Union's growth has had a positive impact on security cooperation among member states in the post-Cold War era.

[27] "The History of the European Union," European Union, http://www.europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm (accessed November 18, 2012).
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

European Union: 1995 Enlargement

The 1995 enlargement was seen as a natural progression in European integration after the Cold War. After the USSR fell, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the European Union, bringing the total number of member states to 15.[30] All three countries were similar sizes to EU member states, were democratically developed, and rich enough to become net contributors to the EU.[31] With this enlargement there was positive growth in all three security cooperation indicators.

Security Based Institutions and Initiatives: 1995 Enlargement

The great advancements in the creation of security based institutions and initiatives began in the late 1990's with the establishment of Europol in 1999. Europol is the European law enforcement agency that was created to focus on security priorities that include: illegal trafficking, terrorism, forgery and cyber crime.[32] Europol's major objective is to improve intelligence sharing in these fields between member states, rather than directly engaging in the policing of these matters. Europol accomplishes the facilitation of intelligence sharing four ways. First, it obtains and analyses intelligence provided by all member states.[33] Second, it notifies member states when it has "information concerning them and of any connections identified between criminal offenses."[34] It also prepares and provides "general situation reports" to all member states

[30] Ibid.
[31] Jones, Seth G. *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
[32] Europol, https://www.europol.europa.eu/content/page/about-europol-17 (accessed March 1, 2012).
[33] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[34] Ibid,632.

and provides "strategic intelligence."[35] Finally, since April 2002, it has created small, ad-hoc groups composed of Europol staff and staff from member states to collect shared intelligence on terrorist groups of interest.[36] Most information collected by Europol is available through the principal intelligence-sharing system, the European computer system, also known as TECS.[37] The European computer system contains two types of intelligence: information about individuals and groups suspected of having committed or likely to commit a crime and "work files" intelligence that provides the details of specific offenses committed, which includes general characteristic information and other relevant information.[38]

The next great advancements seen after the 1995 enlargement of the EU in the creation of security institutions and initiatives came with the establishment of the EU Institute of Security Studies in 2002, and the establishment of the European Security Strategy in 2003. The EU Institute of Security Studies (EUISS) is an autonomous EU agency that researches relevant security issues for the EU and provides independent findings and analyses to member states and to the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.[39] The EUISS conducts its research on a number of topics and regions of interest to the EU around the world. Currently the European Union's immediate priorities fall to those nations that lie within close proximity to EU member states, but they also extend to regions of growing importance, such as Asia, as well as

[35] Ibid, 632.
[36] Ibid, 632.
[37] Ibid, 632.
[38] Ibid, 632.
[39] European Union Institute for Security Studies, http://www.iss.europa.eu/about-us/ (accessed March 1, 2012).

traditional allies, which include the United States.[40] Topically, the EUISS currently researches four main areas including: global governance, disarmament, the Common Security Defense Policy (CSDP), and EU foreign policy.[41]

The European Security Strategy was adopted by the Brussels European Council on December 12 and 13, 2003. The aim of the European Security Strategy is to identify emerging global threats and outline the EU's strategic objectives to combat the identified threats. The threats identified in the European Security Strategy include: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime.[42] The strategic objectives outlined to address the emerging threats are to: address the threats, build security in the EU neighborhoods, which includes promoting the emergence of well-governed countries to the East of EU, and developing an international order based on multilateralism.[43] The European Security Strategy concludes by suggesting that in order to successfully fulfill the strategic objectives the European Union needs to be more active in pursing the objectives, increase its defense capabilities, pursue coherent policies, and work with its partners through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.[44] The establishment of Europol, the EU Institute for Security Studies, and the creation of the European Security Strategy were three major advancements in the realm of security based institutions that were attributed, at least in part, to the growth of the European Union during that time. While both institutions and the European Security Strategy could have been established without the additional

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] "European Security Strategy," European Union, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/fight_against_organised_crime/r00004_en.htm (accessed March 10, 2013).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

member states of the European Union, they arguably were created because the number of EU members had outgrown the current security institution framework and needed additional guidance to maintain and increase security cooperation among EU member states.

Weapons Policies: 1995 Enlargement

Closely tied to one of the major topical components of focus of the EU Institute for Security Studies and explicitly stated in the European Security Strategy, the EU has seen moderate advancements in security cooperation as related to policies towards controlling weapons acquisitions with the establishment of the EU strategy against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in 2003. The message stated in the strategy is that, "The European Union must act with resolve, using all instruments and policies at its disposal, to prevent, deter, halt and, where possible, eliminate programs for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missiles."[45] While the strategy clearly outlines the threat of WMD's, it goes a step further to outline the four major actions the European Union needs to implement and follow in order to accomplish the aims of the strategy against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Those four actions are: resolute action against proliferators, creating a stable international and regional environment, cooperating closely with the United States and other close allies,

[45] "Strategy Against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction," European Union, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/l33234_en.htm (accessed February 20, 2012).

and developing necessary structures within the European Union to monitor and implement the strategy.[46]

Military Forces: 1995 Enlargement

Finally, the European Union, during this expansion, showed a significant improvement in the military forces, the final component examined in conjunction with security cooperation, for the purposes of this paper. On June 2001, six years after the expansion, the European Union Military Staff (EUMS) was created to support the Military Committee and the Political and Security Committee.[47] EUMS has greatly increased EU security cooperation in the military sector, as it is a body that is made up of military experts from all member states and provides an early-warning capability and plans, assesses and makes recommendations on general military strategy and crisis management.[48] Specifically the EUMS is responsible for: monitoring potential crisis situations, carrying out the military aspects of strategic planning, programming, planning, conducting, and evaluating the military aspect of the EU's crisis management procedures, establishing permanent relations with NATO, and contributing to the military aspects of the ESDP.[49] As a whole the European Union Military Staff is the key component of military planning in the European Union today, and was established during the first enlargement after the Cold War.

[46] Ibid.
[47] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[48] Ibid, 633.
[49] Ibid, 633.

European Union: 2004 Enlargement

The 2004 enlargement marked the largest, single expansion of the European Union in terms of territory, number of states and population and was fundamentally different than that of the 1995 expansion. First, this enlargement was comprised of ten countries which included: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Secondly, the 2004 enlargement was viewed as an adaptive integration of countries, as opposed to the natural progression of 1995 because of the heterogeneous composition of the countries included.[50] All of the new countries, with the exception of Poland, were medium sized, small or micro states, which did not provide a great deal of financial capabilities to the European Union.[51] Finally, the existing EU-15 had concerns about the prospects of deepening European integration with the addition of ten new member states, with specific emphasis placed on safeguarding the political, economic and security interests of existing member states.[52] For this reason the new member states experienced an extended period of gradual adaptation and integration, which included the monitoring and measuring of legal obligations set forth for membership into the EU, coupled with sets of norms and expectations presented by the EU.[53] While the enlargement varied vastly from that of 1995, positive growth in all three areas of security cooperation was once again observed. The continued confidence of the European Union, coupled with the need for additional and updated security based policy

[50] Jones, Seth G. *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
[51] Goetz, Klaus H. *The New Member States and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

and infrastructure after each EU growth has paved the path for increased security cooperation.

Security Based Institutions and Initiatives: 2004 Enlargement

The years following the 2004 enlargement of the European Union were marked by multiple advances in the creation of security based institutions and initiatives, including two great accomplishments: the updated Common Foreign Security Policy and the creation of the European Security and Defense College. The Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) is the foreign policy of the European Union, with a specific focus directed on security and defense actions and diplomacy. In 2009, roughly five years after the 2004 enlargement, the Lisbon Treaty provided great advancements to the CFSP. First, the treaty created the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.[54] This creation combined the previous roles of the High Representative for the CFSP and the External Affairs Commissioner, and has created an arena in which the High Representative coordinates differing positions regarding foreign and security policies, as well as speaks on behalf of the EU's security policies.[55] Secondly, it created a new European External Action Service (EEAS). The EEAS is a diplomatic corps for the EU that has intelligence capabilities and among other things, manages the EU's response to crisis situations. The EEAS's intelligence capabilities are comprised of the Situation Centre and the Watch-Keeping Capability.[56] The Situation Centre has a staff comprised of just over 100 intelligence analysts from member states who collect and share classified information and produce reports on important topics. In

[54] "Foreign and Security Policy," European Union, http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed January 30, 2012).
[55] Ibid.
[56] Rettman, Andrew, "EU Diplomats to Benefit from New Intelligence Hub," EU Observer.

addition to the Situation Centre, The Watch-Keeping Capability is comprised of 12 police and military officers whose primary focus is to gather news from the European Union's overseas missions.[57] Finally, the updated CFSP has increased the use of qualified majority voting, thus limiting the areas where states can exercise their ability to veto certain military and defense issues.[58] The updated CFSP has enhanced security cooperation within the European Union by emphasizing shared goals and values while providing an arena to collect and share diplomatic and defense resources.

Four years prior to the updated CFSP, in 2005, the European Security and Defense College (ESDC) was created, marking another significant advancement in the creation of security based institutions. The main objective of the ESDC is to "provide training in the field of European Security and Defense Policy at the strategic level in order to promote a common understanding of the European Security Defense Policy (ESDP) among civilian and military personnel."[59] By providing training, the ESDC aims to enhance the European security culture, promote a better understanding of the ESDP, and provide the EU and member states with personnel better qualified in the security field.[60]

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[57] Ibid.

[58] "Foreign and Security Policy," European Union, http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed January 30, 2012).

[59] "European Security and Defense College," European Union, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/r00003_en.htm (accessed April 10, 2012).

[60] Ibid.

Weapons Policies: 2004 Enlargement

The 2004 enlargement also coincided with a major advancement in weapons policies and defense with the creation of the European Defense Agency (EDA). The EDA was created July 12, 2004 under a Joint Action of the Council of Ministers, "to support the Member States and the Council in their effort to improve European defense capabilities in the field of crisis management and to sustain the European Security and Defense Policy."[61] The four major functions set forth for the EDA include: developing defense capabilities, promoting defense research and technology, promoting armaments cooperation and creating a competitive European Defense Equipment Market.[62]

Military Forces: 2004 Enlargement

To date the European Union does not have a standing military, but on November 22, 2004 during the Military Capability Commitment Conference, member states of the European Union committed to creating battle groups, and in 2007 those battle groups became operational. Battle groups are military units of the European Union that consist of military personnel from member states. The European Union currently has eighteen operational battle groups, consisting of 1,500 troops each, which rotate to ensure that two battle groups are ready for deployment at all times.[63] The battle groups can be deployed and on the ground within 5 to 10 days of approval by the European Council, and must be sustainable for action from 30 to 120 days. The main tasks the battle groups are assigned to stem directly from the Common Security and Defense Policy and typically involve:

[61] European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.europa.eu (accessed February 27, 2012).
[62] Ibid.
[63] "New force behind EU foreign policy," *BBC News* (accessed April 10, 2012).

joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance and conflict prevention and peacekeeping.[64]

Conclusion

After examining specific examples of each indicator outlined to demonstrate an increase or decrease in security cooperation among regional organizations, it becomes apparent that the hypothesis of this chapter, that the growth of the European Union has yielded an increase in security cooperation among member states is correct for the following reasons.

First, the European Union has seen a dramatic increase in the creation of security based institutions and initiatives in the post-Cold War era during both major expansions, occurring in 1995 and 2004. During the 1995 expansion these institutions and initiatives played a helpful, but not pivotal role in creating cohesion and trust among the existing member states and the newly added member states because of the similarity of the states. However, during the 2004 expansion the creation of new security based institutions and initiatives played an extremely critical role in developing and enhancing security cooperation among existing member states and the 10 new member states because they created forums for members with fundamentally different frameworks, thoughts and resources to have the ability to work together and create trust and common values. The creation of trust and common values has led to cooperation among member states and has led to an increase in security cooperation. While these institutions and policies could have been developed without the expansion of the European Union, they arguably came

[64] "Foreign and Security Policy," European Union, http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed January 30, 2012).

to fruition quicker because of the acknowledged need for an updated security based infrastructure to accommodate additional members of a rapidly growing regional organization.

Coupled with a large growth in the creation of security based institutions and initiatives, the European Union experienced moderate growth in the development of weapons and creation of weapons policies both on an internal and external level. Following the 1995 enlargement the European Union created a strategy against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This strategy was aimed at using all possible EU resources to prevent the proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Following a little over a year after the creation of this strategy and the next large expansion of the regional organization the European Union once again took a decisive step in encouraging security cooperation through the creation of weapons policies. In July of 2004, the European Defense Agency was created to support member states in all aspects relating to defense capabilities. Both strides in the realm of the development of weapons and the creations of policies to control weapons have arguably bolstered the notion of collective defense through shared resources among EU member states. By devising a strategy to prevent the creation and acquisition of WMD's while also creating a European Agency to support defense capabilities of all EU member states, when examined against the concept of collective defense would arguably increase security cooperation among members of the European Union because of the sense of security created by both this policy and creation of this defense institution.

Finally, the European Union has seen progress in the establishment of and in relation to military forces. The 1995 enlargement was marked by the creation of the

European Union Military Staff, a body composed of military experts from all member states. And in the same year as the 2004 enlargement, the single largest enlargement of the European Union to date, the member states once again recorded a success in relation to military forces the establishment of battle groups. Both successes in the military forces arena have allowed for member states to have the ability to feel as though they have an offensive edge in collective defense of the European Union, which has created a sense of security and has opened up avenues that encourage the sharing of information and increase security cooperation.

The European Union continues to be a regional organization under scrutiny because of its vast expansions that include states of similar and diverse backgrounds. While all advancements in security cooperation among member states could have potentially occurred independent from the European Union growth, it arguably enhanced the level of security cooperation and it is apparent that there is a positive correlation between growth and security cooperation within the European Union. When analyzed in relation to the factors developed from the working definition of security cooperation for the purpose of this chapter the European Union has experienced moderate growth in relation to security cooperation among member states through its growth as a regional organization.

Chapter 2: Intelligence Sharing within the European Union and NATO

In an ever more connected world the ability to share accurate and timely intelligence amongst nations is imperative in dealing effectively with many of the security threats that nations currently face, notably terrorism. The aim of this chapter is to examine what factors contribute to the differences in intelligence sharing within the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These two organizations have enough in common to bear comparison, yet vary sufficiently to exemplify how different factors affect intelligence sharing within organizations. First, this chapter will address what intelligence is and identify four potential factors that affect intelligence sharing within international organizations. Those factors are: actors and relationships, the degree of trust among states, institutions and the infrastructure available to facilitate secure intelligence sharing within the organization. Each factor will be addressed from a theoretical standpoint and will be supplemented with examples of the positive and negative effects it has on intelligence sharing. Subsequently, this chapter will use these factors to explore their impact on intelligence sharing within the EU and NATO. Finally, this chapter will attempt to show that intelligence sharing with the EU and NATO is vastly different and offer recommendations drawn from the NATO examples to minimize these differences and ultimately increase intelligence sharing within the EU.

Literature Review

In order to identify and explore the factors that affect intelligence sharing it is necessary to define intelligence. This chapter will use the Department of Defense

definition of intelligence as, "information and knowledge about an adversary obtained through observation, investigation, analysis or understanding."[65] Intelligence can be obtained through a number of collection techniques including: human intelligence (HUMINT), signals intelligence (SIGINT), imagery Intelligence (IMINT), measurement and signature intelligence (MASINT), geospatial intelligence and open source intelligence (OSINT).[66]

For centuries states around the world have collected intelligence in order to identify threats and assist decision makers in the formulation of any necessary decisions to eliminate or mitigate threats.[67] The twenty first century has marked a significant shift in threats around the world. Collectively, states have seen the decline of traditional military threats and the rise of hostile actors that are not always easily distinguishable.[68] The most plausible way to mitigate the effects of these new actors is to obtain a full and comprehensive picture of the threats that they pose. While some states engage in intelligence sharing within international and regional organizations to develop a comprehensive picture of threats, others continue to only take into account those activities occurring within their geographical and functional remit.[69]

Current literature suggests that there are four factors that affect intelligence sharing amongst states within regional and international organizations.

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[65] Hunter, Thomas B, "The Challenges of Intelligence Sharing," Operational Studies, December 2004, http://www.operationalstudies.com/terrorism/TerrorismIntelligencePaper2.pdf.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Muller-Wille, Bjorn, "For Our Eyes Only? Shaping an Intelligence Community within the EU," The European Union Institute for Security Studies, January 2004, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/occ50.pdf.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

Actors and Relationships

The first and arguably most important combination of factors that have the ability to affect intelligence sharing within regional and international organizations are the member states of the organizations and the relationships among those, as well as their relationships with outside actors. By nature, states have differing motivations and needs that affect the relationships they choose to pursue both with members of regional and international organizations and non-members.[70] Organizations that have member states engaged in hierarchical agreements tend to enjoy more successful intelligence sharing, marked by a high degree of interactions sharing substantial intelligence on a number of subject areas.[71] Hierarchical agreements to share intelligence contribute to successful intelligence sharing because they contain a dominant state that monitors and manages the subordinate states intelligence collection and analysis.[72] These agreements allow for an increased level of intelligence sharing of substantial information because they allow the dominant states to monitor subordinate states compliance with the intelligence sharing agreement, and subsequently build a high degree of trust by limiting the fear of defection and misuse of intelligence.[73] Conversely, a state engaged in a hierarchical relationship with states outside of an organization will share intelligence at a decreased level if it fears that sharing intelligence with member states will spoil "privileged relationships" with the outside member states.[74]

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[70] Hunter, Thomas B, "The Challenges of Intelligence Sharing," Operational Studies, December 2004, http://www.operationalstudies.com/terrorism/TerrorismIntelligencePaper2.pdf.
[71] James Walsh, "Defection and Hierarchy in International Intelligence Sharing," Journal of Public Policy 27 (2007): 151-181.
[72] Ibid, 151.
[73] Ibid, 151.
[74] Villadsen, Ole R, "Prospects for a European Common Intelligence Policy," https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol44no3/pdf/v44i3a07p.pdf (accessed September 25, 2012).

Trust

Another factor is the level of trust that sending states have in the receiving states ability and desire to safeguard intelligence. Scholars have examined the impact of trust on intelligence sharing on three different levels.

The first level focuses on the trust that the receiving state will safeguard the *sources* of intelligence.[75] If a sending state has a low degree of trust in the ability of a potential receiving state to secure intelligence sent to it and thus possibly compromising the security of the sending states intelligence sources, intelligence sharing will occur at a minimal or non-existent level. Conversely, if a sending state has a high degree of trust in the ability of the potential receiving state to secure intelligence; intelligence sharing has the potential to occur at a more substantial level.

The second focuses on the trust that the receiving state will safeguard the raw intelligence provided to the receiving state. Thomas Hunter calls attention to this relationship when he writes that, "Once a piece of intelligence leaves the hands of a providing state, there are no guarantees that it will be used responsibly and in confidence."[76] If there is little or no established trust between sending and receiving states, the likelihood or perception of likelihood that a receiving state could misuse or compromise the intelligence is high, and thus proves to be a barrier in intelligence sharing.

Finally, the third centers on the trust that the sending state will not provide false intelligence and the receiving state will not manipulate the original intelligence in order

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[75] Muller-Wille, Bjorn, "For Our Eyes Only? Shaping an Intelligence Community within the EU," The European Union Institute for Security Studies, January 2004, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/occ50.pdf.

[76] Hunter, Thomas B, "The Challenges of Intelligence Sharing," Operational Studies, December 2004, http://www.operationalstudies.com/terrorism/TerrorismIntelligencePaper2.pdf.

to misinform and influence other states.[77] Examples throughout history provide insight into how the degree of trust between sending and receiving states has played on the exchange of intelligence amongst states.

An example where a low degree of trust in the receiving state to safeguard the original intelligence hindered intelligence sharing involves the United States and Pakistan. In this case, the United States is hesitant to supply the Pakistani Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence with any valuable intelligence because reports have surfaced that elements within the ISI may be sympathetic to Al-Qaida.[78] If the United States were to share intelligence with the ISI, the potential for compromise of the intelligence would be high, which results in a low degree of trust, and ultimately hinders intelligence sharing between these two states.

While it is apparent that trust plays a vital role in intelligence sharing, it is often hard to identify the level of trust among member states of international organizations. For the purposes of this chapter, two indirect strategies will be employed to gauge the level of trust among member states of regional and international organizations. The first strategy will be to examine the rules governing intelligence sharing in various institutions and the degree to which institutions within the organization contain monitoring and punishment provisions.[79] Arguably, if institutions within the organization contain these rules, sharing states have a higher likelihood of overcoming mistrust among receiving states, and thus sharing higher levels of more substantial intelligence. The second indicator that will be examined to gauge the level of trust among member states of

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid, 6.
[79] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.

international organizations will be to examine public comments made by policy makers of member states.[80]

Institutions

Closely tied to the development of trust is the role that international institutions and agreements play in facilitating intelligence sharing among member states of international organizations. Research throughout the international relations field of studies has shown that international institutions help states overcome mistrust and engage in mutually beneficial cooperation, including in the intelligence sharing realm.[81] Institutions encourage cooperation between states through two types of mechanisms.[82]

First, institutions "increase the costs of reneging on an agreement."[83] International institutions typically clearly define what actions encompass defection and compliance, while identifying what actions can be taken by states that may be harmed if other member states defect. Additionally, institutions cultivate trust among member states of international organizations by "creating specific allowances for states to monitor each other's compliance with agreements."[84] By providing states the ability to monitor the collection and dissemination of intelligence, a level of trust can be obtained among member states.

[80] Ibid, 634.
[81] Ibid, 630.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

Infrastructure and Resources

Finally, as the world has experienced a vast increase in technological capabilities, a growing number of scholars have turned their focus to examining the impact of infrastructure on intelligence sharing among states. There are a number of variables that are examined in conjunction with the roles infrastructure and resources play on intelligence sharing.

Ole Villadsen, a Walter L. Pforzheimer Award Winner has called attention to a number of these variables which include both the physical infrastructure which houses and processes intelligence stored in cyberspace as well as the flow of intelligence through various infrastructure components.

Villadsen notes that one way to facilitate successful intelligence sharing among member states of regional and international organizations is through the creation of safe and capable intranet systems which would allow for rapid dissemination of intelligence to member states of organizations.[85] Mr. Villadsen argues that the creation of centralized intranet systems would facilitate intelligence sharing because it would streamline dissemination of intelligence among member states.[86] A streamlined dissemination process would arguably decrease the vulnerability of the intelligence and facilitate a greater degree of intelligence sharing by limiting the amount of individuals, groups and locations the intelligence would have to travel through.

While an accurate calculation of the level of intelligence sharing occurring among member states of regional and international organizations is hard to achieve due to the

[85] Villadsen, Ole R, "Prospects for a European Common Intelligence Policy," https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol44no3/pdf/v44i3a07p.pdf (accessed September 25, 2012).
[86] Ibid.

lack of available data because of the sensitivity and secrecy of the information, conclusions can be drawn by examining the actors involved in and the relationships created among member states, the level of trust among states, the institutions in place to facilitate intelligence sharing and the infrastructure and resources designated to intelligence sharing. When examined against these four factors it becomes apparent that the member states of the European Union have experienced less substantial intelligence sharing as compared to the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Methodology

Qualitative research collection techniques will be used to gather relevant data on the four factors identified as affecting intelligence sharing which will be employed to accurately gauge the rate and success of intelligence sharing occurring within the EU and NATO.

The nature of relationships occurring within the EU and NATO will be the first factor examined. Theory suggests that hierarchical agreements facilitating intelligence sharing will indicate successful intelligence sharing, while a lack of hierarchical agreements will result in an indication of unsuccessful or limited levels of intelligence sharing.

While it is apparent that trust plays a vital role in intelligence sharing, it is often hard to identify the level of trust among member states of international organizations. Two indirect strategies will be employed to gauge the level of trust among member states of regional and international organizations. The first will be to examine the rules governing intelligence sharing in various institutions and the degree to which institutions

within the organization contain monitoring and punishment provisions. If institutions within the organization contain these rules, sharing states have a higher likelihood of overcoming mistrust among receiving states, and thus sharing higher levels of more substantial intelligence. The second indicator will be to examine public comments made by policy makers of member states.

Quantitative and qualitative data provided by both organizations will be used to examine the number of institutions currently facilitating intelligence sharing, level of full participation of member states and the rules governing the dissemination of intelligence among member states, when available.

Finally, infrastructure affecting intelligence sharing will be centered on the presence of intranets capable of facilitating a greater level of intelligence sharing at a higher rate. If an intranet system is non-existent the level of discussion and development of a future intranet system will be examined to determine the level of influence on intelligence sharing.

European Union (EU) Case Study: Actors and Relationship

The European Union has experienced continued membership growth over the past 60 years. The predecessor of the EU, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1951 by: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxemborg, and the Netherlands.[87] Since then there have been three major enlargements. On January 1, 1973 the ECSC added three new member states, including: Denmark, Ireland, and the

[87] "The History of the European Union," European Union, http://www.europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm (accessed November 18, 2012).

United Kingdom.[88] In 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the newly established European Union, and in 2004 Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the existing member states of the European Union.[89]

Throughout the growth of the ECSC and subsequent EU, no member state has been able to assert itself as the dominant state in negotiating and managing a more cohesive and centralized intelligence effort among member states.[90] Due to the absence of a dominant state willing to establish a more concerted intelligence cooperation effort, hierarchical relationships in conjunction with intelligence sharing initiatives are lacking among EU member states.

Additionally one of the most dominant states within the EU, Great Britain, is engaged in a hierarchical relationship with the United States. Great Britain depends on the intelligence supplied by the United States. This dependence tends to make British policy makers wary about the kind of intelligence they are willing to share and the frequency they are willing to share with EU member states because they do not want to disrupt the supply of intelligence from the United States.[91]

European Union Case Study: Trust

The second factor that indicates the level of intelligence sharing occurring among member states of the European Union is the degree of trust observed through examination of the rules governing intelligence sharing in various EU institutions as well as the public

[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[91] Ibid.

comments made by policy makers and public officials of the member states of the European Union.

Currently, no European Union institution contains rules that require member states to share intelligence with one another, thus making the decision to share intelligence a voluntary act.[92] There are numerous difficulties that are commonly associated with voluntary sharing of intelligence among member states of organizations. First, voluntary sharing means that there is no direct way for receiving states to ensure that a sharing state has disclosed all relevant intelligence.[93] Secondly, there is no way for receiving states to determine that the intelligence that has been shared has not been modified or distorted in such a way that it could serve the interests of the sending state.[94] Finally, because the European Union institutions allow member states to voluntarily contribute intelligence, they all lack strong and effective mechanisms for monitoring and punishing member states for failure to disseminate relevant intelligence.[95] Through the examination of the rules governing intelligence sharing within the European Union it becomes apparent that the level of trust created and maintained across member states of the European Union is low due to the lack of intelligence sharing requirements and the necessary mechanisms to monitor and punish member states that may fail to provide, alter or distort intelligence.

The second component that indicates the level of trust demonstrated among member states of the EU are public comments made by officials. Throughout the EU the

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[92] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[93] Ibid, 636.
[94] Ibid, 636.
[95] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.

comments made across the organization "regularly express concern that sharing is not as open as possible" and often identify "mistrust as the key barrier to greater sharing."[96] There have been two occasions that have been marked by a surge in public comments made by public officials and policy makers: the September 11th attacks and the terrorist attacks in Madrid.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11th, in a declaration that would not have been necessary had the member states believed intelligence sharing was occurring at an acceptable level, the European Council concluded that, "Member States will share with Europol, systematically and without delay, all useful data regarding terrorism."[97] This sentiment was echoed on two different occasions by then British Home Secretary David Plunkett and the European Police Office's (Europol) Director, Jürgen Storbeck. Shortly after the terrorist attacks on the United States Jürgen Storbeck complained, "That each Member State was still 'keeping' its information 'to itself' instead of sharing it with others."[98] Additionally, David Plunkett acknowledged the need for more open intelligence sharing, while recognizing that, "Britain would not share its most sensitive intelligence," primarily singles intelligence, with other member states.[99]

A resurgence of public comments calling for greater intelligence cooperation, while acknowledging the limits of intelligence sharing due to mistrust among member states occurred after the 2004 terrorist attacks on Madrid. Nicholas Sarkozy recognized that while increased intelligence cooperation would be helpful in preventing future terrorist attacks, such "EU intelligence capabilities would be difficult because of the need

[96] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[97] Ibid, 637.
[98] Ibid, 637.
[99] Ibid, 637.

felt by each Member State to protect its sources."[100] Belgian Justice Minister Laurette Onkelinx criticized the informal intelligence sharing systems established within the EU and stated that he believed in order to create higher levels of intelligence sharing among the member states of the EU formal structures with mandatory requirements to exchange intelligence would have to be built, "on foundations of mutual confidence, otherwise there will be no sense to it."[101]

European Union Case Study: Institutions

The European Union has three institutions that are directly and indirectly tied to intelligence sharing occurring among the member states of the EU. The oldest of those institutions is the Berne Group.

The Berne Group was formed in the 1970's as a forum for the six EU member states to discuss security services.[102] Today, the Berne Group is composed of the current 27 member states of the EU and serves as the principal point of contact for the heads of each state's national security services.[103] Although the Berne Group does not require individual state representatives to share operational intelligence, the informal forums of the group have facilitated moderately successful intelligence sharing to combat terrorism. The most notable example that supports this claim was seen in 2001. Prior to the September 11th attacks on the United States, intelligence indicators suggested that Osama

[100] Ibid, 638.
[101] Ibid, 638.
[102] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[103] Ibid.

bin Laden was planning multiple bomb attacks throughout Europe.[104] The major intelligence services in Europe have engaged in successful exchanges of intelligence information, which led to a series of "coordinated operations" across Europe.[105] The operations resulted in the apprehension of eighteen suspects and the uncovering and seizure of weapons and chemicals intended to be used for the creation of explosive devices.[106]

The second institution that facilitates intelligence sharing is Europol. Europol was established through a convention signed by all member states in 1995 and began operations in 1999. The major objective of Europol is to improve the sharing of intelligence on specific subject matters including: illegal trafficking, illegal immigration, terrorism, forgery and cyber crime.[107] While all member states are represented in Europol by a team of 65 representatives drawn from each national government, Europol still lacks a supply of sufficient intelligence from each member state. The Director of the Belgian Federal Police Patrick Zanders stated, "Insufficient supply of intelligence from member states made it difficult for Europol to respond effectively to requests for information."[108] In addition to Europol suffering from a lack of intelligence provided by the member states, Europol's requests for information and dissemination process further impede the intelligence sharing capabilities of the institution. Europol has detailed restrictions on the

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[104] Aldrich, Richard J, "Transatlantic Intelligence and Security Cooperation," http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/publications/inta80_4_08_aldrich.pdf (accessed November 10, 2012).
[105] Ibid, 9.
[106] Ibid, 9.
[107] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[108] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.

accessibility and sharing of analytical files.[109] If an analysis is of a "general nature" and of a "strategic type" all member states may access the report.[110] However, if the information "bears on specific cases not concerning all member states and has a direct operational aim" only the member states that provided the initial intelligence, member states that were invited by the states providing the initial intelligence, and "those which are directly concerned by the information" have access to the files.[111]

The final group that indirectly affects intelligence sharing within the European Union is the EU Military Staff. The EU Military Staff's Intelligence Division is composed of roughly 30 staff members who are responsible for collating intelligence provided by national authorities, performing additional analysis and providing early warnings, producing assessments and operational support on external security matters.[112] There are two major impediments that indicate that the level of intelligence cooperation facilitated by the EU Military Staff is minimal. First, as with the other EU institutions related to facilitating intelligence among member states, member states are not required to share intelligence with the EU Military Staff.[113] Also, because the EU Military Staff's Intelligence Division provides additional analysis on the intelligence provided by the member states, potential receiving states are not able to directly identify the country that provided the initial information.[114] The masking of the identity of the sending state(s) has the potential to create a barrier of mistrust among the receiving state(s) for a number

[109] Ibid, 635.
[110] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[111] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[112] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[113] James Walsh, "Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough," JCMS 44 (2006): 625-643.
[114] Ibid, 635.

of reasons. First, if the identity of the sending state is masked the receiving state has no verification mechanism to directly reach out to the sending state to gain clarity or more information. Additionally, if member states have strained relationships with various other states or have received incorrect or misleading intelligence from member states they are less likely to completely trust the validity of the information coming from a source that isn't identified, as they cannot verify if that the information is coming from one of those states.

European Union Case Study: Infrastructure and Resources

Currently, the primary infrastructure to support intelligence sharing through cyber intranets within the European Union is the European Computer System (TECS). This system contains two groups of intelligence.[115] Both types of intelligence are drawn from Europol's intelligence pool. The first group of intelligence is held within Europol's Information System and provides basic identifying characteristics, such as names, nationality, sex and place of birth, about "individuals and groups suspected of having committed, or being likely to commit, a crime" that would fall under Europol's jurisdiction.[116] The second group of intelligence is composed of the "work files" produced by Europol.[117] These files often provide documentation regarding specific offenses, including all pertinent case information.

While this system may facilitate low levels of intelligence sharing there are multiple flaws to the current model. First, the intelligence provided is incomplete

[115] James Walsh, "Security Policy and Intelligence Cooperation in the European Union," April 2009, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/walsh_12C.pdf.
[116] Ibid, 9.
[117] Ibid, 9.

because member states of the EU voluntarily contribute intelligence, and because of the voluntary nature tend to give limited amounts of intelligence both in the scope and depth of information. Second, because both groups of intelligence are products of Europol the same restrictions to access apply as previously mentioned.

NATO Case Study: Actors and Relationship

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has a long history of dominant states engaging with other member states to form hierarchical relationships in order to better facilitate intelligence sharing. One of the oldest hierarchical relationships that exist within NATO is the relationship between the United States and Great Britain.

At the beginning of the Cold War the United States understood the necessity to have intelligence capabilities close to the Soviet Union. The United States identified Great Britain as a trustworthy partner for this collaboration. Through the beginning of the Cold War, the partnership between the two states was quite successful, and by June 1948 the United States and the United Kingdom formalized there intelligence relationship in a series of understandings known as the UKUSA agreement.[118] The UKUSA agreement is an arrangement that acknowledges that the intelligence sharing occurring between the United States and Great Britain, as well as Australia and Canada, is occurring at a higher level than with countries that join later.[119] The UKUSA agreements also established common procedures and terms, which insured that intelligence sharing across the two countries was smooth.

[118] James Walsh, "Defection and Hierarchy in International Intelligence Sharing," Journal of Public Policy 27 (2007): 151-181.
[119] Ibid, 174.

Today, NATO is still marked by hierarchical relationships. Member states regularly receive intelligence reports from the dominant states of NATO, which include the United States, France, Great Britain and Germany.[120] The agreements established among the dominant states of NATO, allow for intelligence sharing to occur at high levels among the dominant states, as well as facilitating a large degree of intelligence sharing occurring between dominant states and the additional member states of NATO.

NATO Case Study: Trust

The second factor that has the ability to help or hinder intelligence sharing among states is the level of trust that sending states and receiving states have within each other. NATO member states enjoy a high level of trust built on confidence from continued successful intelligence cooperation efforts throughout history.[121] There have been and continue to be multiple alliances among and involving a large number of NATO member states that indicate a high degree of trust based on the degree of intelligence sharing that is occurring.

One of the earliest alliances that have been recognized is "CAZAB".[122] "CAZAB" was a security alliance developed in the 1960's among English-speaking states. "CAZAB" was established to search for evidence of high-level soviet penetration

[120] "Situation Center," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-C9EA078F-3BB01793/natolive/topics_57954.htm (accessed October 20, 2012).
[121] Aldrich, Richard J, "Transatlantic Intelligence and Security Cooperation," http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/publications/inta80_4_08_aldrich.pdf (accessed November 10, 2012).
[122] Ibid, 8.

among the states.[123] Intelligence cooperation was further enhanced in the 1970's when a larger group of states began an intelligence-sharing system on terrorism in the Middle-East.[124] That system was known as "Kilowatt". Kilowatt was an intelligence forum formed in response to a number of terrorist coups that occurred in the 1970's and included intelligence service representatives from: Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Ireland, Norway, and Israel.[125] The multilateral intelligence framework of Kilowatt allowed the states involved to advance intelligence sharing on Middle-Eastern terrorism.[126] While it is evident there is a high degree of trust established on confidence built upon frequent, successful interactions, specific comments made by top officials within the United States indicate the level of intelligence sharing occurring among member states of NATO has not reached its full potential.

Comments regarding NATO's fragmented response to the 2003 Invasion of Iraq made by then U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld exemplify this belief. In his comments he identified NATO's lack of common intelligence as a contributing factor to the fragmented response in Iraq.[127] He continued on to say:

> "To the extent we are all working off the same set of facts, or roughly the same set of facts, the people from our respective countries tend to come to roughly the same set of facts, the people from our respective countries tend to come to

[123] Ibid, 8.
[124] Ibid, 8.
[125] Shpiro, Shlomo, "The Communication of Mutual Security: Frameworks for European-Mediterranean Intelligence Sharing," NATO 2001, http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/99-01/shpiro.pdf.
[126] Ibid, 8.
[127] Ibid, 19.

> roughly the same conclusions, and to the extent we're not working off the same set of facts, we tend not to; and it seems to me that it may very well be that one thing NATO might do would be to do a better job of seeing that the intelligence capabilities of the respective countries are brought together and that the people in NATO and the capitals of NATO countries are kept tuned into those threats and the kinds of capabilities that we as free people face. We're much more likely to get a faster common understanding to the extend we have a reasonably similar perspective with respect to what the facts are."[128]

This discourse is important for two reasons. First, it shows that the United States, one of the most dominant states within NATO, acknowledges that the intelligence capabilities of NATO member states do not always produce common, shared intelligence. This quote exhibits the fact that current level of intelligence sharing among NATO states is not adequate. Also, Donald Rumsfeld concludes with a call to action of all NATO member states to increase intelligence sharing capabilities in order to obtain a "common understanding" and ultimately identify and respond to threats around the world.

NATO Case Study: Institutions

NATO has three primary institutions responsible for the collection and dissemination of intelligence among member states.

[128] Ibid, 20.

The first, and one of the oldest intelligence exchange organizations, is the NATO Special Committee known as AC-46, established on December 3, 1952.[129] The AC-46 is composed of the heads of intelligence services of all NATO member countries, each of whom represents their country's intelligence community within NATO.[130] The primary mission of AC-46 is to advise the North Atlantic Council (NAC) on "espionage, terrorist and other non-military related threats," which have the ability to affect NATO as a whole, and each of its member states.[131]

The second institution that facilitates intelligence sharing among NATO member states is the Situation Center (SitCen). The Situation Center was established in 1969 to ensure the continuous flow and exchange of information among member states.[132] Today, the Situation Center is a 24/7 operation responsible for "receiving, exchanging, and disseminating political, economic and military intelligence and information" throughout NATO headquarters, strategic commands and alliance members.[133]

The final group that directly contributes to the success of intelligence cooperation among NATO member states is the NATO special committee. The Special Committee is an analytical unit located within NATO that compiles and analyzes intelligence provided by member states security services regarding terrorism.[134] The Special Committee also closely cooperates with NATO military intelligence bodies to obtain and analyze

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[129] Ibid, 17.
[130] Ibid, 17.
[131] Ibid, 17.
[132] Nobile, Giuseppe, Virginia Estevez, and Stergios Pinakas, "NATO Headquarters-The Situation Center GIS Experience," http://proceedings.esri.com/library/userconf/proc06/papers/papers/pap_2341.pdf.
[133] "Situation Center," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-C9EA078F-3BB01793/natolive/topics_57954.htm (accessed October 20, 2012).
[134] Aldrich, Richard J, "Transatlantic Intelligence and Security Cooperation," http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/publications/inta80_4_08_aldrich.pdf (accessed November 10, 2012).

available intelligence being provided by the member states. Once the Special Committee has analyzed the available data, it is the disseminated to the Council and Secretary General.[135]

NATO Case Study: Infrastructure and Resources

NATO is actively advancing its cyber infrastructure to enhance intelligence sharing among alliance states. NATO's first effort to advance the infrastructure to support intelligence sharing was through the creation of the NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency. The Consultation, Command and Control Agency is comprised of 800 staff members and among other things is responsible for dealing with the integration of data from a variety of non-standard systems that span through the alliance states.[136]

Additionally, NATO is utilizing a "push-pull" information sharing strategy.[137] This information sharing approach allows information to be "pulled" or collected from operational areas and "pushed" or disseminated to alliance member states.[138] This information is easily circulated across NATO's interconnected cyber network in XML format.[139] XML format allows for information collected among states to be consolidated

[135] Ibid, 17.
[136] Ibid, 19.
[137] Nobile, Giuseppe, Virginia Estevez, and Stergios Pinakas, "NATO Headquarters-The Situation Center GIS Experience," http://proceedings.esri.com/library/userconf/proc06/papers/papers/pap_2341.pdf.
[138] Ibid, 1.
[139] Ibid, 3.

into a "platform and language neutral" field, which lends itself to quick and easy dissemination across different states.[140]

Conclusion

After examining the four factors that affect intelligence sharing within the European Union and NATO, it is apparent that the hypothesis of this chapter, that NATO member states are currently engaged in more frequent and substantial intelligence sharing is correct for the following reasons.

First, the European Union lacks a dominant state able to create hierarchical agreements within the EU. The lack of hierarchical agreements due to the absence of a dominant state limits intelligence sharing. Additionally, the states within the European Union, especially Great Britain, are engaged in hierarchical relationships with states outside of the EU organization which further diminishes intelligence sharing with member states within the EU. Conversely, the member states within NATO enjoy a number of established hierarchical relationships which contributes to successful intelligence sharing within the organization.

Secondly, both organizations lack formal rules that require member states to share intelligence with one another. The lack of formal rules governing intelligence sharing hamper the likelihood of intelligence sharing because there is not a mechanism which would allow sending states to monitor and punish receiving states within the organization that misuse the shared intelligence, thus limiting the amount of trust in one another. Additionally, officials from both member states within both organizations have made public comments calling for a greater level of intelligence sharing to occur.

[140] Ibid, 3.

At an institutional level, the European Union and NATO both have three primary institutions that are designed to facilitate intelligence sharing. The EU institutions are marred by the voluntary and often limited participation of the member states providing intelligence. Without full participation, the intelligence gathered is often incomplete, thus limiting the quantity and quality available for member states. Coupled with incomplete intelligence, the dissemination process within Europol is restrictive and does not allow for intelligence to be readily available for member states. Alternatively, the institutions within NATO, which have been designed to facilitate intelligence sharing, enjoy substantial participation from member states and have staffs dedicated to ensuring the successful collection and dissemination of intelligence to member states.

Finally, the primary infrastructure to support intelligence sharing through cyber intranets within the European Union, TECS, contains multiple flaws including: incomplete intelligence and restrictions limiting the dissemination of intelligence as imposed by Europol. In contrast, NATO has created the NATO Consultation, Command and Control agency to facilitate the integration of data from a variety of non-standard operating systems throughout the alliance states, as well as utilize a "push-pull" information sharing strategy.

While neither organization has achieved a level of complete, flawless intelligence sharing, there are a number of adjustments that the European Union could make in order to increase the level of intelligence sharing occurring among member states. First, and foremost an EU member state, or group of states, must step forward and establish itself as the dominant state of the organization. This is imperative because as seen throughout the NATO example, the primary driving force of intelligence sharing within the organization

is the hierarchical structure of the relationships which contribute to successful intelligence sharing because they allow the dominant state to monitor subordinate states compliance with intelligence sharing. At an institutional level, the European Union needs to build trust amongst its member states in order to facilitate a more quantitative and qualitative level of intelligence sharing. Coupled with this, the European Union needs to ease current restrictions on the dissemination of intelligence among member states through EU institutions. Also, the European Union needs to update its intranet databases to allow for a "push-pull" strategy. This strategy allows for intelligence to be "pushed" into databases, as well as for member states to easily "pull" out intelligence when needed. Intelligence sharing will always be dominated by the level of trust experienced among the members of any organization; however by adapting organizational institutions and infrastructure to greater facilitate intelligence sharing regional and international organizations can provide member states with the capabilities needed to readily share intelligence.

Chapter 3: Economic Crisis and Security Cooperation within the European Union

Throughout history the rise of threats and subsequent rise of state powers and various alliances to quell those threats has been a constant phenomenon. In a world that has never been more connected security cooperation among states has once again become a paramount issue. The objective of this chapter is to determine how the economic crisis within the European Union has affected security cooperation among members, particularly Greece, Spain, and Portugal. To reach that objective this chapter will survey four slightly varied definitions of collective security as presented by two former and two current scholars in the field including: George Schwarzenberger, Vernon Van Dyke, A.K. Chaturvedi, and Onyemaechi Eke. It will then present the four principles that collective security is comprised of as presented by Rourke and Boyer. Once a framework of collective security is established three case studies examining the political will and public support for security cooperation within Greece, Spain, and Portugal will be presented. These case studies will highlight the specific environment of each country's economic crisis, bailout stipulations, defense spending prior to, during, and after the financial crisis, and spending on social programs within the country. Through examination of the previously mentioned indicators this chapter will show that security cooperation within the European Union, particularly within these three countries, was not adversely affected by the economic crisis.

Literature Review

Prior to exploring the implications of the economic crisis on security cooperation within the European Union by examining specific case studies, it is essential to explore

the notion of collective security. For the purposes of this chapter four definitions will be provided and analyzed drawing from two scholars prior to the end of the Cold War and two current international relations scholars.

George Schwarzenberger, a prolific and well published author on international issues, in *Power Politics: A Study of International Society* Schwarzenberger defined collective security as "machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order".[141] Vernon Van Dyke, a political science scholar and professor of the mid 1900's, offers a similar but slightly different definition of collective security. Van Dyke defines collective security as a "system in which a number of states are bound to engage in collective efforts on behalf of each other's individual security".[142] While both definitions are reasonably similar, they do vary slightly. The first and arguably most obvious difference between the two definitions is that Van Dyke explicitly states that collective security is a system of states, whereas Schwarzenberger does not. Additionally, Schwarzenberger implies that collective security is a measure that should be used to deter or fight any attack against the international order as a whole, as compared to Van Dyke who offers a narrower approach asserting that states should partake in collective security if an individual state's security is being threatened or breached. While these scholars provide varying definitions of collective security both affirm that collective security encompasses a group of players that pool resources to defend the status quo.

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[141] Schwarzenberger, George. *Power Politics: A Study of International Society (3rd Edition)*. London, 1964.
[142] Van Dyke, Vernon. *International Politics*. New York: Meredith Corporation, 1957.

Like the scholars that were writing prior to the end of the Cold War, A.K. Chaturvedi, a retired Army Colonel, and Onyemaechi Eke, an African scholar in the field of international relations, provide definitions of collective security similar to their predecessors. A.K. Chaturvedi, in *Dictionary of Political Science*, defines collective security as "an arrangement arrived at by some nations to protect their vital interest, safety or integrity, against a probable threat or menace over a particular period, by means of combining their power".[143] Eke presents a definition of the term that he identifies as "an idealist one which hinges on the prevention of hostilities by the formation of an overwhelming military force by member states to deter aggression or, by implication, to launch a reprisal attack capable of defeating the recalcitrant member".[144] Similar to Van Dyke, both Chaturvedi and Eke identify that collective security is composed of a group of states; however, Eke was the only scholar the explicitly stated that collective security is comprised of a military force.

While all four scholars offered an array of interpretations on the definition of collective security, after examining each description of the term it can be concluded that all four authors identified that collective security is a group of actors that generally renounce the use of force against one another and vow to defend one another against an outside threat. Although the precise definition of collective security is not entirely agreed upon amongst predominant international relations scholars; literature suggests that there are four principles that are necessary for collective security to be achieved.

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[143] Chaturvedi, A.K. *Dictionary of Political Science*. New Delhi: Academic Publishers, 2006.
[144] Eke, Onyemaechi. *Strategic Studies: Logical Focus in the 21st Century*. Abakaliki: Willy-Rose and Appleseed Publishing, 2007.

Four Principles of Collective Security

The first principle of collective security is: all countries renounce the use of force, except in self-defense. The primary purpose of this principle is to ensure trust among states engaged in a collective security group from internal attacks initiated by other collective security group states. The second principle of collective security is: all states agree that peace is of the utmost importance. The essence of this second principle is that an attack on one state of the collective is an attack on all. The third principle of collective security is: all pledge to join to stop an act of aggression and restore peace. It is within this principle that collective security agreements tend to falter as many countries are unwilling to overlook their sovereign interest to pursue collective action.[145] Rourke and Boyer highlight this fact in *World Politics: International Politics on the World Stage* stating, "thus far governments have generally maintained their right to view conflict in terms of their national interest and to support or oppose actions based on their nationalistic point of view".[146] The fourth, and final principle of collective security, is that actors involved in the collective must supply material and personnel resources necessary to form a formidable force able to address and counter any attacks.[147] It is within this fourth principle of security cooperation that a number of issues arrive. First, based on the size and economic situation of the states involved smaller, less economically successful states may not be able to contribute the same amount of material and/or personnel resources. This could contribute to an unsuccessful collective due to not having the raw materials needed to thwart an attack. Additionally, this could contribute

[145] Rourke, J. and M. Boyer. *World Politics: International Politics on the World Stage, Brief.* U.S.A.: Dushkin/McGraw Hill, 1998.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

to a lack of full participation and trust by other actors within the collective who have agreed to relinquish some sovereignty in order to participate within the collective.

While a completely accurate account of security cooperation among member states within the European Union after the economic crisis will be difficult to determine, conclusions can be drawn by examining the specific attributes of each state's financial crisis, bailout stipulations, defense spending prior to, during, and after the economic crisis, and the public support for participation in collective security.

Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative research collection techniques will be used to gather relevant data to support or negate the hypothesis that the economic crisis within the European Union did not have an adverse affect on security cooperation particularly in Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

The particulars of the financial crisis within each country will be the first information provided. This section will include specifics of the financial crisis including, but not limited to: the factors contributing to the crisis as well as bailout stipulations. The purpose of this section is to examine qualitative data to extrapolate if the bailout stipulations had an impact on the political will of the state to contribute to the theory of "pooling and sharing" as outlined by the European Union after the economic crisis.

After building a fundamental understanding of the facts of the economic crisis within each country and individual bailout stipulations, quantitative data highlighting the defense contributions to the European Union, including total defense expenditures, will be presented prior to, during, and after the economic crisis, spanning form 2005-2012.

This quantitative data will supply another aspect to consider when determining the impact of the economic crisis on the political will of the state to contribute to security cooperation within the European Union.

The final pillar of examination will look at the perception of public support for security cooperation within the European Union. Quantitative data will be presented highlighting spending on social programs as compared to the defense spending over the span of the same time frame. The implication of examining defense spending as it compares to social program spending throughout the economic crisis will stand to highlight if public support has increased or diminished to contribute to security cooperation among the member states of the European Union.

Greece: Financial Crisis

The financial crisis in Greece can be attributed to a combination of overspending and a decline in state income. In the ten years leading up the financial crisis of 2008, public sector wages rose nearly fifty percent, a trend that was much higher than that of other Eurozone countries. Additionally, the government also acquired a large amount of debt while paying for the 2004 Athens Olympics. Although overspending was a large problem for Greece, it was even further compounded by extensive tax evasion throughout the country which greatly limited the government's income. Ultimately, after years of overspending and a steady decline in income, Greece was no longer able to repay their loans, and was forced to ask for help from other European partners and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

To date, the European Union and the IMF have provided two bailout loans to Greece totaling roughly 240 billion Euros.[148] Coupled with the multi-stage loans provided by the EU and the IMF, the majority of Greece's private-sector creditors agreed to write off approximately seventy five percent of the debts owed to them by Athens, as well as replace existing loans with new loans at a lower interest rate.[149] In exchange for the bailouts provided, the EU and the IMF required that Greece implement major austerity measures involving extreme spending cuts, increases in taxes, and labor market and pension reforms. As of 2014, reports still forecast Greek debt at roughly 177 percent of gross domestic product (GDP).[150] While the country has managed to improve price competitiveness by forcing once souring wages down, adhere to reforms implemented within the bailout stipulations specifically reducing the government work force by twenty percent, and improve tax collection by modernizing and enforcing tax procedures, Greece still has an unemployment rate of nearly 27 percent and the nation's privatization program has not been nearly successful as previously forecasted.[151]

Although Greece has managed to make some progress after the financial crisis and subsequent bailout the current extended projection for the country still remains rather bleak, with debt ratios staying quite high for an extended period of time and economic growth remaining quite dismal.

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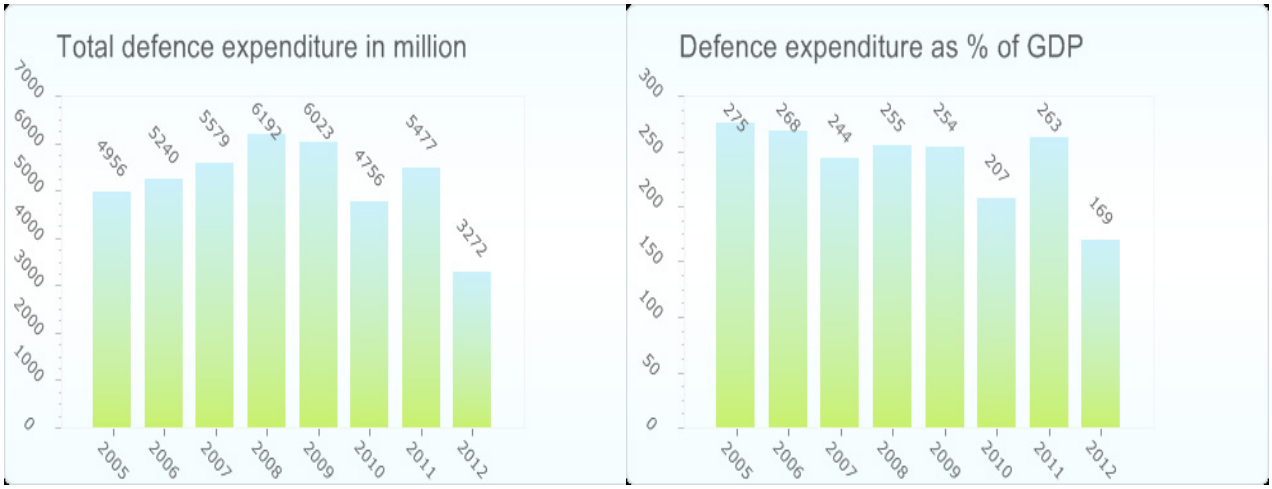
[148] "Eurozone Crisis Explained," *BBC News* (accessed July 10, 2014).
[149] Ibid, 2.
[150] Alderman, Liz, "Despite Missing Economic Goals, Greece Manages to Meet a Bailout Target," New York Times, April 26, 2014.
[151] Ibid.

Greece: Defense Spending

Total defense expenditures in Greece have not indicated a pattern that shows a direct correlation with the economic crisis within the country. From 2005-2009 Greece's gross defense expenditures steadily increased. In 2005, defense expenditures totaled 4956 million Euros representing 2.75% of GDP.[152] In 2006 total defense expenditures rose to 5240 million Euros, but the percentage of GDP dipped slightly to 2.68%.[153] The following year total defense expenditures once again increased to 5579 million Euros, or 2.44% of GDP.[154] In 2008, the same year as the financial crisis, defense expenditures peaked at 6192 million Euros, 2.55% of GDP.[155] After 2008, total defense expenditures have been on a downward trend, barring 2011 where there was a spike in total defense spending. In 2009, defense expenditures lowered only slightly from the previous year and totaled 6023 million Euros, 2.54% of GDP.[156] The following year, 2010, defense expenditures dropped a significant amount to 4756 million Euros, representing 2.07% of GDP.[157] In 2011, defense expenditures increased once again to levels that were seen prior to the financial crisis, and totaled 5477 million Euros, or 2.63% of GDP.[158] Finally, in 2012 defense expenditures reached their lowest point over the previous seven years and fell to only 3272 million Euros, or 1.69% of GDP.[159]

[152] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

Defense Spending in Greece (2005-2012)[160]



The examination of total defense expenditures for Greece from 2005-2012 suggest that defense spending has been affected by the economic crisis of 2008. It appears as though defense spending spiked just prior to the economic crisis and then continued to decline, barring spending in 2011 that was marked by a significant increase in defense spending. The defense expenditure data above indicates that the political will of the state to contribute to defense budgets was affected by the economic crisis and subsequent bailout austerity measures. Additional data for 2013 would provide a more accurate picture of the spending trends as there was a downward trend after 2008, with a spike in spending in 2011; however, with the current data available it appears as though political will to contribute to defense spending has declined.

[160] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).

Greece: Social Program Spending

A final point to examine when determining how economic crisis affects security cooperation is to examine government social expenditures as a percentage of gross domestic product. This marker can be used to determine the perception of public support when it is compared to defense spending trends as outlined in the previous section.

From 2006-2012 Greece's total public social expenditure as a percentage of GDP has for the most part steadily increased, with the most significant increase occurring between 2008 and 2009, the year of the economic crisis. In 2006 government social spending totaled 21.3% of Greece's GDP.[161] In 2007, that number rose by .3% to 21.6%; in 2008 the number rose again to 22.2% of GDP; and in 2009 the number rose by its highest margin of 1.7% to 23.9% of GDP.[162] From 2009 to 2010 that number fell slightly to 23.3% but made a quick recovery and rose by 1.1% in 2011 to 24.4% of GDP.[163] In 2012, once again government spending slightly declined to end 2012 with 24.1% of GDP being spent on public social expenditures.[164]

While it appears as though defense spending has suffered from the economic crisis of 2008, government spending on social expenditures has steadily increased throughout the past six years indicating that public support for security cooperation has slightly declined since 2005.

[161] OECD (2013), "Government social spending", *Social Issues: Key Tables from OECD*, No. 1. DOI: 10.1787/socxp-gov-table-2013-1-en.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

Spain: Financial Crisis

Unlike the financial crisis in Greece, caused by overspending and a lack of income, Spain's financial crisis was rooted in an immense amount of real-estate debt caused by the construction bubble burst. After joining the European Union in 1986, Spain enjoyed a long economic boom supported by a housing bubble that was characterized by inexpensive loans to homebuyers and builders, and was marked by a 44% increase in housing prices from 2004-2008, the years directly proceeding the financial crisis.[165] During that time banks had been thriving due to the rapid expansion of the housing market. However, in 2008, after twenty two years of a healthy economy the housing bubble burst, causing housing prices to plummet and the economy to constrict. Additionally, the collapse of the housing market caused the value of the assets the construction and housing loans were based on to plummet, equating to borrowers having trouble making their loan repayments. This was further compounded because the banks had borrowed the money on international markets to lend to construction companies and homebuyers rather than using savings deposits from their customer.[166] What this essentially meant was that because borrowers could no longer repay their loans due to a lack of income, the lenders were stuck with an immense amount of debt owed to players on the international market. In order to deal with this precarious situation the Spanish government had to ask for help on the international scene.

In conjunction with restructuring the country's banking sector, in 2012 Madrid requested international aid for its banks and was offered the ability to borrow from a loan

[165] "Eurozone Crisis Explained," *BBC News* (accessed July 10, 2014).
[166] Ibid, 2.

up to 100 billion Euros drawn from the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism, Eurozone funds set up to help members in financial distress.[167] By borrowing from funds set aside to help European Union members in financial distress, Spain avoided having to borrow from international authorities, such as the IMF, which allowed them to avoid austerity measures attached to the loan money. In January 2014, Spain exited its international bailout program having used 56.6 billion Euros of the roughly 100 billion Euros offered to them.[168] Since restructuring the banking sector and accepting aid, Spain's economy has steadily improved, showing growth in the last two quarters of 2013.

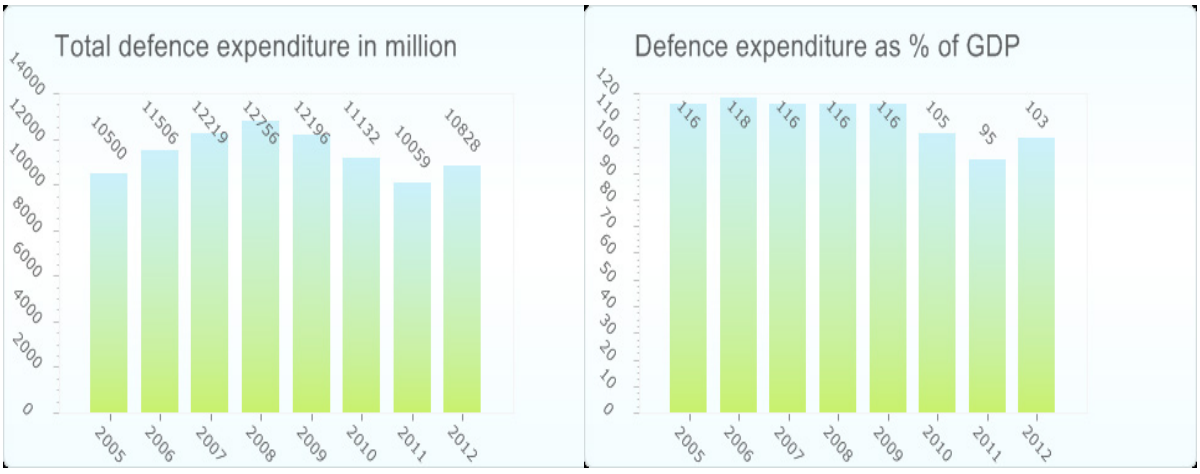
Spain: Defense Spending

Spain's total defense expenditures throughout the seven year span of 2005-2012 seem to fluctuate in a pattern that represents the financial struggle and subsequent bailout of the state. Prior to the construction bubble burst of 2008 Spain's total defense expenditures steadily rose. In 2005, defense expenditures were 10500 million Euros, 1.16% of GDP; in 2006 expenditures rose to 11506 million Euros, 1.8% of GDP; in 2007 defense spending rose to 12219 million Euros, 1.16% of GDP; and finally in 2008, the year of the construction bubble burst, defense expenditures peaked at 12756 million Euros, or roughly 1.16% of GDP.[169] The year following the construction bubble burst the total defense expenditures slipped slightly to 12196 million Euros, still holding steady

[167] Ibid, 3.
[168] Frayer, Lauren, "Spain Exits Bailout Program; Second Eurozone Country to do so," *The Los Angeles Times*, World section (accessed August 2014).
[169] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).

at 1.16% of GDP.[170] In 2010 and 2011 the numbers continued their downward trend as the country floundered to recover from the construction bubble burst and subsequent bank crisis. In 2010 total defense expenditures dipped to 11132 million Euros, representing 1.05% of GDP and the following year spending bottomed out at 10059 million Euros, the lowest point of spending over the seven year span, comprising just .95% of GDP.[171] However, defense spending once again increased in 2012, the same year that Spain requested international aid from the European community, to 10828 million Euros, representing 1.03% of GDP.[172]

Defense Spending in Spain (2005-2012)[173]



After examining the total defense expenditures for Spain from 2005-2012 it becomes clear that defense spending was directly impacted by the financial struggles of the state but has seemed to rebound with the support of the bailout money provided from

[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).

the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism, which has allowed Spain to recover without implying strict austerity measures on the country. The defense expenditure data above indicates that the political will of the state to contribute to defense budgets is directly correlated to health of the state, but at the current moment seems to be increasing as the economy rebounds from the economic crisis of 2008.

Spain: Social Program Spending

Total public social expenditures in Greece have seen positive gains throughout the time span of 2006-2012 barring a slight loss from 2010 to 2011. In 2006 government social spending represented 21.1% of GDP.[174] For the next four years that number continued to gain momentum, resulting in social expenditures of 21.3% of GDP in 2007, 22.9% in 2008, 26% in 2009, and 26.7% of GDP in 2010.[175] The largest gain during this time frame came between 2008 and 2009, the same time as the construction bubble burst. The only loss of social spending came the following year expenditures fell slightly to 26.4% of GDP.[176] In 2012, once again government social spending increased slightly to comprise 26.8% of GDP.

As compared to defense spending, as presented in the previous section, there appears to be an inverse relationship between defense spending and government social spending after the 2008 economic crisis. Between 2008 and 2009 defense spending

[174] OECD (2013), "Government social spending", *Social Issues: Key Tables from OECD*, No. 1. DOI: 10.1787/socxp-gov-table-2013-1-en.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

decreased slightly while public social expenditures grew 3.1%, the largest increase over the five year study, as a percentage of GDP. Defense spending continued to decline until 2012 while public social expenditures continued moderate growth, with only one slight loss from 2010 to 2011. This inverse relationship highlights that public support for security cooperation was crippled due to the economic crisis, as defense spending decreased and government social spending increased.

Portugal: Financial Crisis

Portugal has both a financial and economic crisis. Portugal entered the European Union in 1986 and the European Monetary Union in 1999 as a peripheral country, in this case a country that was not performing at the same economic level of other European Union countries. Once Portugal joined the European Union external funds became cheap and abundant to the country, as creditors had the perception that there was little to no risk in providing money to Portugal because they were in the same currency market and had no restrictions on capital flows. The cheap and abundant credit offered by wealthy EU member states created an environment that led to swift increase in the country's standard of living. Concurrently, the Portuguese government struggled to maintain a budget deficit under the three percent mandated by the Euro zone's Stability and Growth Pact. In 2005, Portugal's budget deficit rose above the three percent mandate and landed at 5.9%. The following year, the government managed to reduce the deficit by almost two percent, mainly by ramping up revenue-generating measures such as tax enforcement and collection. In 2007 and 2008, the budget deficit fell below four percent due to spending

cuts and structural reforms.[177] However, in 2009 the budget deficit rose to a staggering 10.1% of GDP, a result of a substantial drop in tax revenue.[178] The influx of cheap and abundant lines of credit, coupled with a soaring budget deficit were the two driving factors behind the financial crisis Portugal experienced. The problem was further compounded by the economic problems within Portugal, primarily overall low productivity and lack of competitiveness with other European Union countries.

On May 3, 2011 the Portuguese government reached a bailout agreement with the International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank, and the European Commission. The agreement resulted in a three year, 78 billion Euro bailout package that requires Portugal to implement widespread austerity measures.[179] The austerity measures include: measures to reform the Portuguese labor market and justice sector, as well as the privatization of state-owned enterprises. Since the approval and implementation of the bailout package the Portuguese economy has not seen positive economic growth, experiencing a 1.6% contraction in 2011 and a 3.2% contraction in 2012 as a result of austerity measures introduced by the bailout package.[180] Additionally, the country has been experiencing a consistently growing unemployment sector, as well as protests and strikes opposing the austerity measures imposed by the bailout package.

[177] "Background on Countries of the World: Portugal," Business Source Complete (2012): 1-5.
[178] Baer, Werner, Daniel A. Dias, and Joao B. Duarte, "The economy of Portugal and the European Union: From high growth prospects to the debt crisis," The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance, 53 (2013): 345-352.
[179] "Background on Countries of the World: Portugal," Business Source Complete (2012): 1-5.
[180] Ibid, 2.

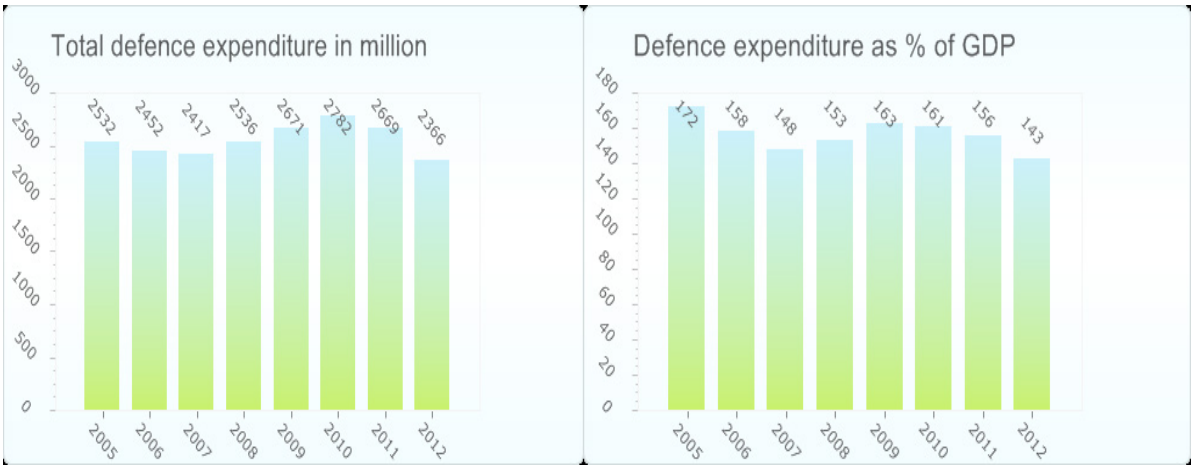
Portugal: Defense Spending

Defense spending prior to, during, and after the financial and economic crisis and subsequent bailout presents an additional indicator as to the political will of the state to contribute to defense spending during a time of economic hardship. Portugal's total defense expenditures throughout the seven year span seem to fluctuate in a pattern that seemingly mimics the struggle of the state. In 2005, total defense expenditure was 2532 million Euros, or roughly 1.72% of the GDP.[181] For the next two years the total defense expenditure declined to 2452 million Euros in 2006 or 1.58% of GDP and 2417 million Euros in 2007 or 1.48%.[182] During this time Portugal was struggling with an inflating budget deficit and instituted spending cuts as one way to lessen the swelling deficit. For the next three years, from 2008-2010 the total defense expenditure steadily increased. In 2008 the defense expenditure was 2536 million Euros, a number that surpassed the 2005 numbers and represented 1.53% of GDP.[183] In 2009, that number rose to 2671 million Euros, 1.63% of GDP. [184] In 2010, the total defense expenditures for Portugal peaked at 2782 million Euros, 1.61% of GDP.[185] During these three years where total defense expenditures consistently increased was also the time that Portugal's budget deficit soared to over 10% and a bailout was requested. From that point Portugal's defense expenditures have steadily declined. In 2011, total defense expenditures were 2669 million Euros and in 2012, the first full year under the austerity measures of the bailout

[181] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.

package the defense expenditures fell to their lowest point over the past seven years and landed at 2366 million Euros, only 1.43% of GDP.[186]

Defense Spending in Portugal (2005-2012)[187]



After examining the total defense expenditures for Portugal from 2005-2012 it appears as though defense spending took a hit between 2006-2007 when the country was struggling to reduce their budget deficit that had recently risen above the 3% mandated by the Euro zone's Stability and Growth Pact. Moreover, Portugal's defense spending hit all-time lows as the three year bailout package was rolled out and austerity measures were put in place. The defense expenditure data above indicates that the political will of the state to contribute to defense budgets is low as shown by their willingness to decrease defense spending as a measure to reduce budget deficits as well as the continued reduction through the financial crisis that the country is currently trying to work through.

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[186] Ibid.

[187] "Defense Data Portal," European Defense Agency, http://www.eda.Europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (accessed 15 August 2014).

Portugal: Social Program Spending

Portugal, for the most part, has held total public social expenditures at a steady rate of GDP that was experienced right before their budget deficit ballooned and initiated the economic crisis within the country. In 2006, Portugal's total government spending was 23% of GDP.[188] In 2007 that number fell just slightly to 22.7% of GDP.[189] That figure increased in both 2008 and 2009. In 2008 the total public social expenditures was 23.1% of GDP and in 2009 the number peaked at 25.6% of GDP.[190] Once the number peaked in 2009, it fell for the next three years as the country struggled to deal with an inflating budget deficit and subsequent bailout and austerity measures that were enforced on the government as a stipulation for the bailout money. In 2010, government social spending fell just slightly to 25.4% of GDP; in 2011, it continued to fall to 25% of GDP; and in 2012 the number held steady at 25%.[191]

The data above provides an indication that public support for security cooperation, when comparing defense spending data from the previous section to government social spending, has been slightly reduced. Prior to 2010 both defense spending and government social spending, as a whole, steadily increased; however, after 2010 just prior to the bailout total defense expenditures steadily decreased as total public social expenditures held steady at their levels prior to the financial crisis.

[188] OECD (2013), "Government social spending", *Social Issues: Key Tables from OECD*, No. 1. DOI: 10.1787/socxp-gov-table-2013-1-en.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

Conclusion:

While each country experienced an economic crisis, each crisis was created by differing conditions and each country was offered varying bailouts to remedy the crisis. The crisis in Greece was rooted in overspending by the government coupled with a decreased collection of taxes and has been attempted to be resolved through a combination of bailout loans provided by the European Union and the IMF. Similarly, the crisis in Portugal was caused by a ballooning budget deficit and was once again remedied by a bailout package provided by International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank, and the European Commission. On the other hand, Spain experienced an economic crisis caused by a housing bubble burst, not by government overspending or a decline in tax collection, and has received a bailout provided by the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism. The primary difference between the three bailout packages provided is that the two bailout packages provided by the IMF, which included Greece and Portugal had austerity measures attached to the terms of the bailout, while the bailout package provided to Spain was pulled from a Eurozone fund established to help struggling countries and thus had no austerity measures attached. The austerity measures involved extreme spending cuts, increases in taxes and pension reforms, among other things. After examining the particular circumstances of each crisis and bailout package it appears that the political will and public support for security cooperation decreased within the two countries that had bailouts with austerity measures, while it would seems that security cooperation would be wholly unaffected within Spain, which received a bailout without austerity measures.

Defense spending for Greece remained largely unaffected prior to the financial

crisis but took a considerable hit during and after the financial crisis indicating that the political will for security cooperation was adversely affected by the economic crisis. Similarly, defense spending within Portugal decreased prior to and throughout the financial crisis in an attempt to lower budget deficits indicating that the political will of Portugal to contribute to security cooperation within the European Union was adversely affected by the financial crisis. In Spain there was a direct correlation between defense spending and the economic health of the state, meaning as one improved or worsened defense spending mirrored the trend. Overall, Greece and Portugal, the two states that were impacted by austerity measures, portrayed similar results with both Greece's and Portugal's defense spending being reduced in response to rising budget deficits. The second indicator that was examined to determine the affect of the economic crisis' on security cooperation was social spending as an indication of public support for security cooperation.

Government social spending within Greece did not follow a specific trend prior to, during, or after the economic crisis with social spending experiencing both gains and losses throughout the six year trend studied. This indicates that public support within Greece for security cooperation within the European Union was once again generally unaffected by the economic crisis of 2008. Conversely, social spending within Portugal held steady at levels experienced prior to the economic crisis while defense spending fell as a percentage of GDP which indicates that public support for security cooperation decreased after the economic crisis. Similarly, Spain experienced decreased public support for security cooperation as social spending increased exponentially as defense spending decreased with the economic struggles of the state.

After examining the particulars of each economic crisis and subsequent bailout and defense and social spending trends for the years prior to, during, and after each country's crisis, it appears that the economic crisis did alter the political will and public support for security cooperation within the European Union, particularly within Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

Conclusion:

The goal of this thesis, through the examination of the three research topics outlined throughout the chapters, was to scrutinize various factors that have affected security cooperation and subsequently intelligence sharing within the European Union. Although the idea of collective security has been around for thousands of years it has not received an extremely large amount of attention on the worldwide stage. Participation in collective security initiatives within regional and international organizations would provide forums and avenues through which participating states could combine resources to thwart attacks throughout the world. This is especially significant in today's world which is marred by security threats that have expanded across national boundaries and dispersed around the world and states that are facing these threats in an era marked by economic instability and constrained resources. By examining factors that have, and continue to affect security cooperation among member states of regional organizations, lessons can and have been drawn that provides a path for increased security cooperation and arguably the ability to prevent future acts of aggression among infrastructure, citizens, and states alike.

Examining the relationship between the growth of the European Union and security cooperation amongst member states indicated that growth in regional organizations did contribute to increased security cooperation. This is a relatively notable finding because up until the late 1940's the widely held belief by the majority of the political community was that states could not work in meaningful cooperative groups because ultimately they would aim to seek an advantage over other member states. The findings of this chapter showed that not only can states work in meaningful collective

security groups, but those groups can also obtain more members and still see positive interactions within the security cooperation realm. While this thesis portfolio focused almost solely on security cooperation within the European Union, further research on various other regional or international organizational growth in relation to security cooperation would provide a deeper breadth of examples to fully understand the connection between growth and security cooperation.

Chapter two examined the impact of four factors on intelligence sharing within the European Union and NATO. Ultimately this chapter proved that intelligence sharing within NATO is stronger than within the European Union for a number of reasons. Those reasons include: a lack of rules requiring member states with the EU to share intelligence, a lower of level of trust among states within the EU, voluntary and often incomplete participation in institutions set up to facilitate sharing intelligence, a restricted dissemination process, and an inferior database infrastructure. While these findings were not surprising, as NATO is a more established organization marked by hierarchical relationships, the findings were focused enough that they allowed for specific recommendations to be made to increase intelligence sharing within the European Union. The findings within this chapter were vastly limited due the unclassified nature of the portfolio as well as the limited amount of documentation in regards to intelligence sharing amongst member states.

Chapter three studied the impact of the various economic crises on security cooperation within Greece, Spain, and Portugal. The hypothesis for this chapter was that the economic troubles would have had a significant impact on security cooperation; and the findings from the three case studies indicated that the crises did have an adverse

affect on security cooperation. To determine the effect of the crises on security cooperation the chapter examined the particulars of the economic issues, defense spending as a percentage of GDP, and social spending as a percentage of GDP. The results indicated that defense spending decreased while social spending increased within Greece throughout the six years that were examined, defense spending was directly correlated to the health of the state within Spain while social spending increased, and defense spending fell within Portugal, while social spending remained steady. Further case studies including other countries within the European Union that experienced economic and financial crises would have provided additional information that may have had a significant impact on the findings. Additionally, due to the recent nature of the economic crises, additional research within the next couple of years will further indicate if the economic crises have had a significant impact on security cooperation.

While the theory of collective security has been around for many years, there have been few successful collective security efforts. The purpose of this portfolio was to examine that theory in the context of security cooperation within the European Union in hopes of shedding light on factors that positively and adversely affect security cooperation to further facilitate the creation of new and stronger collective security efforts around the world.

Appendix A

Factors Affecting Intelligence Sharing within the European Union and NATO:

The table below outlines 4 factors affecting intelligence sharing and provides indicators of those factors within the European Union [column 2] and NATO [column 3].

	The European Union	**NATO**
Actors/Relationships -Hierarchical Agreements	-27 member states -Lacks a dominant state able to create hierarchical agreements within the EU -EU member states (esp. Great Britain) are engaged in hierarchical relationships with states outside of the EU	-28 member states -Marked by hierarchical relationships with the US taking the dominant role
Trust -Rules governing intelligence sharing -Public Comments	-Institutions lack rules that require member states to share intelligence -Numerous public comments that call for more intelligence sharing	-Trust established through frequent, successful interactions. -Public comment made by Secretary Donald Rumsfeld calling for greater levels of intelligence sharing
Institutions -institutions -level of participation -dissemination	-3 institutions -incomplete/voluntary participation -Restricted dissemination process within Europol	-3 institutions -substantial participation -fairly streamlined dissemination process
Infrastructure/Resources -state of intranet	-European Computer System (TECS) -2 types of intelligence	-NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency -"Push"/"Pull" Databases

Appendix B

Government Social Spending:

Total Public Social Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Greece	21.3	21.6	22.2	23.9	23.3	24.4	24.1	22.0
Portugal	23.0	22.7	23.1	25.6	25.4	25.0	25.0	26.4
Spain	21.1	21.3	22.9	26.0	26.7	26.4	26.8	27.4

Last updated: 20 December 2013; disclaimer: http://oe.cd/disclaimer

.. Not available

1. The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

2. Refers to an unweighted average of 33 OECD countries and Estonia

Source: Social expenditure: Aggregated data, OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database)

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Curriculum Vita

Jessica Jacoby was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on October 3, 1987. After graduating from Central Dauphin Senior High School in Harrisburg she attended George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. There she graduated Summa Cum Laude with a B.A. in Government and International Affairs and a minor in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Before graduating from George Mason, Jessica studied at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland and Oxford University. She began her graduate degree at Johns Hopkins University in 2011 and currently works as a research analyst for CACI. She currently lives in Springfield, Virginia with her Husband and black lab.