
FEATURE ARTICLES

The Value of Security Cooperation

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Joint patrol in Afghanistan

We have often heard the saying that one picture is worth a thousand words, but in some cases you cannot put a value on the picture. The above photo was taken by a Romanian Ministry of National Defense photographer in Afghanistan in 2003. While the photo is now approximately three years old, it still serves as a shining example of how effective interweaving of all security cooperation programs can yield positive results.

The Romanian troops in the photo deployed to Afghanistan and later to Iraq on a C-130 aircraft. Romania's C-130 fleet was obtained through the excess defense articles program and upgraded and supported with foreign military financing (FMF). Many of the deployed Romanian officers attended training in the U.S. under the international military education and training (IMET) program. Several of the deployed Romanian non-commissioned officers (NCOs) graduated from the Romanian Non-commissioned Officer Academy set up with FMF support where they were trained by Romanian instructors who were themselves trained in the United States (U.S.) under the IMET program. Nearly all the troops speak English, which they learned at one of the English Language Training Centers, established using FMF. The troops communicate with U.S. and coalition forces on radios and use night vision devices bought with FMF. The smooth integration of Romania's forces into these operations is a result of pre-deployment training at Romania's simulation center, also funded by FMF.

After the terrorist attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001, Romania was one of the first countries to express its solidarity with the United States in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). Within hours of the attack President Ion Iliescu declared Romania a de facto U.S. and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally with all that such a commitment entailed, a decision confirmed by the country's Supreme Defense Council the same day. Romania then declared September 14, 2001, a day of national mourning and on September 19, 2001, the Romanian Parliament unanimously approved the decision and passed resolutions and decrees necessary to grant the American military forces, as well as coalition partners, access to Romanian airspace, ground infrastructure, and naval facilities in order to prosecute the GWOT.

Additionally, Romania has adopted legislation to address financial crimes and terrorist financing. To date, Romania has fully ratified all twelve United Nations (U.N.) counter terrorism conventions and has established internal mechanisms to combat terrorism, including adoption of a "National Anti-Terrorism Strategy."

What do the actions taken by the civilian leadership of Romania have to do with Security Cooperation? To understand how the U.S. Security Cooperation Program with Romania helped them quickly and effectively transition from a country controlled by communism to one of the United States' staunchest allies in Eastern Europe, all it takes is a look at recent Romanian history and a list of Romanian military and civilian leaders who have benefited from the U.S. security cooperation program. After all, the security of a nation is not the sole responsibility of the military. The security of a nation is dependent upon how well all aspects of national power are intertwined and applied beyond the U.S. Department of Defense and the Romanian Ministry of National Defense.

The Beginning:

After the Romanian Revolution in December 1989, Romania actively began pursuing a policy of strengthening its relationship with the West, more specifically the United States. Only two months after their revolution, the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker paid a visit to the new democratic government of Romania, the first U.S. official visit since Secretary Shultz last visited in 1985. The door to cooperation began to open.

The desire to reach out to the U.S. was something that was very deeply rooted in the Romanian psyche. For generations, Romanian children were told that things would get better when the Americans came. Many felt that the U.S. would eventually liberate Romania from communist domination. Even the repressive communist regime refused to see the U.S. as the main enemy. In 1963 Romania's communist leaders explicitly informed the Kennedy administration that they condemned the placement of Soviet missiles in Cuba and would not assist the Warsaw Pact in any Soviet-provoked war with the U.S. In 1968 the U.S. administration reciprocated by warning Moscow against repeating its invasion of Czechoslovakia in Romania. Thus, Romanians had and still have a natural propensity to want to work with the U.S., and when the first Gulf War broke out Romania offered to send and began preparing personnel for participation in Operation Desert Storm, her first deployment abroad since the World War II.

Although not able to deploy her troops in time to participate in the first Gulf War, their medical unit arrived in Saudi Arabia after hostilities ended; Romania did provide the U.S. with assistance in its role as president of the U.N. Security Council. The troops that arrived in the theater of operations quickly learned the value of actively participating in peace keeping operations with the U.S. and other western nations. Their military and civilian leadership began to understand the value of having troops trained and ready for deployment outside of national borders. Romania began to actively participate in international politics and take part in world wide peacekeeping operations.

While one would not necessarily consider peacekeeping operations as part of a Security Cooperation Program, Joint Pub 1-02 defines security cooperation as:

All Department of Defense interactions with foreign defense establishments to build defense relationships that promote specific U.S. security interests, develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations, and provide U.S. forces with peacetime and contingency access to a host nation.

The fact that Romania troops worked along side U.S. troops in places like the Middle East and Somalia quickly communicating to their leaders the level of U.S. military professionalism and, in turn, encouraging them to start pushing for much needed reforms and transformation. These first contacts were vital in helping to establish the initial links between the Romanian and U.S. military.

Joint Contact Team Program

Beginning in 1992, European Command (EUCOM) launched a program that has become known as the Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP). JCTP was originally designed as a way to establish contact with the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and orient their militaries to Department of Defense wide organizations, programs, activities and standards. Under the JCTP, EUCOM established military liaison teams (MLTs) in various host nations to organize, orchestrate, and execute the EUCOM JCTP. This program offered the opportunity for Ministry of National Defense personnel to travel to the military facilities in the U.S. and Germany and for U.S. military to travel to various countries, including Romania. The military-to-military contacts helped them to understand the U.S. approach to fundamental issues, such as human rights guarantees, civilian control of the military, military legal codes, and the development of professional officer and noncommissioned officer corps. Romania quickly and enthusiastically embraced this program, the first western assistance program of any type offered to it by a NATO country, and in the spring of 1993, the very first exchange between the U.S. and Romania occurred.

Over the years Romania has completed over 1,400 JCTP events, and in 2002 Romania began its transformation to a JCTP “familiarization complete” country. According to one of the first team leaders, Romania’s program by 1994 “. . . was recognized as the best, most active and most dynamic of all thirteen programs . . .” because they “. . . dedicated more people and assets than any other host country.” [Commander Mark R. Shelley, “NATO Enlargement: The Case for Romania,” *Proceedings*, United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, 1997]. The bilateral relations had moved to the point that Romania was well beyond the need for ‘orientation’ with the U.S. Department of Defense, and the number of annual JCTP events were dramatically reduced. The focus shifted to evolving NATO niche capabilities, and needs identified during operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

State Partnership Program

A natural outgrowth of JCTP was the National Guard Bureau’s (NGB) State Partnership Program (SPP). In January 1993, EUCOM decided to staff the MLTs located in the Baltic nations with Reserve Component personnel, in order to avoid any issues with the Russian Federation that might have occurred had European Command assigned active duty personnel. In the spring of 1993, the SPP began. The state of Maryland and the country of Estonia were the first state and country to establish the SPP relationship. In the case of Romania, Alabama was chosen to be the state partner and the first SPP event took place in August 1994.

As Alabama National Guard members were called upon to deploy to the MLT in Romania along side active duty personnel, and then redeployed to their civilian jobs, they sustained personal relationships that were established while in Romania, beyond military to military connections. Many of the Alabama National Guardsmen were civic leaders, businessmen, and teachers who made repeated trips to Romania and were able to develop long-term personal relationships outside of the military-to-military contacts. They were a key part in helping develop civil-military relationships in Romania as well as other emerging democratic nations. In fact, shortly after establishment the NGB’s SPP, they began rapidly shifting SPP events to the citizen aspects of the National Guard,

such as instruction, orientation, and personnel exchanges in areas such as economic development, small business administration, and entrepreneurship. One of the tools that the SPP brought to bear was the “Minuteman Fellows” program. This allowed the NGB to bring civilians to the U.S. so that they could learn how the National Guard fits into the overall defense of the nation. The SPP was so successful, that in 1995 the SPP expanded to Central Command (CENTCOM) and in 1996 to Southern Command (SOUTHCOM). Over the years the Alabama National Guard has been instrumental in helping Romania to understand everything from mechanized infantry logistics and NCO professional development to medical evacuation, search and rescue and civil military relations.



The Chief of Defense, Ambassador and Ministry of Defense promotion.

International Military Education and Training

At the same time that the JCTP was establishing a foothold Romania became eligible to participate in the U.S. IMET Program. According to Section 2347b of the *Foreign Assistance Act*, the intent of IMET is to:

- Encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of the goals of international peace and security.
- Improve the ability of participating foreign countries to utilize their resources, including defense articles and defense services obtained by them from the United States, with maximum effectiveness, thereby contributing to greater self-reliance by such countries.
- Increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights

The Department of Defense further defines the objectives of IMET, in the *Security Assistance Management Manual (SAMM)*, as:

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- Develop rapport, understanding, and communication links;
 - Develop host country training self-sufficiency;
 - Develop host country ability to manage its defense establishment; and
 - Develop skills to operate and maintain U.S.-origin equipment.

Since 1993 Romania has received over \$13.64 million in IMET funds. Over the years Romania has concentrated her program on professional military education for her officers as well as training and professional development of her NCOs. While not limited to those listed below there has been a huge focus on courses such as:

- National, Army, Air and Naval War Colleges;
- Industrial College of the Armed Forces;
- Joint Forces Staff College;
- School for National Security Executive Education;
- Army, Air Force, Naval and U.S.MC Command and Staff Colleges;
- Army Captains Career Courses and Officer Basic Courses;
- U.S. Army Sergeants Major Academy, Advanced and Basic NCO Courses as well as Drill Sergeant Training;
- U.S.MC Expeditionary Warfare School and Basic Officer Course;
- U.S.MC Staff NCO Courses and Drill Instructor Course; and
- English Language Instructor Training.

While Romania has used the IMET program to send numerous personnel to the U.S. to study defense resource management, acquisition, civil-military relations, and legal subjects, Romania has sent only a nominal number of students to technical training. Romania, for the most part, has the capability to provide this training at home. Romania has also very effectively used the IMET program to train the instructors at her NCO academy, who in turn train their NCO Corp. Finally, Romania has effectively used IMET to bring mobile training teams (MTTs) into Romania to help them establish their Special Forces Battalion, train their naval forces, learn about international legal issues, and help them develop a CIMIC capability.



Certificate of appreciation awarded to Romanian officers.

It is worth noting that early on in the security cooperation relationship with the U.S., Romania used FMF to purchase English language labs and to bring MTTs to Romania to train English instructors to train the trainers. With over twenty-eight English language training labs in the country, Romania rarely sends personnel to the U.S. to study English before sending them to training. This efficient use of resources; has allowed Romania to train more personnel with its limited IMET budget than countries with significantly larger IMET allocations.

It should be pointed out that the very first foreign female to graduate from the U.S. Marine Core Drill Instructor course was a Romanian NCO. In January 2005 Romania appointed one of its Sergeants Major Academy graduates as its first Senior Enlisted advisor to the Chief of Defense. Romania is effectively taking advantage of their knowledge, skills and connections by consistently placing IMET graduates in key leadership billets throughout the Romanian Ministry of National Defense (MOND), general staff, service staffs, and units deployed outside of Romania. Romania has learned the value of and continues to invest in their Human Capital.

Expanded International Military Education and Training

The very same year Romania became eligible to participate in IMET they also became eligible to participate in expanded IMET (E-IMET). The E-IMET program authorized the training of members of national legislatures responsible for oversight and management of the military, civilian personnel working on military matters, those serving in one of the non-defense ministries, and civil sector employees as long as the civilians met the following criteria:

- They contribute to responsible defense resource management;
- The training would foster greater respect for and understanding of the principle of civilian control of the military; and
- The training would contribute to cooperation between military and law enforcement personnel with respect to counternarcotics law enforcement efforts, or improve military justice systems and procedures in accordance with internationally recognized human rights, 22U.S.C. [Source: 22 U.S.C. § 2347].

Over the years Romania has developed a very robust E-IMET program which has become an effective way to actively engage personnel within non MOND ministries that otherwise would not have had the same opportunities that had been afforded to their MOND counterparts. The E-IMET program in Romania has also included numerous mobile education teams, which provide assistance in the reform of the intelligence community, in establishing the nascent Romanian interagency process and in bringing together nations of the region in order to develop a strategy to handle Black Sea Security and trans-border crime issues.

The Office of Defense Cooperation in Romania is working with the Romanian government to expand the scope of the training program to include more E-IMET and more representatives from all ministries involved in national defense. This will both spur the reform and transformation process in other ministries as well as assist in the vital area of inter-agency cooperation needed for the GWOT.

Accidental Expanded International Military Education and Training

The MLT and Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC), while working with Romania to select personnel for JCTP events or to attend IMET courses, always encouraged the Romanian military leadership to select personnel who upon their return to Romania would be able to implement what they had learned as well as those who were likely to advance and hold key positions within their military. This worked for the most part, but this process is obviously not 100 percent successful, especially with a military that is in the process of downsizing. Thus some personnel who were trained under the IMET program or who took part in the JCTP soon found themselves out of the military. However, the training and skills provided under IMET did not go to waste.

Many are not aware of the respect and admiration the Romanian people have for their military. Historically, the military has been a principal force in establishing Romanian independence from Russian and Ottoman rule and in achieving unification against improbable odds. With over 300,000 battlefield casualties in World War I and an even larger number in World War II, the military often made tremendous sacrifices in the national defense. The Romanian armed forces sided with the civilian populous against the 'Securitate' during their revolution. Thus, as the military downsized, many of these respected, trained and skilled personnel were able to move directly into influential civilian positions or start their own business' spurring reform in other ministries and the business sector.

George C. Marshall Center

In 1993, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, with the support of Congress and German government, established the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch, Bavaria. In addition to promoting defense cooperation and partnership with the emerging democracies of Eastern and Central Europe, this program was designed for both military and civilian defense officials involved in national defense issues. Included are extensive curricula in "democratic defense management" such as the role of executive and legislative oversight, the professional role of the military in democracies, and reconciling intelligence systems with the need for openness in a democratic society.



Marshall Center Reception.

Over the years the Marshall Center's College of International and Security Studies and its conference center have conducted a variety of unique programs involving officials from over forty-five countries. The College maintains a long-term academic focus while the conference center has had considerable success in helping EUCOM and other countries focus on current issues and problem solving.

It would be an understatement to say that reform efforts within the country of Romania have gone forward at various rates. The U.S. security cooperation program with Romania played a significant part in exposing the Romanian military leadership to western thoughts, ideas, institutions and procedures. The reform efforts within the MOND are, as many will agree, well ahead of almost every other ministry in Romania. In fact, many would argue that the MOND was the lead ministry in the area of reform and modernization during the first decade and a half of post-communist transition. Also, as military personnel moved on, many became State Secretaries, members of the General Staff and high level officials within other ministries.

With this in mind, the ODC began a deliberate shift in the way it administers the Marshall Center Program. ODC began to cultivate relationships with other ministries and began to actively solicit their attendance at the resident Marshall Center courses. Many of these ministries, such as the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Service and National Council for Combating Discrimination, had never before sent anyone to the Marshall Center and ODC saw this as a perfect opportunity to expose them to western thoughts, ideas, institutions and procedures.

In addition, the ODC actively solicited participation from personnel from remote postings within Romania, i.e., not living and working in Bucharest. Many organizations such as the border guards and customs officials have district offices located in remote locations within Romania. The ODC, working with the German Embassy and other agencies within the U.S. Embassy, used the Marshall Center Program to try and reach into and influence these remote locations. The ODC also actively encourages the various ministries to increase the number of minorities they send.

While this approach requires significant planning and coordinating, it is helping to improve Romanian inter-ministerial coordination and assist Romania with the reform and modernization efforts of all ministries. The focus on multi-ministerial leader develop and education, and helping to build regional relationships, is developing new civilian leaders with multi-institutional approaches to National Security Issues. Currently Romania has graduates from over seventeen different ministries that have attended one of the resident courses, and/or conferences, at the George C. Marshall Center.



EUCOM J4 visits Romanian J4.

All of these security cooperation programs had a profound impact on the Romanian military and civilian leadership. In 1994, Romania chose its first civilian Minister of National Defense, and was the first nation to sign up for the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) Partnership for Peace Program. Also, although the Romanian National Defense College was founded in March 1991 and modeled after the U.S. National Defense University, it was not until 1994, that Romania opened up its National Defense College to U.S. participation. This allowed even more interaction for Romanian military, civilian governmental officials and non-governmental officials with U.S. personnel. The U.S. Army Foreign Area Officer (FAO) program annually sends a FAO to this course as part of his in-country training. Several of them have returned to Romania to serve in the ODC,

Defense Attaché Office or as Romanian Desk Officers at EUCOM, the Joint Staff and Office of Secretary of Defense (OSD). The Department of State has also sent Political-Military officers bound for Romania to attend the course as part of their training.

Foreign Military Financing and Foreign Military Sales

The vast majority of Romania's FMF and foreign military sales (FMS) has gone to improving the deploy ability of the Romanian troops, reform and modernization efforts, and programs that strengthen Romanian interoperability with the U.S. and NATO as well as in meeting its NATO goals.

On 22 March 1994 Romania became eligible to purchase defense articles and services under the *Arms Export Control Act*, and in 1995, under the Excess Defense Articles program, Romania applied for and received four C-130B aircraft. Romania is in the process of developing a NATO niche capability in airlift support which will support responsive deploy ability and ensure logistics sustainability for future Romanian contributions to NATO and U.S. led operations. With over 1,400 troops deployed, the C-130 fleet is a vital part of Romania's capability to sustain her forces abroad.

Romania has also committed a substantial funds for communications capabilities. The Romanian vehicles and command posts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia currently use radios, bought