

SECURITY DIPLOMACY:  
BEYOND DEFENSE

by  
Nicholas D. Kron

A thesis submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts in Global Security Studies

Baltimore, Maryland  
May, 2015

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## **ABSTRACT**

Globalization, the Information Age, and the fall of the Soviet Union has changed the political landscape of the world. In order to prosper, governments increasingly must work with other nation-states on diplomatic issues ranging from the economy to defense to trans-national criminal activity. In this thesis, I examine whether the United States (U.S.) can use a tailored approach to security diplomacy, which acknowledges historic grievances in order to solidify or increase its influence with nations vis-à-vis historic rivals.

For this thesis, I concentrate on the security aspect of diplomacy, and although there is a plethora of literature on defense diplomacy, I'm approaching the topic from a new angle, which argues that the defense diplomacy of the Cold War era is not sufficient for modern day diplomacy. The United States must reshape defense diplomacy into an all-encompassing effort known as security diplomacy. Security diplomacy is comprised of defense, rule-of-law, human rights, and humanitarian crisis response initiatives that are packaged to meet the specific needs of its partners.

Using a qualitative approach, I examine the various aspects of security diplomacy utilized by the United States, and its rivals, to determine its effectiveness in gaining political capital/influence with Allies and partners. Chapter 1 – Latin America and Chapter 2 – Africa, seeks to determine whether the United States can effectively use security diplomacy in regions that experienced colonization as well as government intervention through the use of military force, within the past 100 years. For Chapter 3, I shift my

attention to Eastern Europe, and seek to answer the same question with the difference being the Cold War rivalries, rather than colonization or military intervention being in the psyche of Allies and partners.

In Chapter 1 and 2, I examined the United States and its rival's use of security diplomacy with Latin America and Sub – Saharan Africa. Despite a history of military and political interventionism, the United States has been successful in improving its influence throughout these two regions thru security diplomacy; however, mistrust of the United States has led some countries, such as Venezuela, to seek alternative security partnerships with countries such as Russia, China, and Iran.

Chapter 3 examined the U.S. use of security diplomacy with former Warsaw Pact members. This chapter is especially relevant today, as Russia has re-emerged as a regional challenger to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United States. In this chapter, I identified ways and means for the United States to improve its political influence regionally through bi-lateral security cooperation.

In conclusion, I argue the United States can strengthen its influence using a tailored approach to security diplomacy that addresses its partner's security requirements, while keeping in mind past grievances.

Thesis Advisors: Chapter 1 – Sarah O'Byrne; Chapter 2 – Sarah Clark; Chapter 3 – Leila Austin

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I dedicate this to my family and mentors who made this thesis possible. Without their unconditional love and support, my academic journey would have taken a different more mundane path. One day I will give to someone what you all have given to me.

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## INTRODUCTION

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States found itself in the unique position of being a hegemon in an international system that was quickly becoming unstable in comparison to the bipolar environment of the Cold War. While state on state violence still occurred, as seen between Serbia and Bosnia – Herzegovina, more asymmetric threats began to emerge from the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Very few regions were spared by these threats as they sought to delegitimize governments, and challenge the status quo. This instability often resulted in violence as a means to influence the internal and external politics of governments.

With such a fluid and dynamic political environment, the United States had to adapt to the new political realities it was facing. Internationally, it had to satisfy its current treaty obligations, such as NATO, while engaging non-traditional partner nation-states. In order to achieve its policy objectives, the United States often offers diplomatic assistance in the form of economic, social, and security aid. The way the U.S. uses these diplomatic tools can be observed today as it confronts threats from the Latin American drug cartels, international terrorism, and the re-emergence of an aggressive Russia.

This thesis acknowledges that defense diplomacy is not a new concept, and has been used in various capacities since the Napoleonic Era; however, it does propose a new definition that combines multiple aspects of security into one term, which I argue better reflects the United States current approach to defense related security. It merges the capabilities derived from Title 10 (Defense), Title 18 (Law Enforcement), Title 32 (National Guard),

and Title 50 (National Security) authorities in support of Title 22 (Foreign Relations) initiatives under a single term known as security diplomacy. When used properly, security diplomacy brings to bare the entirety of a nation-states security prowess to support a partner's security organizations. This can include but is not limited to military exchanges, military sales, joint exercises, rule-of-law training, human rights training, and humanitarian disasters response training.

By accepting this term, U.S. policymakers and government agencies have an approved definition that provides them with a single diplomatic approach to security assistance, which simplifies framing the aid package. Also, it describes current interagency efforts, led by the Department of State, taking place in locations such as Afghanistan, Columbia, and Kenya. Finally, it can help simplify the planning process by giving planners a definition and/or idea to build policy as well as strategies around.

Whether the Department of State recognizes the term, it must be cognizant of U.S. security institutions strengths, weaknesses, and how they best compliment one another in order to provide the most efficient security package to its partners. Failing to execute this properly can lead to U.S. foreign policy objectives not being met, but for some partners it can be detrimental to their government and/or citizens. Finally, by having a synchronized approach to security, the United States can more effectively manage its security diplomacy overseas, and help shape the world's perception of the U.S.

## Methodology

As mentioned in the abstract, I approach this thesis using a qualitative model, which examines the effectiveness of U.S. security diplomacy as a means to achieve its national interest. Geographically I look at Latin America, Sub – Saharan Africa, and Eastern Europe. I selected these regions for their historical value with the United States security apparatus, most especially its military.

Chapter 1 begins by looking at the various forms of diplomacy, and distinguish the differences between coercive and security diplomacy. Following this, I discuss the history between Latin American and the United States, and how it still influences perceptions today. Most importantly I look at examine the effectiveness of the United States as well as its rival's use of security diplomacy in the region. What I discovered was that despite a history of military and political interventionism, the United States has been successful building political relationships through security diplomacy; however, mistrust of the United States has led some countries to seek alternative partners. An example of this is Venezuela seeking to build partnerships with China, Russia, and Iran. Although it was not the United States, this case study still illustrates the value of security diplomacy in building relationships with existing or potential partner nations.

The first sections in Chapter 2 look at security diplomacy as it relates to international theory, and similar to Chapter 2, it demonstrates how history has shaped the perceptions of our African partners. This was especially seen in the initial discussions of the creation of U.S. African Command. Then I examine the use of security diplomacy by the United



States as well as China in Sub – Saharan Africa, and identify the key differences in their approach to security diplomacy. Unlike Latin America, geographical distance and having never colonized an African nation has made the process of building solid security relationships easier for the United States; furthermore, the tailored approach to security diplomacy has proven to be successful in improving political relations with our partners.

Like Chapters 1 and 2, Chapter 3 looks at history, and how it has shaped current politics with the United States. Using this information, I examine the U.S.’s ability to use security diplomacy as a means to improve its standing with former Cold War rivals. Unlike Chapter’s 1 and 2, these countries never experienced, in recent history, colonization by Western powers, but have been shaped by fear of Russian interventionist policies. In this Chapter, I demonstrate how the U.S. can use this fear to improve its regional standing through security diplomacy by looking at its bi-lateral relationship with Poland and Georgia.

#### Contribution to Literature

Having witnessed first hand the benefits of synchronizing Title 10, 18, 32, and 22 initiatives into one plan in Iraq and Afghanistan, I hope to contribute a new diplomatic approach that combines all elements of security into a single well defined planning approach. While defense diplomacy is still relevant today, I believe it falls short of truly capturing the totality of our partner’s security limitations. More and more of our partners require assistance beyond the standard DoD defense initiatives. They need improvements in their military, national police, local police, and other security institutions. The

spectrum of assistance ranges from military force on force training to basic human rights training of the local police on dealing with their citizens, especially for partners dealing with an active insurgency, think Columbia or Ukraine.

By clearly defining security diplomacy, planners can begin breaking down stovepipes that exist between agencies, and start approaching their strategic and operational plans from an interagency perspective. If this starts at the very beginning of the planning process, rather than an after thought, interagency planners can produce synchronized plans that can be utilized by the Department of State as negotiation tools. Lastly, this is not to say that defense diplomacy will not be utilized, but quite the opposite. It will likely be the bulk of assistance, as you will see, but it should fall under a greater umbrella.

## ***CHAPTER ONE***

“Every nation, great or small, whether part of the central strategic balance or not, is fundamentally concerned with its ability to defend the integrity of its territory and maintain internal order. It is of substantial political importance to the United States that we be able to respond to the felt needs of nations with which we seek constructive relations across the broad range of contemporary issues. The United States cannot expect to retain influence with nations whose perceived defense needs we disregard. Thus, a careful security assistance policy is a crucial instrument of our national policy in much the same sense as are our political support and economic assistance.

-Henry A. Kissinger, in a statement  
before the House Committee on International Relations,  
6 November 1975”<sup>1</sup>

### **Research Question**

Can the United States use security diplomacy to increase its influence in Latin America (LATAM) while overcoming historical perceptions of U.S. imperialism?

## **INTRODUCTION**

Since the 1970’s Latin America has experienced an evolution in politics as governments transitioned from military dictatorships or autocracies to democracies. This process has been very challenging for many Latin American countries as leadership within the democratic governments seek to exert control and influence over a military that once controlled the political process.<sup>2</sup> However, this provides a unique opportunity for the United States to promote democratic values and processes within these governments through defense, economic, and public diplomacy. While I believe the most successful outcome will be derived from a combination of all three diplomatic tools, this section will

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<sup>1</sup> Sereseres, Caesar D. "Inter-American Security Relations: The Future of US Military Diplomacy in the Hemisphere." *Parameters* 7, no. 3 (1975).

<sup>2</sup> Cottey, Andrew. *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. <http://JHU.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1397351> (accessed April 11, 2014)

concentrate on the defense aspect of diplomacy. Although the United States reputation in Latin America isn't ideal, due to historical meddling, I propose that opportunities exist to strengthen and build mutually beneficial relationships through security diplomacy.

### **TYPES OF DIPLOMACY**

As civilizations evolved from the nomadic tribes of the past to modern societies, so have their techniques of interacting with one another to achieve their individual or collective goals. In today's geo-political environment an international actor could be a nation-state, Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), international corporation, or terrorist organization seeking to influence the international community through various means of economic, public, and security diplomacy.<sup>3</sup>

Before examining the use of security diplomacy as a mechanism to increase the United States influence in Latin America, I believe it's important to highlight other forms of diplomacy that can be used separately or in tandem with security diplomacy to achieve U.S. policy objectives. Specifically, I will focus on traditional, economic, public, and defense diplomacy.

#### **Traditional Diplomacy**

Traditional diplomacy is the form of diplomacy that comes to mind by the average person, and is an attempt by an international actor to influence the international environment through engagement with other international actors.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cull, Nicholas J. "Public diplomacy: Lessons from the past." *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy* (2009): 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, pg. 12

### Economic Diplomacy

Economic diplomacy is harnessing the international environment to advance an international actors foreign policy, and employing economic tools such as trade agreements and fiscal agreements to secure its economic strength.<sup>5</sup>

### Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is similar to traditional diplomacy with the exception of seeking to influence another international actor's population through informational and cultural programs.<sup>6</sup>

### Defense Diplomacy

Defense diplomacy has occurred since the seventeenth century when countries sent their military officers abroad to collect intelligence, monitor, and serve as a liaison to their allies. This form of defense diplomacy continued relatively unchanged until the twentieth century. In 1961, during the Vienna Convention, Military Attaché Officers were granted the same rights and status as other diplomats, and less than 30 years later, following the fall of the Iron Curtain, their roles would drastically shift from collect and monitor to having more of a diplomatic flavor.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "Economic Statecraft," U.S. Department of State, Accessed on April 5, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/econstatecraft/>

<sup>6</sup> Swistek, Göran. 2012. "The Nexus Between Public Diplomacy and Military Diplomacy in Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy." *Connections (18121098)* 11, no. 2: 79-86. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 5, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> "Defense Attaches," Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Accessed on May 4, 2014, <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dcaf.ch%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F35370%2F525957%2Ffile%2Fdcaf-backgrounder->

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world found itself in an unfamiliar security environment with former enemies now allies, and former allies now enemies. A great example of this is Poland and the Czech Republic, former Warsaw Pact members, joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and former allies, the mujahedeen in Afghanistan, sheltering Al Qaeda. In response to the changing international environment, defense diplomacy evolved and expanded beyond the Defense Attaché, and into the business of Department of Defense (DOD) representatives seeking to influence nations, nations' militaries, and nation's citizens in order to achieve a strategic end-state.<sup>8</sup> The Defense Attaché's responsibilities transformed into those similar to traditional diplomats with a military essence. These new responsibilities included but were not limited to assisting with defense reform of the former Warsaw Pact members; civil – military peace operations in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Somalia; and participating in the Global War on Terror.<sup>9</sup>

Before moving forward it's important to distinguish between defense and coercive diplomacy. Defense diplomacy seeks to build partnerships through the use of defense related programs, and does not seek to intimidate its partners into cooperation.

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[defence-attaches.pdf&ei=nZlmU8fJNo\\_isASmzoCICA&usg=AFQjCNH7vU9xjSfoi1IsUycD29OiL0OsTA&bvm=bv.65788261,d.cWc](#)

<sup>8</sup> Willard, James E. *Military Diplomacy: An Essential Tool for Foreign Policy at the Theater Strategic Level*. ARMY COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLL FORT LEAVENWORTH KS SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> "Defense Attaches," Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Accessed on May 4, 2014, [http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dcaf.ch%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F35370%2F525957%2Ffile%2Fdcaf-backgrounder-defence-attaches.pdf&ei=nZlmU8fJNo\\_isASmzoCICA&usg=AFQjCNH7vU9xjSfoi1IsUycD29OiL0OsTA&bvm=bv.65788261,d.cWc](http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dcaf.ch%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F35370%2F525957%2Ffile%2Fdcaf-backgrounder-defence-attaches.pdf&ei=nZlmU8fJNo_isASmzoCICA&usg=AFQjCNH7vU9xjSfoi1IsUycD29OiL0OsTA&bvm=bv.65788261,d.cWc)

Oppositely, coercive diplomacy attempts to change the behavior of an international actor(s) through the threat of force, or the use of limited military action. Unlike defense diplomacy that seeks to build partnerships between international actors through security cooperation, coercive diplomacy seeks to utilize its military superiority to shape the environment through fear of conflict.<sup>10</sup> Coercive diplomacy is often referred to as gunboat diplomacy.<sup>11</sup> A recent example of coercive diplomacy is the 2014 invasion of Ukraine, by the Russian military, following the ouster of President Yanukovich who sought closer ties with Russia vice Western Europe. This invasion resulted in the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula through brute force, and is clearly not the use of defense diplomacy for a peaceful purpose.

### Security Diplomacy

As discussed in the introduction, security diplomacy goes beyond defense diplomacy, and harnesses a country's security institutions into one combined effort in support of their diplomatic enterprises. This is not meant to replace defense diplomacy, but to be an option for policymakers.

In my opinion, these various forms of diplomacy work best when used in combination with one another; however, if properly tailored to fulfill the needs of partner nation then they can effectively achieve a government's end-state alone.

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<sup>10</sup> DIPLOMACY." *Revista Academiei Fortelor Terestre* 19, no. 1: 10-16. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 5, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> "Gunboat." *Dictionary.com*. Accessed April 10, 2014.  
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/gunboat+diplomacy?s=t>

## LITERARY REVIEW

The readings on the United States using security diplomacy throughout Latin America has been mixed. Some of the readings view security diplomacy as a way the U.S. can improve its image throughout the region, and regain influence it lost due to the Global War on Terrorism. Other articles claim perceptions of the U.S. are at an all time low, and the U.S. government must be cautious in its use of the military in the region, due to past perceptions of interventionist policies.

Mr. Shapiro, in *A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance*, feels that the United States can improve its image through security diplomacy. He argues than anytime in history, countries are seeking to partner with the United States. He claims as the U.S. begins to drawdown from its current global posture, it can refocus on building lasting partnerships, and security diplomacy will be one of key tools used by the Department of State.<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Shapiro contends the United States can gain influence through the use of security diplomacy by assisting our allies and partners through Foreign Military Sales and Foreign Military Finances, which would enable them to operationally partner with the United States. By operating from the same weapons platforms, the United States and it's allies and partners would have the ability to coordinate on the battlefield as the defense systems would have the ability to communicate. Also, the United States would have to train its partners on the systems, thus creating more occasions to strengthen relationships.

Professional Military Education is another tool Mr. Shapiro sees as an opportunity to

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<sup>12</sup> Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. "A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance." *The Washington Quarterly* 35:4: 23-35. (Accessed February 26, 2014). DOI: 10.1080/0163660X.2012.725021



further ties between the United States and it's allies. By exchanging military officers with partner nations, they can improve their language ability, gain an appreciation for other cultures, and develop professional relationships with one another that can be used as the officers advance in rank and responsibility.<sup>13</sup> While Mr. Shapiro concentrates on tools used in defense diplomacy, the same exchanges can occur between law enforcement agencies as well as National Guard units. Please refer to Table 1, below, for further details on defense related tools used by the State Department to achieve foreign policy goals.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid 26-29

<b>Table 1: US Military Cooperation and Assistance Programs</b>
<u>The Foreign Military Sales (FMS)</u> : A program that provides security assistance authorized by the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) and a fundamental tool of U.S. foreign policy. The Secretary of State determines which countries will have access to this program, and the Secretary of Defense executes the program. <sup>14</sup>
<u>The Arms Export Control Act (AECA)</u> : This act authorizes the President to finance procurement of defense articles and services for foreign countries and international organizations. The Secretary of State determines which countries will have access to this program, and the Secretary of Defense executes the program. <sup>15</sup>
<u>International Military Education and Training (IMET)</u> : Provides training to foreign military and civilian personnel at U.S. military training and education institutions. Can also provide this training in other countries. <sup>16</sup>
<u>Excess Defense Articles (EDA)</u> : Transfers excess defense equipment to foreign governments or international organizations for the purpose of modernizing their forces in order to better partner with the United States. This equipment is provided at a reduced price or as a grant. The Military Departments identify excess equipment and the Combatant Commands identify possible recipients. <sup>17</sup>
<u>Building Partnership Capacity (BPC)</u> : Section 1206 Train and Equip under the BPC program builds partnership capacity for counterterrorism operations and/or in support of stability operations that involve the United States military. The Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict – Counterterrorism Office, manage this program. <sup>18</sup>

Opposing Mr. Shapiro’s argument is former Ambassador Myles Frechette who claims that the United States should not use defense diplomacy, and aspect of security diplomacy, in Latin American affairs. In *Rethinking Latin America: A New Approach in U.S. Foreign Policy*, he argues that the United States should not interfere in Latin

<sup>14</sup> “Foreign Military Sales (FMS).” Defense Security Cooperation Agency. Accessed 11 April 2014. <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/fms>

<sup>15</sup> “Foreign Military Financing (FMF).” Defense Security Cooperation Agency. Accessed 11 April 2014. <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/fmf>

<sup>16</sup> Cottey, Andrew. *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. <http://JHU.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1397351> (accessed April 11, 2014)

<sup>17</sup> “Excess Defense Articles (EDA).” Defense Security Cooperation Agency. Accessed 11 April 2014. <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/eda>

<sup>18</sup> “Building Partnership Capacity (BPC).” Defense Security Cooperation Agency. Accessed 11 April 2014. <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/section-1206-train-and-equip>

America. He asserts the United States is still taking a Cold War approach to defense diplomacy, and instead they should be assisting LATAM with modernizing itself. Rather than having them spend money on weapons systems that they do not need, the United States should encourage them to use the funds for reducing poverty, improving education, and combating criminality.

Furthermore, he believes the United States should reduce its military presence in the region, and encourage the governments to confront international terrorism and 21<sup>st</sup> century problems on their own. By taking this hands off approach, he feels the United States will assist LATAM in standing on its own, and at the same time improve its trustworthiness throughout LATAM.<sup>19</sup>

It is important to note that U.S. is not the only country conducting defense diplomacy in LATAM; rather historic rivals often use defense diplomacy as an incentive to accomplish their political and economic objectives in Latin America. The readings were almost unanimous in agreeing that countries such as the Russian Federation, the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), and Iran are openly welcomed by leftist countries desiring an alternative to the United States; furthermore, other countries with neutral to good relations with the U.S. have been receptive to these countries defense related overtures.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Frechette, Myles. 2006. "Rethinking Latin America." *Harvard International Review* 28, no. 2: 28-31. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 4, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Sanchez, W. Alejandro. 2010. "Russia and Latin America at the dawn of the twenty-first century." *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 8, no. 4: 362-384. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 20, 2014).

Recognizing that the majority of literature focused on defense diplomacy, I believe this further illustrates my belief in using a model based on security diplomacy. In doing so, the U.S. could have greater flexibility that derives from separate authorities. This can be used to gain an advantage over rivals as well as influence local perceptions of its operations within their region. For example, rather than conducting joint military exercises that usually draw the attention of the media, due to the large footprint, the U.S. could do an exchange with national and local law enforcement agents. By doing this, the U.S. could still deepen its relationship, achieve similar outcomes, and limit its military presence to prevent political fallout from anti-U.S. population segments.

### **HISTORY OF U.S. – LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS**

In order to fully understand the debate for the use of security diplomacy by the United States in LATAM, it is important for the readers to have an understanding of U.S. foreign policy towards the region, and how modern day perceptions, real or perceived, effect it.

Pre – Cold War Relations: The major U.S. policies that shaped the pre – Cold War era were the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary, and the Good Neighbor Policy. The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary were seen as interventionist policies, primarily the latter, that sought to impose U.S. policies upon the Western Hemisphere, even if it meant using the military. Two examples of these policies were the support of the Panamanian revolution in order to achieve our own interests in the Panama Canal,

and the invasion of Haiti.<sup>21 22 23</sup> Both the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary are good examples of coercive diplomacy.

The Good Neighbor Policy along with the Neutrality was a time period when the United States sought to pull back from its interventionist policies in LATAM, and instead focus on bringing the United States out of the Great Depression.<sup>24</sup> However, following the United States entering World War II, its previous isolationist policies would no longer suffice, and it would be forced to the world stage.

Cold War Relations: This era witnessed a complete reversal of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, as the United States battled Marxist and left-wing ideology throughout the region in order to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining beachheads.<sup>25</sup> This geo-political tug of war could be observed from the 1940's to the 1980s as the United States supported any government that opposed the Soviet Union. This included supporting military coups in countries like Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela as well as the Contras in Central America during the 1970's and 80s.<sup>26 27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> "Milestones: 1801 – 1829," Department of States, Office of the Historian, Accessed April 5, 2014, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/monroe>

<sup>22</sup> "Milestones: 1899 – 1913," Department of States, Office of the Historian, Accessed April 5, 2014, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/roosevelt-and-monroe-doctrine>

<sup>23</sup> "Milestones: 1914 – 1920," Department of States, Office of the Historian, Accessed April 5, 2014, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/haiti>

<sup>24</sup> "Milestones: 1937 – 1945," Department of States, Office of the Historian, Accessed April 11, 2014, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/american-isolationism>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pg. 121-123

<sup>26</sup> Arnold, James R.; Wiener, Roberta. Cold War. Santa Barbara : ABC-CLIO, 2012. <http://JHU.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=871436> (accessed April 11, 2014)

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pg 123

Post – Cold War Relations: Following the Cold War, the United States and LATAM relations as a whole have grown from an economic, political, and security perspective. Currently 11 free trade agreements exist with 11 countries making the United States one of the major trading partners in the region as well as the largest source of foreign investment for many countries. Latin American nations supply the United States with almost one – third of its imported crude oil, and provide the largest source of legal and illegal immigration. Furthermore, since the 1980s the United States has actively been working with LATAM countries to combat trans-national organized crime syndicates operating in the drug trade. Recently there has been an increase in security cooperation with Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. In addition to combating the cartels, the United States has provided both humanitarian and security support in response to natural disasters, as seen in Haiti.<sup>28</sup>

### **HYPOTHESIS**

My hypothesis is the United States can increase its credibility and influence throughout Latin America through the use of security diplomacy. Although historical grievances exist, security diplomacy can create conditions that foster cooperation between nation-states, and be used as a means to dissuade partners from working with rival states security organizations.

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<sup>28</sup> Sullivan, Mark P. 2013. "U.S. Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean." *Congressional Research Service: Report 1-11. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 11, 2014).

## **UNITED STATES USE OF SECURITY DIPLOMACY**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has been an important shift in the nature and purposes of international security cooperation that goes beyond the realpolitik defense diplomacy of yesterday. While still acknowledging its realpolitik role of supporting the armed forces and security of allies, it also is being used to achieve greater foreign and security policy objectives by seeking to breakdown barriers with previous rivals through security cooperation and assistance.<sup>29</sup>

This approach to security diplomacy can be seen in the United States relationship with previous Warsaw Pact members such as Poland, Czech Republic and the Ukraine. Security related programs and initiatives that were once only for long standing allies have been opened up to previous enemies in order to build trust and confidence between the nations (Refer to Table 1 for Defense Diplomacy Programs). Through these programs the United States strengthens existing relationship with partners like Colombia and Korea, while simultaneously building relationships with Cold War rivals that are based on trust.<sup>30</sup>

## **U.S. USE OF SECURITY DIPLOMACY IN LATIN AMERICA**

In the past security diplomacy with Latin America has been problematic, due to the United States interventionist policies, and the LATAM armed forces historically playing a central role in politics ranging from coups to military backed regimes. However,

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<sup>29</sup> Cottey, Andrew. *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. <http://JHU.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1397351> (accessed March 21, 2014)

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 8-10

following the end of the Cold War, democratic ideas began to flourish throughout LATAM, and all the nations in LATAM transitioned from military or authoritarian rule, with the exception of Cuba, to democratically elected governments. In response to this political change, the United States began to work closer with LATAM partners on security cooperation, rule of law, and respect for human rights.<sup>31</sup>

Beginning in the nineties, following this reinvigorated diplomatic initiative, the United States created three strategic security objectives towards LATAM that is reflected in our security diplomacy. The first was the 1995 *Security Strategy for the Americas*, which declared the U.S. would support democratic norms throughout the region, including civilian control of the defense establishment, constructive civil – military relations, and respect for human rights. The final two were the U.S. led *War on Drugs* and *War on Terror*.<sup>32</sup>

With respect to the three U.S. strategic security objectives, I will now present two case studies discussing how security diplomacy has been used effectively in building long-term partnerships that achieve both the U.S. and its partner's political objectives.

#### Columbia Case Study (1995 - 2014)

Columbia has been a key regional ally to the United States that has been fighting an armed insurgency for half a century as well as organized criminal drug syndicates. Over the past couple decades the United States and Colombia have developed a strong working

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pg. 41-42

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, pg. 42



relationship through security cooperation under the guise of security diplomacy; furthermore, this directly resulted in the two countries expanding their relationship beyond security, to social and economic cooperation.<sup>33</sup>

To assist in furthering security diplomacy, in 2000 the United States Congress approved an \$860 million aid package known as Plan Colombia that was designed to reduce the cultivation and production of drugs. In addition to funds going to fight the *War on Drugs*, 26% of the funding went to judicial reform, human rights, and democratic strengthening. Two years later an additional \$400 million went to a wider strategy known as the Andean Regional Initiative, which broadened the U.S. defense diplomacy ability to work beyond counter-narcotics to counterinsurgency and counterterrorism.<sup>34</sup>

As of 2013, the United States government, specifically the 113<sup>th</sup> Congress, had taken great interest in the oversight of Colombia's successes against the FARC, narco-terrorists, and in its progress toward democratic values such as human rights and rule of law. Congress continues to monitor Colombia's progress, and is using economic diplomacy in combination with security diplomacy to solidify the partnership and assist in achieving both countries security concerns.<sup>35</sup>

The Andean Initiative is a great case of security diplomacy successfully tackling a common security concerns, and helping the United States improve its diplomatic standing

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<sup>33</sup> Sullivan, Mark P. 2013. Latin America and the Caribbean: Key issues for the 113th congress. *Congressional Research Service: Report* (08/09): 1-33.

<sup>34</sup> "Country Studies: Columbia." The Library of Congress Researchers. Accessed April 10, 2014. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/list.html>

<sup>35</sup> Sullivan, Mark P. 2013. Latin America and the Caribbean: Key issues for the 113th congress. *Congressional Research Service: Report* (08/09): 1-33.

with a Latin American country. This initiative truly maximized the United States' security diplomacy by allowing U.S. forces to train, advise, and assist the Colombian military in counterinsurgency and counterterrorist operations against non-state actors that conducted both criminal and terrorist activities.<sup>36</sup> Through intensive training by U.S. Special Operations Forces, the Colombian military became a more professional organization that possessed the capability and capacity to challenge both insurgents and narco-terrorists; in addition, they were taught how to train others in the same techniques (train the trainer instruction) giving them the ability to assist the United States in professionalizing other LATAM militaries. These efforts resulted in cocaine production decreasing by 72 percent since 2001, overall violence in the country falling, and the FARC seeking negotiations with the Colombian government.<sup>37</sup>

While not perfect, the United States use of security diplomacy has been very successful in Colombia. By approaching the relationship as a partnership with the Colombian government, the U.S. improved the Colombian government's perception of it, and gained credibility as a good partner. This along with other combined diplomatic approaches can assist in improving the U.S.'s reputation regionally, as they seek to achieve mutual goals.

#### Mexico Case Study (2004 – 2014)

Despite the United States fighting a war with Mexico less than 150 years ago, which resulted in the annexation of large swaths of land, the two countries have been able to

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pg. 344

<sup>37</sup> Robinson, Linda. 2012. "The Future of Special Operations." *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 6: 110. *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed February 26, 2014).

breakdown barriers on the military, economic and social fronts. In fact, through multiple avenues of diplomacy, the two countries are now security and economic partners, along with Canada, in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America as well as the North American Free Trade Agreement.<sup>38</sup>

Security diplomacy being an enabler to the Security and Prosperity of North America agreement, has taken on the form of assisting the Mexican military, through the Merida Initiative, in their war against trans-national organized crime. Unlike Plan Colombia, the United States military did not deploy troops into Mexico to conduct joint operations with the Mexican military, due to national sovereignty issues from the two countries past, but instead it uses tools from security diplomacy to assist the Mexican government.

This assistance included but is not limited to foreign military financing (\$7 million for FY13), military training, and providing unmanned aerial vehicles at the request of the Mexican government to gather intelligence on threats. Other security diplomacy efforts include training 3,000 Mexican military personnel on issues related to intelligence, sustainability, and professional development.<sup>39</sup>

To display how the Merida Initiative impacted communities in Mexico, I will discuss the Juarez initiative. Beginning in 2010, the United States, expanded the Merida Initiative

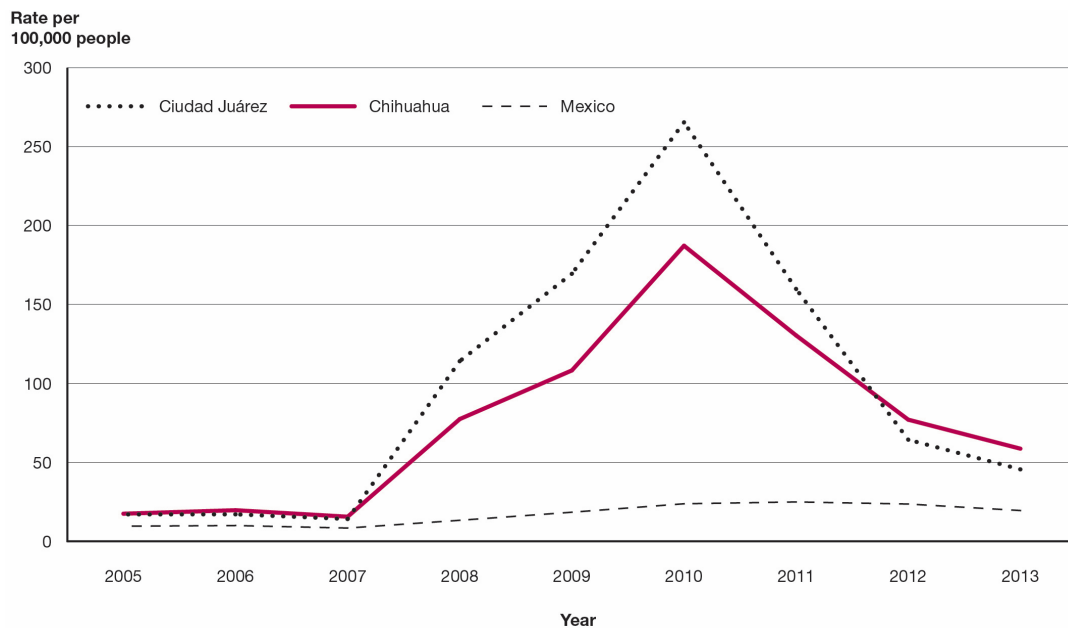
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<sup>38</sup> Baker, Biff. 2007. "The United States and Mexico Enhanced Military Cooperation." *DISAM Journal Of International Security Assistance Management* 29, no. 3: 26-35. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 6, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> Seelke, Clare Ribando, and Kristin M. Finklea. 2014. "U.S.-Mexican Security Cooperation: The Mérida Initiative and Beyond." *Congressional Research Service: Report* 41349. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41349.pdf>

beyond the scope of only equipping and training Mexican security forces to include three more lines of effort. The first line of effort focused on strengthening human rights and rule-of-law training; the second modernizing the border; and the third was building resilient communities within Mexico. From this expansion, three communities were selected within Juarez, out of nine total communities, and they received approximately \$15 million over three years to support crime prevention and community policing platforms. In addition, an additional \$10 million in grants went to local civil society groups targeting youths at risk.<sup>40</sup>

Graph 1: 2005 – 2013 Homicide Rates in Juarez, State of Chihuahua and Mexico.<sup>41</sup>



As the graph depicts, violence peaked for Juarez in 2010, especially compared to the state of Chihuahua and Mexico. However, this violence began to rapidly decline following the

<sup>40</sup> 2015. “Back from the Brink: Saving Ciudad Juárez.” *International Crisis Group*. (Accessed March 15, 2015). Pg. 17

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 33

expansion of the Merida Initiative to include the three pillars that focused on community efforts. By tailoring security diplomacy to satisfy the needs of Mexico, the United States was able to positively impact the citizens of Mexico by helping to bring security and stability to a violent city.<sup>42</sup> In addition to the decline of homicides, “more than 90 per cent of state and municipal security forces in Chihuahua have been certified, having passed background checks and polygraph tests, slightly higher than the national average of 88 per cent.”<sup>43</sup>

The results of the Mexico’s war against trans-national organized crime are still undecided, but what is certain is the success the United States has had in developing stronger ties with the Mexican government despite historic differences. These differences have been overcome through multiple diplomacy avenues such as security and economic, and I foresee the United States and Mexico growing closer as their defense and law enforcement establishments continue to train and operate together.

#### Rivals Use of Defense Diplomacy in Latin America Case Study

Since September 11, 2001 the United States security policy has been primarily focused on counter-terrorism in the Middle East and South East Asia, leaving our partners throughout Latin America and the Caribbean with the impression that the United States is not a reliable security partner in the region. In doing so, competitors, such as the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), have taken full advantage of the U.S. absence by deepening

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, pg. 17 & 33

<sup>43</sup> Ibid pg. 19

their ties to the region through strong economic and military partnerships.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the PRC increasing activity in LATAM, Russia and Iran have also sought to increase their influence with many states through the use of defense diplomacy.

Russia's relationship with Latin America dates back to the early 1800s when the Russian Empire recognized the Brazilian Empire and the newly independent Mexico. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Russia had diplomatic and trade relations throughout the region, and during World War I they notably increased their diplomatic efforts as the Soviets came to power. This especially became apparent during the Cold War as the Soviet Union increased its military presence in an attempt to secure beachheads. In fact, many countries looked at the Soviet Union's presence as a counterweight to the United States, and actively sought to increase diplomatic relations.<sup>45</sup> These relations simmered after the Cold War as Russia concentrated on domestic programs, but over the past decade the international community has witnessed a Russia reassert itself in LATAM with defense diplomacy being one of its key pillars.

According to Alejandro Sanchez, over the past decade while the U.S. has been focused on combating global terrorism, the Russian Federation has been proactive in fostering Latin American relationships through multiple diplomatic initiatives. Specifically in defense diplomacy, Russia has taken full advantage of the rise in anti-American sentiment by providing military weapons and training to countries seeking partnership.

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<sup>44</sup> Hakim, Peter. 2006. "Is Washington Losing Latin America?." *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 1: 39-53. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed February 26, 2014).

<sup>45</sup> Sanchez, W. Alejandro. 2010. "Russia and Latin America at the dawn of the twenty-first century." *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 8, no. 4: 362-384. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 6, 2014).

Through defense cooperation, Russia has increased its relevance in LATAM, and sent a clear message to the United States that once again it's a global player.<sup>46</sup> To add even more credence to this argument of Russia using defense diplomacy through arms sales and loans, in *Putin Makes Energy and Arms Deals with Potential Latin American Allies*, the author highlights Russia's use of defense diplomacy as a key instrument, even when not economically justified, to gain greater clout in Latin America.<sup>47</sup>

Over the past decade the PRC has increased its defense diplomacy in Latin America, but unlike Russia, they do not seek to have an antagonistic relationship with the United States. As early as 2000, the PRC began to slowly court LATAM through defense diplomacy. While the PRC's arms sales were far from those of Western countries, the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) sought other avenues to increase its influence. These methods are providing military education to Latin American officers, offering "friendship" discounts on military equipment, allowing Latin American navies to utilize their ports, and host/conduct official military visits. Through a defense diplomacy strategy, the PRC increased its influence in the region, which has resulted in a steady increase in military arms sales.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Sanchez, W. Alejandro. 2010. "Russia and Latin America at the dawn of the twenty-first century." *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 8, no. 4: 362-384. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 20, 2014).

<sup>47</sup> Blank, Stephen. 2010. "Putin Makes Energy and Arms Deals with Potential Latin American Allies. (cover story)." *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 7, no. 92: 1-2. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 20, 2014).

<sup>48</sup> Horta, Loro. 2008. "IN UNCLE SAM'S BACKYARD: China's Military Influence in Latin America." *Military Review* 88, no. 5: 47-55. *Military & Government Collection*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 2, 2014).

Like China and Russia, Iran has used defense diplomacy in an effort to build diplomatic relationships in the region. While their efforts are not as large as the Russian Federation or the PRC, Iran has increased its defense cooperation and presence in Latin America. This can be seen by the doubling of its embassy presence from 6 in 2005 to 12 in 2010 as well as its use of defense diplomacy through the use of the Revolutionary Guard providing training to the Venezuelan secret service and police.<sup>49</sup> I propose Iran's diplomatic overtures, in relation to defense, are more similar to the U.S.'s use of security diplomacy compared to Russia or China's use of defense diplomacy.

Due to the United States policy efforts being focused in the Middle East and South West Asia, these rivals have looked to build defense based relationships, in what they believe is the United States natural spheres of influence. As seen above, defense diplomacy has been one of the ways in which they have been able to challenge the U.S.'s hegemon.

#### Russian & Chinese Defense Diplomacy with Venezuela (2004 – 2014)

By far, Russia is the largest supplier of military technology and weaponry to the Venezuelan government, which fears external threats from the United States and Colombia. In regards to arms sales, the Russian Federation has sold and trained the Venezuelan military the Su-30 fighter jet, small arms, and surface-to-air missiles. In addition to selling Venezuela weapon systems, they also struck a deal that would build a Kalashnikov rifle factory in Venezuela, the first one of its kind in the Western

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<sup>49</sup> Berman, Ilan. 2012. "Iran Courts Latin America." *Middle East Quarterly* 19, no. 3: 63-69. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 17, 2014).



Hemisphere, that would give the Venezuelan military the ability to build their own small arms. Looking beyond weapons sales between the two countries, in November 2008, the Russian navy, led by a nuclear-powered cruiser conducted a port call in Venezuela, followed by a joint exercise with the Venezuelan navy.<sup>50</sup> Through defense related diplomatic efforts, Russia is seen by the Venezuelan government as a dependable ally, and a counterweight to their perception of the United States threat.

China like the United States uses professional military education as one of its tools for defense diplomacy. In an effort to develop stronger ties with Venezuela, the PLA has sent its own officers to Venezuela while sending Venezuelan military officers to their military schools as well as prestigious civilian schools in order to learn the language and culture.<sup>51</sup> In addition to using military education as a diplomatic tool, China is providing arms at a discounted rate known as “friendship prices” in order to break into the regional market. According to Loro Horta, this strategy has worked as the Venezuelan military has purchased high-end items such as aircraft to low-end earthmovers. This approach to defense diplomacy was so successful that the former President Chavez showed interest in purchasing other high-end military equipment such as missiles and electronic warfare equipment.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Sanchez, W. Alejandro. 2010. "Russia and Latin America at the dawn of the twenty-first century." *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 8, no. 4: 362-384. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 12, 2014).

<sup>51</sup> Horta, Loro. 2008. "IN UNCLE SAM'S BACKYARD: China's Military Influence in Latin America." *Military Review* 88, no. 5: 47-55. *Military & Government Collection*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 11, 2014).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 51

Russia and the PRC's approach to defense diplomacy has been very successful in advancing both countries influence in the region. By equipping, training, and conducting professional military officer exchanges LATAM countries have begun to look towards Russia and the PRC as reliable partners who can help them advance their security internally and externally; furthermore, some countries who perceive the United States as a threat, see them as means to counter U.S. dominance in the region.

### **CONCLUSION**

Defense diplomacy has evolved from its early days as a mechanism for collecting and monitoring allied nations, into an all encompassing diplomatic approach that I call security diplomacy. When tailored to its customer, security diplomacy has been successful in attaining U.S. policy objectives whilst creating a positive relationship with partners that fosters greater diplomacy. Through security diplomacy, the United States has created stability, broken down historical barriers, and should be used as a diplomatic tool to further U.S. interests.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

“The challenges and opportunities of African nations parallel the immensity of their geography and the dynamic complexity of their people. Their stability and security are strategic interests for the United States; and the U.S. African Command, along with its component commands, plays a critical role in helping address those challenges. The Command seeks to increase stability and decrease threats to American citizens and U.S. national interests through its partnerships with the African nations’ security sectors and their regional organizations”<sup>53</sup>

### **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Can the United States use security diplomacy to further its influence in Africa, while avoiding the perception of using coercive diplomacy as a means to achieve its political end-states?

### **STRATEGIC CONTEXT**

As Africa is evolving and gaining greater influence geo-politically, African countries are rapidly becoming more important to the United States. It has six of the tens fastest growing economies; a population of one billion that will double by 2050; and the largest regional voting bloc in multilateral organizations that will only gain greater power as the continent flourishes. Despite this potential, a number of transnational threats exist across

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<sup>53</sup> Karstens, Jeanne. 2011. "UNITED STATES AFRICA COMMAND." *Armed Forces Comptroller* 57, no. 4: 18. *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

the continent that impede progress, and will require political discourse as well as military intervention to counter.<sup>54</sup>

According to a 2010 study by the University of Maryland, Africa faces some of the most serious security challenges in the world, and no region has a greater potential for conflict. Of 162 countries, 25 rated to have the highest risk of instability with only three outside of sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>55</sup>

Recognizing the regional volatility, the United States can utilize security diplomacy as way to assist struggling African nations in securing their state, which in turn will create the conditions necessary for stability and development. Through security diplomacy, the U.S. has an opportunity to build trust through its actions, and to become a strategic regional partner.

## INTRODUCTION

Africa, similar to Latin America, experienced colonization from outside nations that sought to rule its lands and people through coercive diplomacy. Beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, colonial rule swept over the African continent due to European economic, political, and social issues. Primarily it was driven from the demand for raw resources to fuel industry; a desire for greater markets to export their goods; and the rise of unemployed citizens from the transition of an agricultural based economy to an industrial

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<sup>54</sup> 06 March 2014. "Senate Armed Services Committee: Statement of General David M. Rodriguez, USA, Commander, United States Africa Command." (accessed July 19, 2014)

<sup>55</sup> Sharon Cromer, "Testimony by U.S. Agency for International Development Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa," interview by U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights, 26 July 2011, <http://www.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2011/169224.htm>

based economy motivated European nation-states to colonize Africa as a means to maintain civil control of large populations of unemployed citizens.<sup>56</sup>

Colonial rule continued throughout Africa for the duration of the 19<sup>th</sup> and into the 20<sup>th</sup> century without being successfully challenged until the conclusion of Second Great War. Following World War II, African countries began to slowly gain independence, with the exception of South Africa, through various ways and means – some peaceful – some violent.<sup>57</sup> Then in 1994 South Africa ended its Apartheid policy, held its first multi-racial election, and ended the last remnants of European rule over the African continent.<sup>58</sup>

As a consequence of colonization in Africa, most African countries are hyper vigilant of any action that could be perceived as intruding on their sovereignty, so it is of utmost importance that the United States recognize the importance of their partners history when conducting security diplomacy. Acknowledging Africa’s history, the United States can use security diplomacy to increase its political influence with partner states by assisting them in creating a stable and secure environment. Furthermore, the United States can avoid the perception of using gunboat diplomacy by being transparent in its actions as well as using its security institutions to aid its partners during humanitarian disasters, like the 2014 Ebola outbreak.

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<sup>56</sup> Iweriebor, Ehiedu E., “African Age: The Colonization of Africa,” Accessed on 5 July 2014, <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-colonization-of-africa.html>

<sup>57</sup> Talton, Benjamin, “African Age: The Challenge of Decolonization in Africa,” Accessed on 5 July 2014, <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-challenge-of-decolonization-africa.html>

<sup>58</sup> CIA: The World Fact Book, Accessed on 5 July 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sf.html>

## SECURITY DIPLOMACY

Before proceeding, it's important to review Chapter 1's definition of security diplomacy, and distinguish it from coercive diplomacy. Security diplomacy, like defense diplomacy, seeks to build partnerships through the use of security related programs, and does not use the threat of force to intimidate its partners into cooperation. On the other hand, coercive diplomacy seeks to change the behavior of an international actor(s) through the threat of violence, or the use of limited military action. Unlike security diplomacy that builds relationships through security cooperation, coercive diplomacy seeks to apply its military superiority to shape the environment through fear of conflict.<sup>59</sup>

Examples of coercive diplomacy in Africa are the tactics used by extremist groups such as Al – Shabaab, in East Africa, as well as Boko Haram, in Nigeria, to effect the political and social environment through fear violence. These tactics include but are not limited to kidnapping, murder, intimidation, and extortion of the local population in an attempt to portray the government as weak. If successful, citizens lose faith in their government's ability to provide security, and an opening arises for the legitimization of a change in government. Nations that face these issues must identify and resolve the issues as fast as possible. While not ideal conditions, security diplomacy can help struggling governments, through partnership, in developing kinetic and non-kinetic strategies to counter the threats.

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<sup>59</sup> DIPLOMACY, "Revista Academiei Fortelor Terestre 19, no. 1: 10-16. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 5, 2014).

As discussed in Chapter 1, defense diplomacy has been used by nations in various capacities since the seventeenth century. Over time the nature of diplomacy and conflict has evolved to mirror the social and cultural norms of the period it's in. For instance, from 1961 until the conclusion of the Cold War defense diplomacy remained relatively the same, minus the new diplomatic status, as it was in the seventeenth century; however, a major shift occurred during the twentieth century as the role of the Military Attaché evolved from intelligence into one with greater diplomatic responsibilities.<sup>60</sup>

I argue this shift occurred as a direct result of the world transitioning to a bipolar international system to a hegemon. Consequently, upheaval arose as nations and disenfranchised population bases began to push the international norms that were established during the Cold War. The second and third order effects, from this shift, were requirements from U.S. partners that went beyond defense. They needed assistance not only with their military, but law enforcement, intelligence, and other aspects of security. I contend this is another development in defense diplomacy, and as mentioned in Chapter 1, the U.S. must diplomatically approach this as security diplomacy, with defense being a piece of a larger whole.

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<sup>60</sup> "Defense Attaches," Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Accessed on 4 May 2014, [http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dcaf.ch%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F35370%2F525957%2Ffile%2Fdcaf-backgrounder-defence-attaches.pdf&ei=nZlmU8fJNo\\_isASmzoCICA&usg=AFQjCNH7vU9xjSfoi1IsUycD29OiL0OsTA&bvm=bv.65788261,d.cWc](http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0CGYQFjAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dcaf.ch%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F35370%2F525957%2Ffile%2Fdcaf-backgrounder-defence-attaches.pdf&ei=nZlmU8fJNo_isASmzoCICA&usg=AFQjCNH7vU9xjSfoi1IsUycD29OiL0OsTA&bvm=bv.65788261,d.cWc)

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Reviewing Chapter 1, Mr. Shapiro asserts that the United States, as it retrogrades from its current conflicts, has an opportunity to form new partnerships by shifting its attention to building or improving new or old diplomatic relations. In support of these diplomatic efforts, one of key negotiation instruments for the Department of State will be security diplomacy. Furthermore, he counters the theories of the U.S. losing global stature by arguing that more than ever countries are seeking to partner with the U.S. on matters of security.<sup>61</sup>

Mr. Shapiro argues the United States can gain influence by assisting its allies and partners through Foreign Military Sales and Foreign Military Finances, which would enable them to operationally partner with one another. By operating from the same weapons platforms, they would have the ability to cooperate, as the defense systems would be able to communicate with one another. Also, the United States would have to train our partners on the systems, thus creating more opportunities to deepen partnerships. Professional Military Education is another program, Mr. Shapiro sees as an opportunity to further ties by exchanging military officers for professional education. Military education exchanges help the U.S. and its partners to improve their language ability, gain an appreciation for one another's cultures, and develop professional relationships with one another that can be used as the officer's advance in rank and responsibility.<sup>62</sup> For further details on defense diplomacy tools, please refer to Chapter 1's Table 1.

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<sup>61</sup> Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. "A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance." *The Washington Quarterly* 35:4: 23-35. (Accessed February 26, 2014). DOI: 10.1080/0163660X.2012.725021

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, pg. 26-29



Also, Michael O’Hanlon, the Director of Research for Foreign Policy, declares the time is ripe for the United States to move beyond its history of lip service to African security, and begin conducting a well thought out diplomatic strategy using security diplomacy, specifically military intervention, as one of the driving forces behind change. In the article, he provides examples of how France and the European Union have successfully used security diplomacy to help stabilize the security situation in some African countries.<sup>63</sup>

He believes the United States could help African countries achieve great gains in the fight against terrorism as well the humanitarian front with little investment. Specifically, he believes the United States could deploy units numbering from the hundreds to a couple thousand personnel to conduct peacekeeping missions as well as train – advise- and assist missions designed to give African nations security forces the tools needed to successfully stabilize and secure their own countries.<sup>64</sup>

Countering Michael O’Hanlon’s argument, Dr. Nsia – Pepra states that the United States neorealist approach has failed. Instead, the United States must take the liberal approach of using soft power to achieve its end-state in Africa, which is the promotion of liberal ideas. She believes the militarization of Africa is counterintuitive of the U.S. idea of spreading liberal values throughout the African continent, and it has backfired on them

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<sup>63</sup> O’Hanlon, Michael E. 2014, “U.S. Military Intervention, Done Right, Could Boost African Stability,” <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/02/16-us-military-africa-ohanlon>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pg. 1

gaining credibility with their partners and allies. Furthermore, she argues that the United States militarization of the continent is a direct result of the fight on terrorism, desire for its oil reserves, and to counter China's emergence in Africa.<sup>65</sup>

### Security Diplomacy & International Relations (IR) Theory

Before proceeding, I believe it's important to look at security diplomacy through the lens of the major international relations theories. "The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. In spite of this diversity, several major schools of thought are discernible, differentiated principally by the variable they emphasize – eg military power, material interests, or ideological beliefs."<sup>66</sup>

In this section, I'll concentrate on the four IR theories, and demonstrate how they relate to security diplomacy. All four have influenced the study and execution of security diplomacy by varying degrees, and can be seen in the actions of today's world leaders. The four IR theories I will cover are realism, liberalism, institutionalism, and idealism.

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<sup>65</sup> Nsira-Pepira, Kofi. 2014. "Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa: Strategic Gain or Backlash?" *Military Review* 94, no. 1: 50. *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Slaughter, Anne Marie, "International relations, principal theories," [https://www.princeton.edu/~slaught/Articles/722\\_IntlRelPrincipalTheories\\_Slaughter\\_20110509zG.pdf](https://www.princeton.edu/~slaught/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf)

Realism argues that nations are autonomous actors, and state power is the center of gravity in an international system defined by anarchy. Only through power (military/economic/diplomatic), can states defend themselves, and protect their interests from outsiders seeking to attain their own goals. Realists view the world on the following four assumptions: 1) state survival is above all else; 2) states are rational actors; 3) all states possess some military capacity, and ambiguity is always present; 4) states with the greatest economic and military power dictate the terms of international relations.<sup>67</sup>

I propose the Russian Federation's approach to international politics is an example of realism. Rather than using diplomacy, economic or security, to create a stable region based on cooperation, Russia chooses to destabilize the region through coercive diplomacy by using the strength of its military to intimidate its weaker neighbors into capitulating to its political desires. Two examples of this are Russia's economic and military actions in Georgia and the Ukraine.

The second major international relations theory is Liberalism, which has influenced all democracies. Like most theories, Liberalism is not a single IR theory; rather it's made up of several interpretations that are based on individual rights. This includes but is not limited to individual equality before the law, private property, elected representation, and civil liberties such as free speech. Three ideas on liberalism are Liberal Pacifism, Liberal Imperialism, and Immanuel Kant's theory of Liberal Internationalism.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pg. 1-2

<sup>68</sup> Doyle, Michael W. "Liberalism and world politics." *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1151-1169.

The basic premise behind liberal internationalism is democratic states will not engage in aggressive actions towards one another, and will align with one another during conflicts, despite previous political grievances. This was witnessed in the President Carter and Reagan presidencies when grievances existed between the United States, and many of its European partners. Despite the differing agendas, democratic alliances like NATO still flourished. According to Kant's interpretation, this occurred because perpetual peace can exist between states if three conditions are satisfied. First nation-states civil constitutions must be based on republican ideas (not the U.S. political party); pacification between the republics would then occur as liberal republics made peace; and finally a cosmopolitan law would be established as a result of the pacification of the republics. This in turn would produce a perpetual peace that could only be disrupted by nation-states that break away from the republican ideas or shun them all together.<sup>69</sup>

The author of *Liberalism and World Politics* highlights several instances in modern history that support Kant's theory of democratic states negotiating disputes (Britain and the U.S. during the North's blockade of Southern cotton going to Britain during the Civil War), and aligning with one another against non-democratic states despite a long history of rivalry (Anglo – French entente against Germany before World War I). Both examples demonstrate liberal societies coming together under a belief in order to stop or defend against non-liberal competitors.

More recently, the actions the United States took in Iraq with the former Prime Minister Maliki demonstrate the U.S. resolve in not wanting to work with leadership, of a

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, pg. 1155 – 1158

democracy, that was not promoting liberal ideas of individual equality. Until he resigned from office, the U.S. refused to provide full military aid. Immediately following his resignation, the U.S. government increased its financial and military aid to Iraq in order to help them fight the ISIS terrorist threat.<sup>70</sup>

The next IR theory I will discuss is institutionalism. Like realism, it proposes that the international system is anarchic, a states priority is survival, and ambiguity surrounds nation-states on the international level. Unlike realism, institutionalism argues that cooperation between states can exist on the international stage under the right conditions.<sup>71</sup>

“Institutionalists, in contrast, argue that institutions – defined as a set of rules, norms, practices and decision-making procedures that shape expectations – can overcome the uncertainty that undermines co-operation.”<sup>72</sup>

Nation-states knowing they will have extended contact are more likely to positively interact with other states, since they know further interaction will occur over time. Additionally, the theory argues that information increases between states as they interact with one another, causing ambiguity to decrease between states. Through cooperation states gain greater clarity into their partners decision cycle, helping to identify other

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<sup>70</sup> Solmon, Jay and Nissenbaum, Dion, “With Maliki Out of the Picture, U.S. Prepares to Boost Iraq Aid,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Accessed on 16 August 2014, [http://online.wsj.com/articles/with-maliki-out-of-the-picture-u-s-prepares-to-boost-iraq-aid-1408143896?mod=WSJ\\_hppMIDDLENexttoWhatsNewsSecond](http://online.wsj.com/articles/with-maliki-out-of-the-picture-u-s-prepares-to-boost-iraq-aid-1408143896?mod=WSJ_hppMIDDLENexttoWhatsNewsSecond)

<sup>71</sup> Slaughter, Anne Marie, "International relations, principal theories," [https://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722\\_IntlRelPrincipalTheories\\_Slaughter\\_20110509zG.pdf](https://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf)

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, pg. 2

nations political desires and red lines in comparison to their own, thus creating efficiencies when negotiating with one another.<sup>73</sup>

I argue that the United States use of security diplomacy follows this theory closer than any other. Institutionalism aligns closely with Kant's Liberal Internationalism in the sense that liberal states are closer to one another, and will work through differences knowing that they are founded under common principles. NATO during the Cold War was a good illustration of Institutionalism theory at its best. Despite having political agenda's that did not necessarily align, the U.S. and Western European countries were able to work through differences in order to create an institution that served as a defense against the Warsaw Pact. This institution was successful, although not perfect, that it continues to exist, despite its original threat no longer existing.

The final IR theory I will highlight is idealism. Idealism is based on principled activism, and some of its biggest proponents have been individuals or movements like Mahatma Gandhi, Osama Bin Laden, and Anti-globalization movements. Some of the biggest contributor's to the theory have been Kathryn Sikkink, Michael Barnett, and Martha Finnemore.<sup>74</sup>

The foundation of idealism is based on a state or group's foreign policy being guided by values, ethics, and legal standards. In recent years a new version of idealism has arose to IR theory known as constructivism. This new adaptation proposes that social reality

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, pg. 2

<sup>74</sup> Snyder, Jack. 2004. "One World, Rival Theories." *Foreign Policy*. 145, ABI/INFORM Global. (Accessed March 23, 2015).

derives from debate about values, and international change is a result of intellectuals who publically push for new ideas as well as publically identify and humiliate (when possible) actors whose actions go against the international standard.<sup>75</sup>

The recent rise and spread of ISIS is an example of idealism. Its ability to spread and enforce its version of Islam regionally has been astonishing. Through social media they have been able to spread their values and version of Islam to a global audience, which has resulted in individuals flocking to the region in defense of the organization. If unable to travel to the battlefields, followers have conducted their own attacks in the name of the organization. While this is not a rosy example, it demonstrates the power of idealism as an IR theory and its effect on the international system.

### Research Methodology

Using a qualitative approach for this thesis, I seek to prove that security diplomacy can be used to gain greater influence with partners despite historical barriers such as Cold War rivalries and colonization. Chapters 1 examined whether historical barriers would prevent the United States from using security diplomacy as a means to gain influence with partners in Latin America. In this study, I found that security diplomacy was effective in building partnerships with LATAM partners, despite past grievances, and could be used in a tailored approach with other countries throughout the region. Specifically for this chapter, I will attempt to determine whether the United States can use security diplomacy as a diplomatic tool for assisting partners in creating a secure and stable environment that promotes a healthy rapport between countries.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, pg. 59 – 60

## **HYPOTHESIS**

My hypothesis is the United States can increase its credibility and influence in Africa through the use of security diplomacy. It alone or in synchronization with other forms of diplomacy can build trust between partners, while assisting in the creation of a secure environment that promotes democratic values and ideas.

## **HISTORY OF U.S. – AFRICA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS**

With the exception of the United States providing support to former slaves seeking to establish a colony in Liberia, following the U.S. Civil War, its diplomatic involvement in Africa had been minimal until the Cold War.<sup>76</sup>

Decolonization in Africa, like Asia, followed no particular path to self-governance. In some places, both European colonizers as well as the Africans welcomed the transition, but in others, protracted bloody conflicts erupted into a struggle for independence. To further complicate the issue of independence, it coincided with the start of the Cold War, which often complicated the United States' decision calculus in supporting the concept of national self-determination over containing the spread of communism.<sup>77</sup>

Many former African colonies, along with Asian, foresaw the upcoming struggle between the Soviet Union and the West, and declared themselves non-aligned during the Bandung conference in 1955 while making a case that they were going to focus on internal

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<sup>76</sup> CIA, "The World Factbook: Liberia." *CIA World Fact Book* 364-387. *Military & Government Collection*, EBSCOhost (accessed July 19, 2014).

<sup>77</sup> Department of States, Office of the Historian, "Milestones: 1945 – 1952," Accessed July 19, 2014, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/asia-and-africa>



development. Initially the U.S. received this with caution, but in the end the conference proved to be a success for the former colonies by giving them a voice as well as a choice during the Cold War.<sup>78</sup>

From the 1950s until the 1970s, newly established, non-aligned countries began to increase across Africa. With these newly established countries came proxy wars between the United States and the Soviet Union. Two of these struggles were the conflicts in Congo and Angola. In both cases, the United States sought to block the spread of communism by financing and supplying leaders with weapons to achieve victory over the communist backed parties. While the Congo, later renamed Zaire, led by Joseph Mobutu was successful in preventing communism from taking root, Angola was considered a failure following the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's, backed by the Soviet Union, victory over the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, backed by the United States.<sup>7980</sup>

Following the conclusion of the Cold War, three significant diplomatic events came to the forefront between African countries and the United States. The first was the end of the Apartheid in South Africa, which resulted in the United States lifting sanctions and increased foreign aid to include many U.S. companies returning following their disinvestment in the 1980s.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pg. 1

<sup>79</sup> Department of States, Office of the Historian, "Milestones: 1961-1968," Accessed July 19, 2014, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968>

<sup>80</sup> Department of States, Office of the Historian, "Milestones: 1969-1976," Accessed July 19, 2014, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola>

<sup>81</sup> Department of States, Office of the Historian, "Milestones: 1989-1992," Accessed July 19, 2014, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/apartheid>

Somalia was the second significant event. In this case, the United States was supporting the U.N. peacekeeping mission following the collapse of the central government. It was providing both food aid as well as famine relief, but this was short lived following U.S. service members being killed following a breakdown in security. While the U.S. removed itself from the peacekeeping role, they still continued to provide aid to the people of Somalia.<sup>82</sup>

The third and final diplomatic event that shaped current African policies was the stand-up of the United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM), which will be discussed later as a case study. Establishing USAFRICOM was significant for the United States in its overall strategy towards Africa, specifically, Sub-Saharan Africa. In June of 2012, during the Africa Strategy, President Obama proclaimed, “As we look toward the future, it is clear that Africa is more important than ever to the security and prosperity of the international community, and to the United States in particular.”<sup>83</sup>

“This new strategy focuses on Washington partnering with sub-Saharan African countries to pursue the following pillars: (1) strengthen democratic institutions; (2) spur economic growth, trade, and investment; (3) advance peace and stability; and (4) promote opportunity and development.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Department of States, Office of the Historian, “Milestones: 1993-2000,” Accessed July 19, 2014, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/somalia>

<sup>83</sup> Scott Firsing & Ogi Williams (2013) Increased Chinese and American defence involvement in Africa, *Defense & Security Analysis*, 29:2, 89-103, DOI: 10.1080/14751798.2013.787789

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 3

Looking at the third pillar of the new strategy, it's comprised of multiple lines of effort that fall under security diplomacy. These are:

- Advance regional security cooperation and security sector reform; Support initiatives that promote peace and security; Prevent transnational criminal threats; Prevent conflict; Prevent mass atrocities; Hold individuals accountable for their actions; And counterterrorism.<sup>85</sup>

### **U.S. USE OF SECURITY DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA**

In this section, I present my case studies, and seek to prove that security diplomacy can be used as a diplomatic tool to achieve greater influence in Africa. Specifically I will look at the stand-up of the United States Africa Command; the Kenyan – U.S. security relationship; and China's defense relationship across the continent.

#### United States African Command

Prior to the stand-up of USAFRICOM, the DoD divided African security policy between the European, Central, and Pacific Combatant Commands (COCOMs), which created the possibility for potential gaps and lost diplomatic opportunities from a poor unity of effort.<sup>86</sup> Recognizing the flaw, the U.S. established USAFRICOM on October 01, 2008 under a presidential directive.<sup>87</sup> The mission, "United States Africa Command, in concert with interagency and international partners, builds defense capabilities, responds to crisis,

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, pg. 3

<sup>86</sup> Ganzle, Stefan. 2011. "AFRICOM and US Africa policy: 'pentagonising' foreign policy or providing a model for joint approaches?." *African Security Review* 20, no. 1: 70-82. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

<sup>87</sup> Feickert, Andrew. 2013. "Geographic Combatant Commands." *Congressional Research Service: Report* 28-57. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

and deters and defeats transnational threats in order to advance U.S. national interests and promote regional security, stability, and prosperity.”<sup>88</sup>

Initially, USAFRICOM was met with suspicion and concern on the exact role it would play in Africa. Due to this suspicion, not a single African country, with the exception of Liberia, offered the COCOM a location for its headquarters, and multiple partners, like South Africa and Nigeria, openly criticized the COCOM. Furthermore, U.S. based NGO’s and umbrella associates reacted with caution, fearing disadvantages might arise from excessive proximity vis-à-vis actors and policies of U.S. security.<sup>89</sup> Further fueling the suspicion was the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars. This caused many people to fear for the militarization of Africa under the pretenses of counterterrorism. To alleviate this apprehension, the USAFRICOM headquarters was placed in Stuttgart, Germany where it remains today.<sup>90</sup>

Over time this trepidation proved false, and in 2011 Sharon Cromer, the USAID Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa, provided the following testimony to the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights on their relationship with USAFRICOM.<sup>91</sup> “USAID greatly values the

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<sup>88</sup> United States African Command, “2014 Command Brief – English,” Accessed 19 July 2014, <http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/documents>

<sup>89</sup> Ganzle, Stefan. 2011. "AFRICOM and US Africa policy: 'pentagonising' foreign policy or providing a model for joint approaches?." *African Security Review* 20, no. 1: 70-82. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

<sup>90</sup> Vandiver, John, “US Africa Command headquarters to stay in Germany,” *Stars and Stripes*, Accessed August 16, 2014, <http://www.stripes.com/news/us-africa-command-headquarters-to-stay-in-germany-1.206605>

<sup>91</sup> Sharon Cromer, “Testimony by U.S. Agency for International Development Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa,” interview by U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights, 26 July 2011, <http://www.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2011/169224.htm>

work of USAFRICOM as the link between security and development is clear throughout Africa. War, terrorism, and violence threaten current progress and impede potential gains in health, education, democracy, and economic growth. But with improved security, African nations can begin to experience sound economic growth, better living conditions, and improved governance following years of devastating armed conflict.”<sup>92</sup>

To provide further insight into USAFRICOM’s focus in the region, GEN Rodriguez, Commander USAFRICOM, provided the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC) with his commands priorities in an unclassified environment, which provides transparency to the world. The below four lines of effort presented to the SASC were:<sup>93</sup>

- Countering Violent Extremism
- Improving Stability in East, West, North Africa, and in the Gulf of Guinea
- Protecting U.S. Personnel and facilities
- Countering the Lords Resistance Army in Central Africa

In order to accomplish these lines of effort, USAFRICOM focuses on security diplomacy, primarily defense, programs such as military to military engagements, exercises, and operations with and through its African partners. In 2013 alone, USAFRICOM touched all three lines of efforts by conducting 55 operations, 10 exercises, and 481 security cooperation activities. Through these tailored efforts, the Command was been able to make gains with modest investment.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, pg. 2

<sup>93</sup> 06 March 2014. “Senate Armed Services Committee: Statement of General David M. Rodriguez, USA, Commander, United States Africa Command.” (accessed July 19, 2014)

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, pg. 6

As Africa continues to grow in importance, USAFRICOM working with the interagency and its African partners will become the continent's center of gravity for security diplomacy. Working closely with interagency partners, such as USAID, DEA, and the FBI, USAFRICOM can help create a stable environment that promotes rule-of-law, human rights, and has the ability to respond to regional crises.

### West Africa Ebola Response Case Study

In March 2014 the world witnessed the most deadly Ebola outbreak, since its discovery in 1976. This epidemic swept through West Africa, and has claimed 5 times more victims than any other outbreak combined. More than 10,250 have died from this virus, and the total number of reported cases has exceeded 24,740; in addition, it's believed that many more cases have gone unreported.<sup>95</sup>

In response to this disaster, the United States government, along with NGOs, began to mobilize, personnel and resources, in an effort to combat this epidemic. The first USAID led 28 – person team, known as Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DART), hit the ground in August and September 2014. This team consisting of USAID, DoD, Centers of Disease Control, the Public Health Service, and the U.S. Forest Service arrived to assess the situation on the ground and coordinate the U.S. government's response to the crisis.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> 2015. "Ebola: Mapping the outbreak." *BBC News, Africa*. (Accessed April 23, 2015). <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28755033>

<sup>96</sup> Pellerin, Cheryl. (2014). "Liberia is Making Progress Against Ebola but Cases Continue." *U.S. Department of Defense, DoD News*. (Accessed April 22, 2015). <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=123625>

This team make-up is a great example of how security diplomacy, specifically DoD, can serve as an enabler for other agency led efforts in order to achieve U.S. government policy objectives.

Since December 2014, the Department of Defense, in support of a civilian led effort, has spent \$313 million on the Ebola epidemic in West Africa. DoD successfully trained 1,539 healthcare workers and support staff; formed 30 member medical support teams for short-term assistance; established more than 10 DoD Ebola treatment units; procured 1.4 million sets of personal protective equipment; and 7 mobile labs that processed over 4,709 samples.<sup>97</sup> These resources, along with the interagency approach, resulted in a drastic decrease of confirmed cases throughout West Africa. The below data best illustrates this claim.

- Liberia – Prior to response there were 119 confirmed cases per week; now ~3
- Sierra Leone – Prior to response 534 confirmed cases per week; now ~ 76
- Guinea – Prior to response 148 confirmed cases per week; now ~ 66<sup>98</sup>

This whole of government approach, with security diplomacy in a support role, demonstrates the effectiveness of synchronizing U.S. efforts in order to assist its partners in Africa. Although in a support role, security diplomacy played a critical role in providing equipment, training, and people to help its partners get control of a deadly humanitarian crisis. Recognizing the contribution security diplomacy played in this

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<sup>97</sup> “DOD Helps Fight Ebola In Liberia and West Africa.” *U.S. Department of Defense*. (Accessed March 22, 2015). [http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2014/1014\\_ebola/](http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2014/1014_ebola/)

<sup>98</sup> 2015. “Fact Sheet: Progress in Our Ebola Response at Home and Abroad.” *The White House, Office of the Press Secretary*. (Accessed 22 April 2015) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/11/fact-sheet-progress-our-ebola-response-home-and-abroad>

effort, both the President of Liberia and the Director of USAID publically praised it for its contribution to the fight.<sup>99 100</sup>

### Kenya Case Study

In 1964, following Kenya's independence from the United Kingdom, the U.S. established diplomatic relations with the newly formed Kenyan government. This relationship has been relatively stable with the exception of the violence and corruption that ensued following the 2007 elections. This led to the United States strongly advocating for institutional and political reform, and resulted in Kenya's coalition government adopting a new constitution in 2010.<sup>101</sup>

The United States views Kenya as a strategic partner, an anchor state in East Africa, and a key partner in counterterrorism efforts throughout the region. As of 2013, Kenya was ranked internationally among the top 10 U.S. foreign aid recipients, and received a wide array of aid from the United States. According to Table 2, estimates show that U.S. aid to Kenya surpassed \$1 billion in recent years with the majority of the assistance going to development and health programs. Although security related assistance makes up only a

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<sup>99</sup> Pellerin, Cheryl. (2014). "Liberia is Making Progress Against Ebola but Cases Continue." *U.S. Department of Defense, DoD News*. (Accessed April 22, 2015).

<http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=123625>

<sup>100</sup> Pellerin, Cheryl. (2015). "Liberia's President Thanks Obama, Carter for Ebola Aid." *U.S. Department of Defense, DoD News*. (Accessed April 22, 2015).

<http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=128271>

<sup>101</sup> United States Africa Command, "Republic of Kenya," Accessed 17 August 2014, <http://www.africom.mil/afrika/east-africa/republic-of-kenya>



fraction of the total aid Kenya receives, they're one of the largest recipients of U.S. security related aid in Africa.<sup>102</sup>

Over the last decade, the United States has used security diplomacy, primarily defense, to help Kenya's security institutions secure its national territory and to counter Islamic terrorism; furthermore, the it's provided support to help facilitate the Kenyan Navy in securing its territorial waters, while countering piracy emanating from Somalia.<sup>103</sup> These counter piracy efforts along with the combined effects of multi-national military operations, the capture and prosecution of many suspected pirates, and improved industry security measures have led to a significant decline in vessel hijackings and the kidnapping of crewmembers since 2011. To demonstrate this success with numbers, there were 0 ships hijacked in 2013, out of 9 attempts; in comparison, in 2011 there were 27 successful hijackings and 166 attempts.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to counterterrorism and traditional military training, security diplomacy has assisted Kenya in battling disease and sickness through medical research and training. Under USAFRICOM and by invite of the Kenyan government, the U.S. Army Medical Research Unit – Kenya (USAMRU-K), located on the campus of the Kenya Medical Research Institute, works with the Kenyan military and medical sector to develop and test improved methods for preventing, identifying and treating infectious diseases.

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<sup>102</sup> Blanchard, Lauren Ploch. 2013. "U.S.-Kenya Relations: Current Political and Security Issues." *Congressional Research Service: Issue Brief* 1-18. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, pg. 16

<sup>104</sup> General David M. Rodriguez, USA, "Testimony by Commander, United States Africa Command," interview by Senate Armed Services Committee, 6 March 2014. (accessed July 19, 2014)

Furthermore, they partner with the Kenyan government to execute the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief as with as the Malaria Initiative, which seeks to prevent and treat the spread of HIV as well as Malaria.<sup>105</sup>

Utilizing security diplomacy, I argue the United States was successful in improving its relationship with Kenya, and assisting the government with improving its security environment to promote stability and growth. To support this statement, below are two reports on economic growth, and the development of greater depth for medical personnel to counter malaria.

In June 2014 Kenya was one of two countries in sub-Saharan Africa that have the highest medium-term gross domestic product growth rates. According to Advance Emerging Capital, Kenya has one of the most attractive frontier markets in the next 5 years, and its middle class has the highest proportion of entrepreneurs of any frontier market. To further demonstrate Kenya's economic growth, they are attracting both the information technology and energy sectors, and according to Bank of America Merrill Lynch, Kenyan companies' 2014 earnings are expected to grow by 19%.<sup>106</sup>

From October to November 2013, USAFRICOM sponsored a "*Train the Trainer*" event focused on diagnosing malaria. The purpose of this event was to create a pool of qualified

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<sup>105</sup> Logan, Tom Col., "Small Med unit in Kenya impacts millions," *United States African Command*, Accessed 14 August 2014, <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/23024/small-med-unit-in-kenya-impacts-millions>

<sup>106</sup> Cox, Josie, "Kenya and Nigeria Stand Out for Growth Potential," *The Wall Street Journal*, Accessed 14 August 2014, <http://blogs.wsj.com/frontiers/2014/06/09/kenya-and-nigeria-stand-out-for-growth-potential/?KEYWORDS=Kenya>

East Africans who would return to their countries, and provide training to medical personnel on the techniques they learned at the event. Through this training, USAFRICOM and its East African partners hope to create an institutional knowledge base and bench strength of personnel that can improve their own citizen's quality of life through the reduction of malaria.<sup>107</sup>

**Table 2. U.S. Bilateral Foreign Assistance to Kenya, State Department and USAID**  
(\$ in millions)<sup>108</sup>

Account, by Year	FY2011 Actual	FY2012 Actual	FY2013 Request	FY2014 Request
Development Assistance (DA)	75.8	92	92.9	89.8
Economic Support Fund (ESF)	-	4.8	-	-
Food for Peace (FFP)	-	77.5	-	-
Global Health Programs (GHP) – State	498.8	241.5	277.4	382.1
Global Health Programs (GHP) – USAID	75.3	78.2	79.4	81.4
Foreign Military Financing (FMF)	1	1.5	1.1	1.2
International Military Education & Training (IMET)	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8
International Narcotics Control & Law Enforcement (INCLE)	2	2	1.8	2
Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining & Related Programs (NADR)	8	1.2	6.2	6.5
NADR – Overseas Contingency Operations	-	7.8	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>661.8</b>	<b>507.2</b>	<b>459.5</b>	<b>563.8</b>

While not perfect, I argue that U.S. security diplomacy has led to improvements in Kenya's security institutions, and helped the country advance socially and economically. Security diplomacy has helped in building a lasting diplomatic relationship between the two countries as well as assisted the U.S. in gaining greater influence in the region.

<sup>107</sup> U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, "In the fight against malaria, East African nations build capability via AFRICOM medical engagement," Accessed 14 August 2014, <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/11458/in-the-fight-against-malaria-east-african-nations-build-capability-via-africom-medical-engagement>

<sup>108</sup> Blanchard, Lauren Ploch. 2013. "U.S.-Kenya Relations: Current Political and Security Issues." *Congressional Research Service: Issue Brief* 1-18. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 15, 2014).

## China and Africa

Recognizing the global significance of Africa, China has been pro-active in its diplomatic engagements with African governments. Between 2000 and 2008 trade with Africa increased 11 – fold, and was estimated to be US\$127 billion; furthermore, Africa has become a key supplier of energy to China. In order to protect its personal interests, China recognized the need for regional stability, and has turned to defense diplomacy as a means of insurance.<sup>109</sup>

In a 2010 Defense White Paper, Beijing emphasized the importance of Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW), and demonstrated its ability to conduct these operations by participating in UN Peacekeeping and disaster relief operations. Additionally, the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) Navy has protected its economic interests via counter-piracy operations. These operations resulted in protecting 3,139 ships sailing under various flags; the rescue of 29 ships from pirate attacks; and the recovery of 9 ships released from captivity. Also, the PLA Navy is in the process of building its first overseas naval facility in Seychelles to assist in anti-piracy operations and resource exploration.<sup>110</sup>

In addition to participating in the above operations, China has begun courting historical U.S. allies such as Uganda and Ethiopia through military education exchanges. In addition, China differs in its approach to military education exchanges. Rather than

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<sup>109</sup> Capie, David, 2013. "Structures, Shocks and Norm Change: Explaining the Late Rise of Asia's Defence Diplomacy." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal Of International & Strategic Affairs* 35, no. 1: 1-26. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 30, 2014).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, pg. 90

dictating the training Ethiopian and Ugandan military officers receive, China grants their partners with the freedom of choice when choosing training. As a consequence, in 2010 the Ethiopian and Chinese military pledged to strengthen their military relationship.<sup>111</sup>

As one can see from the paragraphs above, China understands the value that security diplomacy can provide in achieving its diplomatic goals. However, they differ from the U.S. in their approach, and provide African leaders with an alternative that is less concerned with pushing their political values as they are with protecting their economic interests. China will continue to operate in the region, and, if in its interest, attempt to provide U.S. partners with an alternative option to security diplomacy.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I believe that security diplomacy has proven to be an effective enabler to the United States overarching diplomatic efforts in Sub – Saharan Africa. As seen in Kenya and West Africa, security diplomacy can be multifaceted by providing both non-kinetic as well as kinetic support to its partners in combating everything from terrorists, insurgents, or outbreaks of deadly diseases. Security diplomacy has proven it can be effective in creating secure and stable environments that lay the foundation for economic expansion, education, rule-of-law, and human rights. However, like Latin America, the United States must be aware of Africa’s history at all times, and ensure its actions are not perceived as coercive in nature.

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid, pg. 91

## ***CHAPTER THREE***

“The United States maintains a profound commitment to a Europe that is free, whole, and at peace. A strong Europe is our indispensable partner, including for tackling global security challenges, promoting prosperity, and upholding international norms. Our work with Europe leverages our strong and historic bilateral relationships throughout the continent. We will steadfastly support the aspirations of countries in the Balkans and Eastern Europe toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration, continue to transform our relationship with Turkey, and enhance ties with countries in the Caucasus while encouraging resolution of regional conflict”<sup>112</sup>

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### Strategic Context

Since the 2008 Russo – Georgian Conflict, Russia has begun to reassert itself regionally by manipulating the natural gas market, and using its military strength to execute its policies through coercive diplomacy. This is especially evident in their actions toward Ukraine and its allies. In addition to the annexation of sovereign territory, Russia has returned to the tactics of the Cold War by having their strategic bombers fly dangerously close to the airspace of other countries, especially NATO members. It is my belief that without a strong response from the U.S. and the international community, Russia will continue using gunboat diplomacy to carry out its national agenda. I further propose that security diplomacy, along with other forms of diplomacy, can assist in stabilizing the region by providing partners with the resources and training needed to stabilize themselves domestically as well as defend their borders from Russian aggression.

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<sup>112</sup> 2015. “National Security Strategy.” *President, The White House*. (Accessed April 25, 2015).

### Research Question

Can the U.S. use security diplomacy to increase its influence in Eastern Europe in the face of the recent rise of an aggressive Russian regional agenda?

## **LITERARY REVIEW**

As you have read in the previous chapters, Mr. Shapiro asserts that the United States, as it retrogrades from its current conflicts, has an opportunity to form new partnerships by shifting its attention to building or improving new or old diplomatic relations. In support of these diplomatic efforts, one of key negotiation instruments for the Department of State will be security diplomacy. Furthermore, he counters the theories of the U.S. losing global stature by arguing that more than ever countries are seeking to partner with the U.S. on matters of security.<sup>113</sup>

Mr. Shapiro argues the United States can gain influence by assisting its allies and partners through Foreign Military Sales and Foreign Military Finances, which would enable them to operationally partner with one another. By operating from the same weapons platforms, they would have the ability to cooperate, as the defense systems would be able to communicate with one another. Also, the United States would have to train our partners on the systems, thus creating more opportunities to deepen partnerships. Professional Military Education is another program, Mr. Shapiro sees as an opportunity to further ties by exchanging military officers for professional education. Military

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<sup>113</sup> Shapiro, Andrew J. 2012. "A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance." *The Washington Quarterly* 35:4: 23-35. (Accessed February 26, 2014). DOI: 10.1080/0163660X.2012.725021

education exchanges help the U.S. and its partners to improve their language ability, gain an appreciation for one another's cultures, and develop professional relationships with one another that can be used as the officer's advance in rank and responsibility.<sup>114</sup> For further details on defense diplomacy tools, please refer to Chapter 1's Table 1.

Goran Swistek is another proponent of security diplomacy, and argues that there is a relation between modern foreign affairs and security policy. He views security diplomacy as an instrument of international realpolitik that seeks to preserve the balance of power by supporting partners and thwarting enemies from gaining the advantage. Mr. Swistek believes it's used today to build and maintain partnerships with former opponents as well as newly engaged partners. Furthermore, it has become one of the first diplomatic tools used in post-conflict zones to consolidate the absence of fundamental violence. Also, it has the legitimate function of facilitating cooperation, in the sensitive areas of security, between partner states. By using security diplomacy as a diplomatic instrument, one hopes to shape the environment, and create a partnership founded on stability and security.<sup>115</sup>

In reaction to Russian actions in Eastern Europe, leadership within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is using security diplomacy to reassure its member states, in close proximity to Russia, of their intent to support. To assuage fears of abandonment, NATO has implemented multiple measures designed to reinforce its eastern flank, from Russia,

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, pg. 26-29

<sup>115</sup> Swistek, Göran. 2012. "The Nexus Between Public Diplomacy and Military Diplomacy in Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy." *Connections (18121098)* 11, no. 2: 79-86. *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 1, 2015).



through the creation of a 4,000 – 6,000 strong rapid response task force, the streamlining of the command, command and control infrastructure, and conducting a series of rotational force deployments into Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>116</sup>

Samantha Power, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations as well as Harry Kissinger, recently expressed concern about the U.S. using security diplomacy to escalate the violence in Eastern Europe. Mr. Kissinger argues that the United States should refrain from using security diplomacy, and seek another means to help the Ukrainian people work with the Russians to solve their differences. He goes on to say that the U.S. and Europe are partially responsible for the violence due to underestimating the “special significance” of Ukraine for the Russian government.<sup>117</sup>

In concurrence with Mr. Kissinger, Professor Cohen, out of Princeton University and New York University, argues that the European Union’s attempt to bring Ukraine into an exclusive arrangement with the E.U. would serve as a catalyst to internal historical divisions within Ukraine, and provoke a Russian response.<sup>118</sup> “In fact, as University of Chicago professor John J. Mearsheimer concludes in *Foreign Affairs*, “the United States and its European allies share most of the responsibility for the crisis.” In the face of

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<sup>116</sup> Simon, Luis. 2014. “Assessing NATO’s Eastern European Flank.” *NATO’s Rebirth*. (Accessed April 1, 2015).

[http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/issues/Autumn\\_2014/10\\_SimonLuis\\_Addresssing%20NATO's%20Eastern%20European%20Flank.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/issues/Autumn_2014/10_SimonLuis_Addresssing%20NATO's%20Eastern%20European%20Flank.pdf)

<sup>117</sup> Heuvel, Katrina. 2014. “Rethinking the cost of Western Intervention in Ukraine.” *The Washington Post*. (Accessed April 1, 2015). [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/katrina-vanden-heuvel-rethinking-the-cost-of-western-intervention-in-ukraine/2014/11/25/b92f8496-741a-11e4-9c9f-a37e29e80cd5\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/katrina-vanden-heuvel-rethinking-the-cost-of-western-intervention-in-ukraine/2014/11/25/b92f8496-741a-11e4-9c9f-a37e29e80cd5_story.html)

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 1 – 2

Russian warnings and despite agreements to the contrary, over the past two decades the United States has expanded NATO to Russia's border.”<sup>119</sup>

Both proponents and opponents for the use of security diplomacy in Eastern Europe agree that it has been successful in helping the United States and its allies in gaining/maintaining greater influence throughout Eastern Europe; however, I agree that the United States should consider the second and third order effects of encroaching on what Russia views as its natural spheres of influence. I'm not arguing against it, but thorough cost – benefit analysis as well as risk management should be done prior to moving forward with any country that borders Russia. That way, should a conflict erupt, the United States can have a plan in place to deal with the fallout.

### Research Methodology

Chapter 3 follows the same qualitative approach as its two predecessors. In this chapter, I will attempt to demonstrate that the United States can use security diplomacy to improve its diplomatic relationships with Eastern European countries. Specifically, I will examine the European Combatant Command's relationship with Eastern Europe, and whether it adds value to the United States overall diplomatic mission. Furthermore, I will look at the United States bi-lateral relationships with Poland and Ukraine, as it relates to security diplomacy.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid, pg. 1 – 2

## **HYPOTHESIS**

My hypothesis is the United States can increase its credibility and influence in Eastern Europe through the use of security diplomacy. Security diplomacy alone, or in synchronization with other diplomatic tools, can build trust the United States Eastern European nations. More so, the U.S. can assist its partners in creating a stable and secure environment that promotes democratic ideas.

## **HISTORY OF U.S. AND EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS**

In the past, U.S. diplomatic policies towards Eastern Europe were heavily driven by its adversarial relationship with the Soviet Union. Although the United States initially greeted the Russian Revolution with excitement, it quickly reversed its stance as the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917. In fact, the United States was the last country to recognize and grant full diplomatic relations to the Soviet Union in 1933. This relationship would continue to be poor until the Soviet Union entered World War II in support of the Allies. During this period, the U.S. and Soviet relationship hit a high point that would not be replicated until the end of the Cold War.<sup>120</sup>

Diplomatic relations with Eastern Europe, specifically Warsaw Pact members, following World War II were defined by the Cold War. During this period the United States sought to contain the spread of communism, and was in a constant struggle with the Soviet Union economically, militarily, and socially. From the Cold War came events like the Space Race, the Vietnam War, the Truman Doctrine, and President Reagan's Star Wars

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<sup>120</sup> 2005. "The United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II." *Historical Background, Office of the Historian Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of States.* (Accessed April 23, 2015). <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/46345.htm>

program. This competition would continue to define U.S. diplomacy until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Following the Cold War, the world witnessed the expansion of NATO into Central and Eastern Europe with former Warsaw Pact countries becoming members. Nation-states like Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic States transitioned to democracies as well as became members of the European Union. However, as the European Union and NATO increased its power base within the region, Russia experienced the opposite with its influence declining at the behest of its Cold War rivals. While business was good for the United States and NATO, Russia experienced a humiliating decline until the end of the twentieth century when it began to reassert itself on the international stage as the protector of all Russian people. And slowly Russia has started, beginning with Georgia in 2008, to reassert its regional power in its perceived area of interest(s).<sup>121</sup>

### **U.S. USE OF SECURITY DIPLOMACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**

Following the end of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe experienced widespread interest in democratic ideas as former Warsaw Pact countries transitioned from communist to democratically elected governments. As a result, the United States and these new countries began developing relationships based on common defense, rule-of-law, human rights, energy security, and the economy.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> March, Luke. 2011. "Is Nationalism Rising in Russian Foreign Policy?: The Case of Georgia." *Demokratizatsiya* 19, no. 3: 187-207. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 1, 2015).

<sup>122</sup> 2014. "FACT SHEET: The United States and Central and Eastern Europe: Enduring Cooperation." *The White House, Office of the Press Secretary*. (Accessed April 24, 2015). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/03/fact-sheet-united-states-and-central-and-eastern-europe-enduring-coopera>

One of the key diplomatic instruments, used by the U.S., to breakdown historic barriers from the Cold War was security diplomacy. Security diplomacy helped to increase cooperation, build trust, and lay the foundation for improving diplomacy with partners. It was able to achieve this on a number of levels:

- Used as a gesture, by the U.S. government, to demonstrate the willingness to pursue greater cooperation, build mutual trust, and the desire to move beyond disputes.
- Used as an instrument for introducing transparency into a relationship.
- Used to shape and reinforce perceptions of mutual interest within a partner or potential partners government.
- Used to support partner states security reforms
- Used as a tool to encourage greater cooperation in other areas of government.<sup>123</sup>

In the following case studies, I will discuss post Cold War security diplomacy in Eastern Europe, and demonstrate how it assisted in improving relations as well as stabilizing the region.

#### United States European Command (EUCOM)

When looking at U.S. bi-lateral security diplomacy in Europe, one must immediately begin with the United States European Command. EUCOM is a Geographical Combatant Command that's based in Stuttgart, Germany. Its area of responsibility covers one – fifth of the world, and includes all of Europe; large swathes of Asia; sections of north Africa; the Arctic; and Israel. Part of EUCOM's mission includes managing bi-lateral military relations with 51 countries and NATO; in addition, it must work with other Combatant

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<sup>123</sup> Cottey, Andrew. *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy : New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. (Accessed March 18, 2014). <http://JHU.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1397351>

Commands and inter-agencies partners to ensure U.S. security policy is conducted effectively and efficiently.<sup>124</sup>

Due to overall reductions in the DoD's budget, EUCOM has had to reduce its overall footprint in Europe. At the height of the Cold War the United States had more than 450,000 troops stationed in Europe, but today there are fewer than 65,000 permanent military personnel with only 55,000 in direct support of the EUCOM mission.<sup>125</sup>

These personnel are tasked with conducting the same deterrent and reassurance missions of past decades, to include, the Cold War; however, they also provide a number of other undertakings too. This includes assuring Allies and partners of the U.S. governments commitment to the collective defense; training and collaborating on interoperability; working with allies and partners on preparing to effectively respond to humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations; and working with interagency partners in a whole of government approach to countering illicit trafficking.<sup>126</sup> A great example of these undertakings coming together is EUCOM's Operation Atlantic Resolve (OAR).

In response to Russian hostility, EUCOM executed OAR, which utilizes U.S. access and strategic reach to reassure U.S. Allies and partners, and deter further Russian aggression in Eastern Europe. According to the EUCOM Commander, the cornerstone of this strategy is EUCOM's physical presence supported by the visible commitment to allies.

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<sup>124</sup> 2014. "Fact Sheet: U.S. European Command." *Headquarters, United States European Command*. (Accessed April 28, 2015). <http://www.eucom.mil/mission/background/fact-sheets>

<sup>125</sup> General Breedlove, Philip. 2015. "Statement of General Philip Breedlove, Commander U.S. Forces Europe." *House Armed Services Committee*. (Accessed April 28, 2015).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 19 & 25

This includes maintaining security capabilities, readiness and responsiveness, and the commitment to sovereignty and security of its partners.<sup>127</sup>

Following several months of military training in Poland, one recent show of force by the United States was a 1,100 mile military convoy, through six countries, beginning in Estonia and ending in Germany. This exercise demonstrates the maneuverability of the U.S. Army to respond to rapidly developing situations, and served as a messaging mechanism to the Russians government that the U.S. is committed to its Allies and partners.<sup>128</sup>

In addition, the U.S. promised its European partners support through the European Reassurance Initiative. This program is part of the 2015 National Defense Authorization Act, and will provide \$1 billion in funding that will seek to strengthen the U.S. and NATO position against the backdrop of destabilizing Russian policies. This money will ensure that OAR can continue unhampered as well as build further security capacity with countries outside of NATO like Georgia, Moldova, and the Ukraine. Ultimately, the European Reassurance Initiative grants EUCOM the financial freedom to increase the readiness, responsiveness, and interoperability of its military forces in Europe, but also its NATO allies and partners.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid, pg. 10

<sup>128</sup> Gould, Joe. 2015. "US Plans Show-of-Force Exercise in E. Europe." *Defense News, A Gannett Company*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/land/2015/03/18/us-army-dragoon-ride/24903247/>

<sup>129</sup> 2015. "Operation Atlantic Resolve Fact Sheet." *Communication and Engagement Directorate, U.S. European Command*. (Accessed March 31, 2015).

I propose that EUCOM's importance is directly tied to the Russian threat in Eastern Europe. Should Russia continue to destabilize the region with aggressive military policies, the U.S. government will increase its use of security diplomacy in direct proportion to the threat. And EUCOM will be the tip of the spear for implementing U.S. security diplomacy with its Allies and partners.

### Poland Case Study

The United States and Poland have maintained relations since its founding in 1919. Although relations were not ideal during the Cold War, the two countries maintained some dialogue until the fall of the Soviet Union. After the Cold War, the bi-lateral relationship between the countries drastically improved. Now Poland is considered a key ally of the United States, and one of its strongest partners, on the continent, in fostering transatlantic security, prosperity, and in promoting democracy in Eastern Europe.<sup>130</sup>

U.S. economic and security assistance to Poland assisted the country in transitioning to a democracy, and in 2000 it graduated from USAID assistance, and went on to become a provider of assistance to other countries in the region. In addition, U.S. security assistance has enabled Poland to meet its NATO obligations, and to deploy and sustain professional forces in multilateral operations. Poland was a Coalition member during Operation Iraqi Freedom, and is a key Coalition member in Afghanistan.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> 2014. "U.S. Relations With Poland." *Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2875.htm>

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, pg. 1



In fact, U.S. security diplomacy has been so effective in building interoperability between the two countries that a General Officer within the Polish military served as the Deputy Commander to the Special Operations Joint Task Force – Afghanistan. This two star headquarters was responsible for all special operations activities occurring in Afghanistan from 2012 to present. In addition, many Polish Officers held key Staff Officer positions, and assisted in the plans and operations of the command. This clearly demonstrates the trust that has been built between the two countries, and the ability to operate successfully together in a hostile environment.<sup>132</sup>

A large part of this success is owed to the investment the U.S. has put into its relationship with Poland. Over five fiscal years, the Polish government has received \$220 million in Foreign Military Financing support, which has assisted the Polish military in modernizing its equipment and training its forces. Furthermore, the Polish government has received over \$2 million for International Military Education and Training. This training has allowed for Poland's most senior military officers to attend U.S. senior-level defense courses at U.S. institutions, of which, they have distinguished themselves by taking up almost one third of the U.S. National Defense University's "Wall of Honor" photos. All of which has greatly improved Poland's security institutions.<sup>133</sup>

To tie in other aspects of security diplomacy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation collaborates with the Polish national Police Force and other law enforcement entities on

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<sup>132</sup> Kron, Nicholas. 2015. Personal Experience while serving on the Staff of Special Operations Joint Task Force – Afghanistan.

<sup>133</sup> 2006. "U.S. Security Assistance to Poland Remains Strong." *Office of Defense Cooperation*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). <http://poland.usembassy.gov/poland/ussecurity.html>

cases related to terrorism, money laundering, organized crime, and other criminal activities.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore the Drug Enforcement Agency works with the Polish authorities on international drug related criminal activity to include money laundering.<sup>135</sup> According to Polish Radio, the DEA will be assisting Poland's law enforcement in tackling drug trafficking rings and channels within Poland.<sup>136</sup> Additionally, Polish law enforcement officers have attended DEA's El Paso training center as well as received over \$80,000 worth of night – vision gear, drug testing kits, and search equipment.<sup>137</sup>

There can be no disputing that security diplomacy has played a huge role in assisting the United States in breaking down historic barriers from the Cold War. Through security cooperation, the U.S. has built closer ties with the Polish government, and as a result Poland as well as its neighbors are more stable and secure. Security diplomacy has allowed for professional relationships to foster, and both countries are better prepared to face future challenges together.

### Ukraine Case Study

Prior to the Ukrainian conflict, the United States assistance programs focused on the development of a prosperous and secure Ukraine that was based on democratic ideas. This included promoting the development of sustainable institutions and processes that

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<sup>134</sup> “Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)”. *The United States Diplomatic Mission to Warsaw – Poland*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). [http://poland.usembassy.gov/poland/fbi\\_page2.html](http://poland.usembassy.gov/poland/fbi_page2.html)

<sup>135</sup> “Drug Enforcement Agency”. *The United States Diplomatic Mission to Warsaw – Poland*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). <http://poland.usembassy.gov/dea.html>

<sup>136</sup> 2006. “U.S. anti-drug agency opens Poland Office.” *UPI*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/2006/08/07/US-anti-drug-agency-opens-Poland-office/14541154973641/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2006/08/07/US-anti-drug-agency-opens-Poland-office/14541154973641/)

<sup>137</sup> Curry, Andrew. 1997. “G-Man Abroad: FBI Curbs Drugs In Poland, Part of a Global Presence.” *The Christian Science Monitor*. (Accessed March 31, 2015). <http://www.csmonitor.com/1997/0625/062597.intl.intl.3.html>

advanced democracy, human rights, rule-of-law, and increase the militaries ability to operate with western forces.<sup>138</sup>

From a security diplomacy perspective during this time period, the United States provided military training to Ukrainian non-commissioned officers in western tactics and the English language; in addition, the U.S. provided new specialized equipment or upgrades to existing equipment in order to improve interoperability between the west and Ukraine. Furthermore, the U.S. provided technical assistance to Ukrainian law enforcement agencies on professionalism and human rights. Other training included techniques on combating cyber crime, human and drug trafficking, and other international criminal threats. Table 2 provides a good example of the emphasis put on security diplomacy, during this time period, compared to other facets of diplomacy.<sup>139</sup>

Table 3: U.S. Assistance Activities for Ukraine by Objective.<sup>140</sup>

<b>U.S. OBJECTIVE</b>	<b>FY 2012 ACTUAL</b>	<b>FY 2013 ESTIMATE</b>	<b>FY 2014 REQUEST</b>
<b>Total (in thousand \$)</b>	<b>103,593</b>	<b>102,576</b>	<b>95,271</b>
Peace and Security	36,562	34,346	30,940
Governing Justly and Democratically	28,492	24,558	22,713
Investing in People	17,823	29,587	28,704
Economic Growth	19,419	12,885	11,914
Humanitarian Assistance	1,297	1,200	1,000

<sup>138</sup> 2013. "Ukraine." *Office of the Coordinator of U.S. Assistance to Europe and Eurasia, United States Department of State.* (Accessed March 31, 2015).

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, pg. 2

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, pg. 2

Since Russia's annexation of Crimea and their support to Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine, the United States and NATO have scrambled to determine the extent of the threat, and to deter further aggressive actions by Russia. Although Ukraine is not a NATO member, the United States and its European partners recognize the short – mid – long-term ramifications from this crisis, if left unchecked.

In response, the United States has ramped up its security diplomacy efforts to reinforce its commitment to the Ukrainian government as well as shape future Russian behavior. This includes a Department of State initiative that seeks to reform Ukraine's police force and train its newly formed National Guard. The goal of this program is to strengthening its current law enforcement capabilities in order to promote rule-of-law throughout the country, and to stand-up a tactical headquarters unit along with four maneuver companies to assist in Ukraine's internal defense.<sup>141</sup>

In a show of support, the U.S. will provide an additional \$46 million in security assistance funds. This money will be used to support the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the State Border Guard. Specifically, it will include light – medium – and heavy military equipment such as night vision goggles, trucks, radar systems, and body armor. Also, EUCOM, along with other experts, have begun an initiative to improve Ukraine's capacity to provide for its own defense, and improve its ability for long-term security cooperation with the U.S. and its partners. An example of this initiative was the recent deployment of medical and security assistance advisory teams that sought to improve

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<sup>141</sup> 2015. "Operation Atlantic Resolve Fact Sheet." *Communication and Engagement Directorate, U.S. European Command*. (Accessed March 31, 2015).

Ukraine's ability to perform combat medical care as well as identify other areas in need of security assistance.<sup>142</sup>

Another major security diplomacy program underway is DoD experts in strategy and policy meeting with their Ukrainian peers to identify specific defense building programs the U.S. may want to pursue in an effort to reform existing programs that might not be conducive to a long-term/sustained program for future U.S. efforts to support the Ukrainian military through subject matter experts and long – term advisors.<sup>143</sup>

All of the above efforts are further examples of the United States utilizing security diplomacy as a means to further U.S. influence in Eastern Europe, while building long-term relationships based on trust and mutual security with the Ukrainian government/people.

## CONCLUSION

In 2014, the world witnessed a rise in Russian aggression as it sought to reassert itself in what it considers its natural spheres of influence. In response, the United States implement an effective strategy that utilized security diplomacy, along with other forms, as a means to counter Russian aggression without resorting to kinetic military action. By providing monetary assistance, military equipment, joint training, and through the show-of-force exercises the United States reinforced its commitment to its Eastern European Allies and partners. Through these actions, the U.S. dispelled any doubts in their

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid, pg. 4

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, pg. 4

partner's minds on the commitment it has towards its allies and partners. I argue that through security diplomacy, during a crisis such as this, the United States has been able to increase its influence throughout the region, and reassure other nation-states of its commitment to regional stability.

## ***CONCLUSION***

The study of security diplomacy as it relates to today's international system is critical for scholars, military leaders, diplomats, and policymakers alike. They must possess a true understanding of what security diplomacy entails, and how it can be implemented as a diplomatic tool. Just as important, wielders of security diplomacy must comprehend the multitude of options under security diplomacy, and recognize that it's not a solution for every problem. Multiple pitfalls can develop from a poor strategy, which might result in negative second and third order effects that reverberate globally.

As discussed throughout this thesis, history must always be kept in mind when developing a strategy that employs security diplomacy as a tool to gain influence in a country or region. In this thesis, I demonstrated how it could effectively be used alone or in coordination with other forms of diplomacy in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Eastern Europe.

In Chapter 1, I illustrated the evolution of defense diplomacy over the centuries, and propose that today's global environment demanded more than the Defense Attachés of yesterday. Instead, I recommend the U.S. government take a whole of government approach to security, known as security diplomacy that includes defense, law enforcement, and humanitarian assistance. When tailored to its customers in Latin America, security diplomacy has proven to be successful in attaining U.S. policy objectives. This was seen from the success the United States had with breaking down historical barriers in Columbia as well as Mexico. Although Plan Columbia and the

Merida Initiative were different, they both aided the governments in dealing with internal unrest/violence, and helped create long-term relationships based on mutual interest.

In Chapter 2, I transitioned to Africa, and examined the effectiveness of the United States security diplomacy efforts with partner nations, and whether they were helping the U.S. gain influence in the region. From my case studies, I concluded that the U.S. has proven to be a reliable partner, economic and security, and assisted in creating a stable environment that respects sovereignty, rule of law, and a strong military. This can be seen by the economic and security aid that Kenya receives as well as the U.S. response to the Ebola outbreak in West Africa. In addition, the U.S. not placing its Combatant Command headquarters on the African continent demonstrated a respect for the African nation's past.

In my last chapter, I looked at U.S. security diplomacy in Eastern Europe following the fall of the Soviet Union, and sought to identify whether historic rivalries would prevent it from being effective. I discovered that security diplomacy was very effective tool in building bi-lateral relationships with former Warsaw Pact nations, as they sought to find a counterweight to Russian dominance. However, I came to the conclusion that the constant expansion of the NATO and European Union upset the regional balance by crossing one of Russia's redlines. As a response to their fear of constant incursions into their areas of interest, the Russian government responded with force in Georgia and the Ukraine. While I do not fault the United States or European Union, I do believe that the two organizations fell into one of the pitfalls of not recognizing the second and third



order effects from not respecting another nation or region's history. Had they done so, they might have approached Ukraine differently.

In conclusion, I believe the United States can use security diplomacy as a means or way to gain influence with current or potential allies/partners; however, planners must avoid pitfalls, like ignoring historical factors, when developing their strategic plans. I fully acknowledge that my findings are not universal, but I argue my case studies are conclusive enough to consider security diplomacy as a very effective means to achieve U.S. national interests.

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## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Nicholas Kron works as a planner for the Department of Defense. Prior to that he served as an Armor Officer in the United States Army. Nick earned a B.A. in Economics in 2002 from the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky on January 19, 1979. The opinions he expresses in this paper, to include mistakes, are his alone.