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**"Evaluating U.S. Security Assistance in the Middle East and North Africa"**  
**Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs**  
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## **Executive Summary**

**Overview:** The war in Syria is the war which has run out of adjectives describing human suffering and along with ISIS and the fragmenting of Syria, dominates the news, thoughts and concerns of the world. These recent events in the Middle East continue to reinforce the global consensus of just how fragile the security situation in that part of the world continues to be. More importantly, it shows us at a transition point where precise regional engagement is especially crucial in order to guarantee that the United States' security and policy goals in the region are met. Any number of variables threaten to exacerbate the situation more so than it already has been in recent years. Moreover, a resurgent cast of international powerbrokers has entered the fray in the region, looking to stake their claim into the dynamic environment of the region in order to champion their own foreign and security policy goals. In order for the United States to ensure its interests in the region are protected, a multi-faceted security engagement initiative is warranted. Part of that, which will be the focus of this project, will be to assess our current security assistance and security cooperation initiatives in the region. Specifically, this paper will look at five nation-states in the region whose support is crucial to successfully protecting America's vital interests in the region. This product uses the lens' of security assistance and security cooperation to assess the current state of our relationships with those nation-states, and ultimately will utilize that analysis in best determining how to refine those relationships in order to maximize the rate of return on the United States' security investment in the region.

**Hypothesis:** Security Assistance and Security Cooperation programs continue to provide the United States with a viable mechanism to exercise diplomacy, protect security interests, and exert foreign policy initiatives in key areas of interest globally. When utilized properly, the rate of return on Security Assistance investment makes such endeavors worthy of pursuing due to the potential high-payoff in terms of promoting security, stability, and humanitarian initiatives. Given the significant amount of US treasure invested in Security Assistance programs since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, is the

United States Government satisfied with the reciprocal Security Cooperation shared with partner-nations in the Middle East and North Africa region? Moreover, have such initiatives produced tangible results to highlight the United States' efforts to promote security and stability in the region?

**Methodology:** In this project, we will take a qualitative and quantitative look at the Security Assistance and Security Cooperation initiatives that the United States shares with the partner nations of Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Bahrain, and Oman. We will examine those nations own security concerns in the Middle East and North Africa region, juxtapose them to the United States' security concerns, and analyze the efficacy of our Security Assistance and Security Cooperation initiatives with those nations in addressing our respective security concerns.

**Conclusions:** The results of our research indicate an overall positive response from those partner-nations that benefit from maintaining a Security Assistance relationship with the United States, with varying degrees of effectiveness. As expected, each nation represents a different set of variables that affect the levels of participation that they are able to exert in reciprocal Security Cooperation initiatives with the United States. And in some cases, other influencing factors come into play, such as human rights concerns. In order for the United States to get the maximum benefit from Security Cooperation in the region, those individual national nuances must be considered in order to ensure that the appropriate levers of influence are wielded. Some nations are better poised to reciprocate Security Cooperation initiatives through soft-power mechanisms, while other nations are better suited for more tangible initiatives closer to hard power. But in all cases, a measurable positive gain for the United States took place.

## **Security Cooperation**

Since 9/11, the global security environment experienced a significantly changing dynamic requiring constant adjustment of security policies and practices on behalf of the United States and her allies. As such, the United States' security cooperation initiatives have had to match pace with those adjustments. From an American perspective, Security Cooperation (SC) includes a variety of interactions overseen by the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Department of State (DOS) to encourage and enable international partners to work with the United States in order to achieve our strategic objectives. In general, Security Cooperation includes all DoD interactions with foreign defense and security establishments, including all Security Assistance (SA) or Security Sector Assistance (SSA) programs administered by DoD with DOS oversight. Some strategic objectives for security cooperation include: fostering mutually beneficial defense and security relationships with partner nations; promoting specific U.S. security interests abroad; encouraging international armaments cooperation activities; developing allied and friendly nation's military capabilities for self-defense and interoperability during multinational operations, providing U.S. forces with peacetime

and contingency access to host nations facilities and infrastructure; and mitigating overall risk to U.S. security.<sup>1</sup>

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Congress gave DoD and DOS increasing authority and funding to conduct a wide array of Security Assistance programs under United States Codes Title 10. In order to achieve its foreign policy and support defense objectives, the United States conducts Security Cooperation activities with 148 different partner nations, adding counterterrorism to an already long list of security initiatives.

After more than a decade of conflict in the Middle East and North Africa, escalating defense spending has come under increased scrutiny to ensure the United States is gaining the best possible benefit out of its Security Cooperation relationships. In short, is the United States getting the most of its taxpayer dollar? In order to evaluate the effectiveness of these relationships, there must be constant analysis of Security Assistance provided and the reciprocal Security Cooperation received in return. In addition, as the security needs of the United States and its partner nations evolve, so must the nature of their SA/SC relationship as well to keep pace with this changing evolution.

## **Security Assistance**

Security Assistance is one facet of the greater concept of Security Cooperation, and refers specifically to military equipment and training that is granted, sold, or leased to partner nations in order to enhance their capabilities to support key security interest of U.S. foreign policy. Security Assistance programs are operated under the guidance of the Department of State, with much of the execution of the programs being managed by the DoD. Most of the Security Assistance programs discussed in this product fall under United States Code Title 22, and include Foreign Military Financing (FMF), Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Excess Defense Articles (EDA), Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR), and International Military Education and Training (IMET). The remaining security assistance program falls under United States Code Title 10 Section 1206, providing the Secretary of Defense with the authority to equip and train foreign military forces for counterterrorism or stability purposes.<sup>2</sup>

Ideally, Security Assistance serves to the advantage of all nations involved. Most individual Security Assistance programs have stated goals that are explicitly codified in official U.S. Government policy and strategy documents; while some may represent more indirect measures that support stated goals from the periphery. Some examples of

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<sup>1</sup> Neptune. (February 2016). *U.S. Security Cooperation Review*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <http://www.neptuneasc.com>; Ross, Tommy. (2016). *Leveraging Security Cooperation as Military Strategy*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu>.

<sup>2</sup> Rand, D and Tankel, S. (2015). *Security Cooperation and Assistance: Rethinking the Return on Investment*. Center for a New American Security.

goals for U.S. security assistance programs include promoting regional stability in areas critical to U.S. interests, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their respective delivery systems, promoting U.S. ideals for good governance and human rights, and enhancing the ability of the U.S. defense industrial base to meet defense requirements while maintaining long-term military technological superiority at lower costs. Here, short term gains should not be given priority over the successes achieved from long term investments.<sup>3</sup>

## **Security Assistance in the Middle East**

### **Bahrain**

#### *Situation*

The tiny Kingdom of Bahrain has been of strategic importance to the United States in varying forms since 1948, when a small US Navy depot opened on the island. Over the next decades, that evolved into a much larger presence, with Bahrain eventually becoming the host for the headquarters of the United States Navy's Fifth Fleet. The United Kingdom also had a military presence in Bahrain, but that ended in 1971, which is also the year that the United States established a diplomatic presence in the tiny Kingdom. The strategic interests that this island nation presents to the United States are quite significant. Geographically, it contains some ideal port facilities for the U.S. Navy to use as a strategic base for pursuing security interests throughout the region. Geo-politically, Bahrain is a worthy partner nation for the United States for a number of reasons. Due to its stature as a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Bahrain remains a very important ally for U.S. security interests in the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf. Second, Bahrain is a sectarian flash point between the Sunni-dominated and fellow-GCC members as Saudi Arabia, and Shia-dominated Iran, which exerts her influence in the region from across the waters of the gulf. Bahrain is ruled by a Sunni monarchy that is allied with its fellow Sunni monarchies in the GCC, but the majority of the population is Shia, raising great concern among its GCC partners and U.S. allies for the potential of Iranian influence and intrigue.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Security Assistance*

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<sup>3</sup> Bartles, C. *Understanding Security Cooperation: A Comparison of the U.S. and Russian Systems of Security Cooperation*; Williams, III J. (Undated) "Achieving Strategic Effects in Security Sector Assistance: Untangling Complexities, Delineating Objectives, and Modernizing Processes," 2.

<sup>4</sup> Naval Support Activity Bahrain: History. (n.d.). Retrieved December 16, 2016, from [http://www.cnrc.navy.mil/regions/cnrcnra/insw/insw/nsa\\_bahrain/about/history.html](http://www.cnrc.navy.mil/regions/cnrcnra/insw/insw/nsa_bahrain/about/history.html); U.S. Relations With Bahrain. (2015). Retrieved December 16, 2016, from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26414.htm>; The World Factbook: BAHRAIN. (n.d.). Retrieved December 16, 2016, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ba.html>

The U.S. provides security assistance to Bahrain through military training. Small amounts of International Military Education and Training funds (IMET) are provided to Bahrain. Along with improving Bahrain's defenses and their interoperability with US forces, other US goals are to inculcate principles of civilian control of the military and democracy. Bahrain was also part of the U.S. led allied coalition that ousted Iraq from Kuwait in 1991. It allowed the stationing of 17,500 U.S. troops and 250 U.S. combat aircraft at Shaikh Isa Air Base that participated in the 1991 "Desert Storm" offensive against Iraqi forces. In March 2002, President George W. Bush designated Bahrain a "major non-NATO-ally". That designation qualifies Bahrain to purchase certain U.S. arms, receive excess defense articles (EDA), and engage in defense research cooperation with the U.S. for which that it would not otherwise qualify.<sup>5</sup>

In recent years, the United States has continued to sell military arms to Bahrain. Most U.S. military assistance to Bahrain is Foreign Military Financing (FMF). In 2007, the United States sold Bahrain several hundred "Javelin" anti-armor missiles, 9 UH-60M Blackhawk helicopters, and 6 Bell search and recovery helicopters. In September 2011, the United States announced a sale to the Bahrain Defense Force (BDF) and Bahrain National Guard of 44 Humvee armored vehicles, and several hundred TOW missiles, including 50 "bunker busters." In 2012, the United States announced the release of additional U.S. arms to the BDF, Ministry of Interior (MOI), and Bahrain's National Guard. Accordingly about 85% of Bahrain's defense equipment is of U.S.-origin. The United States also provides training to Bahrain's military and Ministry of Interior (MI).<sup>6</sup>

### *Security Cooperation*

According to the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Bahrain supports the United States operationally and logistically through its hosting of their Naval Forces Central Command. This enables the United States to lead a 30 nation military coalition that counters piracy and terrorism, and helps maintain the free flow of commerce and energy resources through the Strait of Hormuz. Bahrain supports U.S.-led military coalitions, including the current international effort against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (2016).<sup>7</sup>

### *Arab Spring and Beyond*

Since 2011, the United States' relationship with Bahrain has been strained at times. Ever since the violent uprisings, and subsequent government crackdowns in Bahrain, the United States has had to exert its weight to ensure that the Bahrain government respects the human rights of all Bahrainis. At times, the United States used its SA/SC program as a tool to get the government to comply with international

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<sup>5</sup> Katzman, K. (2016). Bahrain: Reform, Security, and U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service.

<sup>6</sup> ibid

<sup>7</sup> ibid

demands for basic human rights.<sup>8</sup> However, the United States still maintains its key strategic foothold on the island nation, as it supports ongoing security operations throughout the region. But, the United States had to take Bahrain into counsel and keep exerting pressure since the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings.<sup>8</sup>

Some of most serious human rights problems revolve around the citizens' limited ability to change their government peacefully and the lack of due process in the legal system. Surprisingly, their legal system allows arrests without warrants or charges. Lengthy pretrial detentions follow especially in cases against opposition members and political or human rights activists. Restrictions on free expression of speech and assembly are also being imposed on Bahraini citizens.<sup>9</sup>

Maintaining stability in Bahrain is of utmost importance to the United States for many reasons. First, with the US Navy's Fifth Fleet headquartered there, scores of US citizens in the form of US Navy dependents live on the island, so their safety is of utmost importance. Second, and most importantly, Bahrain's location and port facilities infrastructure make it an ideal location for strategic basing, and finding a suitable alternative would not at all be easy. Therefore, great effort is taken to encourage the Bahraini government to adhere to all basic human rights responsibilities for all of its citizens.<sup>10</sup>

## **Lebanon**

### *Situation*

Lebanon receives more than \$165 million each year from the U.S. to pay for military training and to purchase military equipment for law enforcement and counterterrorism. U.S. interests in Lebanon evolve from a large Lebanese population in the America. Historically at one time Beirut was the "Paris" of the Middle East hosting U.S. Petroleum attaches before the Lebanese Civil War commencing in 1975. Lebanon also serves as a buffer between war-torn Syria and our long-standing ally Israel. Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000 and the UN demand of withdrawal of Syrian forces in 2004 generated a post-civil war U.S., which also stemmed from a US desire to mitigate Iranian interests there involving Hezbollah which repeatedly attacked Israel.<sup>11</sup>

### *Security Assistance*

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<sup>8</sup> op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Ulrichsen, K, (2015). *Bahrain's Uncertain Future*. Foreign Policy.

<sup>10</sup> ibid; Terrill, A. (2011, August 2). *The Arab Spring and the Future of U.S. Interests and Cooperative Security in the Arab World*. Retrieved from Strategic Studies Institute: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/index.cfm/articles/The-Arab-Spring-and-the-Future-of-US-Interests/2011/8/2>

<sup>11</sup> Blanchard, C. M. (2014). *Lebanon: Background and U.S. Policy*. Congressional Research Service.; Pardos, A. (2007). CRS Report for Congress: Lebanon. Congressional Research Service.

In August 2006, President Bush provided \$230 million in security assistance to Lebanon. In FY 2007, the Bush administration requested \$770 million in supplemental aid from Congress for Lebanon. Foreign Military Financing (FMF) has been used to provide tires for tactical vehicles, spare parts for helicopters, small arms, ammunition, and improvements to the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) communications system. This also included spare parts and new equipment, including 25 ton trucks and 285 Humvees. In FY2009, FMF funds were used to deliver 12 unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) and 10 M60 tanks. Again in FY2010, funds provided through FMF included \$10 million for sustainment and repair of current equipment, \$14 million for acquisition of air, ground, and naval systems, \$36 million for personnel, equipment, weapons, and ammunition, and \$40 million for close air support. In August 2010, the International Narcotics and Law (INL) Enforcement Affairs provided their Internal Security Forces (ISF) with 4,000 sets of basic duty gear, 3,000 sets of riot control gear, 480 police cars, 60 police SUVs, 35 handheld radios, 20 computers, 20 new and 24 repaired Harley Davidson motorcycles, and refurbished 21 Armored Personnel Vehicles.<sup>12</sup>

Not surprisingly funds for military training have also been provided to Lebanon such as International Military and Education Training (IMET) support. IMET in Lebanon reduces sectarianism in the LAF and reestablished that force as a unifying national institution. Accordingly aid given in 2006 to Lebanon included technical training for equipment. Improved training for the Lebanese Internal Security Forces (ISF) from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) helped close some security gaps found. As of August 2010, INL had trained 4,300 ISF police, including 260 ISF trainers and more than 200 supervisors.<sup>13</sup>

Lebanon receives more than 165 million dollars each year from the U.S. for purposes ranging from military training and equipment to economic bolstering funds and specific programs for law enforcement and counterterrorism. Professionalizing the Lebanese Armed Forces is of high interest to the U.S. However, some argue this may aid terrorism suggesting stricter restrictions on fielding, while others see it as the only way to fight Hezbollah and other terror organizations.

### *Security Cooperation*

Strict guidelines are now in place to ensure funds are used in Lebanon for their intended purposes. Currently, from the FY2014 Consolidated Appropriations Act a detailed spending must regularly be submitted. In this plan, provisions are established to prevent misappropriation of funds and equipment. The goal is to keep Lebanon from becoming a haven for terrorist groups such as Hezbollah indefinitely.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Addis, C. L. (2011). U.S. Security Assistance to Lebanon. Congressional Research Service.

<sup>13</sup> op. cit; Hokayem, E. (n.d.). *Iran and Lebanon*. Retrieved from United States Institute of Peace: The Iran Primer: <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/iran-and-lebanon>

<sup>14</sup> op. cit



Economic Support Funds continue to be a large portion of U.S. aid. It is known that ESF is used to maintain economic stability, create jobs, establish and maintain governments and legal systems, and other budget needs.

### *The Iran-Lebanon Connection*

Iranian ties with Lebanon go back centuries. Iran and Lebanon have both been dominated by Shiite Muslims. Thus many senior Shiite clerics in Lebanon were born in Iran and trained under Iranian clerics. Shiite Muslims are the largest in Lebanon.

The modern Iran-Lebanon connection though runs directly through Hezbollah. Iran's involvement with Hezbollah in Lebanon began in 1982. Iran sent 1,500 soldiers into the region in 1982 and helped create what would become Hezbollah. In 1983 and 1984, its militant bombed two American embassies and a barracks housing U.S. and French peacekeeping troops killing 241 U.S. Marines on October 23, 1983. Hezbollah took responsibility for the attack stating the U.S. and the French troops were meddling in Lebanon and siding with the then Lebanon's Christian-dominated government. When dealing with Lebanon, most conversations about Lebanon start with Hezbollah, then shift to the Shiite community, and finally conclude with analyzing the state. Iran supplies weapons and training to Hezbollah in support of its terrorist goals and activities. Iran has built a powerful force to deter Israel and to attack targets in Israel in the event of another regional conflict. Hezbollah's arsenal reportedly includes some 40,000, rockets and missiles, including the mid-range Zelzal 1 and Zelzal 2 with a range of 95 miles to 130 miles, and a variant of the Fateh with a range of 155 miles.<sup>15</sup>

Iran sees Hezbollah and Lebanon as its means of waging a proxy war with Israel and thus the United States. Although Iran has shown no desire to face open war with the United States, it has been the policy of the Iranian government to wage war against Israel and the United States indirectly, by supporting terrorist groups such as Hezbollah.

Accordingly the Iranian Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution (IRGC) has supplied weapons and training to Lebanon. The IRGC is the backbone of the Iranian government and supported these terrorist organizations in Lebanon. By arming and training terrorists in Hezbollah, Iran is able to continue to destabilize the region.<sup>16</sup>

Hezbollah is now engaged in fighting in war-ravaged Syria. Also, Hezbollah has become the main destabilizing force in the Middle East, under the support of Iran. It continues to be supplied by the IRGC, enabling Iran to continue its by-proxy war throughout the Middle East. In Syria since 2013, Hezbollah has been deploying thousands of fighters to back President Bashar al Assad. Iran and Hezbollah have fought alongside with loyal Syrian troops to regained territory, which Syria lost to the

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<sup>15</sup> Cafiero, G. (2016, February 18). *How Oman Is Helping Obama Shut Down Guantanamo Bay*. U.S. News. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-02-18/how-oman-is-helping-obama-shut-down-Guantanamo-bay>

<sup>16</sup> Purdy, W. (2013). *The Secrets of the IRGC*. The Counter Terrorist, 30-42.

rebels and ISIS. The collapse of the Syrian regime could threaten Iran's influence in the Levant and Hezbollah wants to preserve to access to military and financial support from Iran, which would be at risk if Assad falls.<sup>17</sup>

*Al Jazeera* reported on 18 May 2016 that the U.S. has been pressuring Lebanon's central bank to apply the U.S. law, the Hezbollah International Financing Prevention Act (HIFPA) of December 2015 which threatens sanctions and account closures against anyone who finances Hezbollah or the Lebanese Shia group. Ghassan Ayyash, a former deputy-governor of the central bank believes that if Lebanon refuses to comply with this law, the country could face economic problems considering the Lebanese economy's reliance on the US dollar.<sup>18</sup>

## Oman

### *Situation*

A State Department Fact Sheet from March of this year cited Oman as a "vital" partner on a wide range of issues, from maritime security to counterterrorism. It highlighted the important role that Oman plays in enhancing the relationship between the U.S. and the Gulf Cooperation Council, of which Oman is a member nation. Among other items discussed were arms and equipment that the U.S. is providing Oman, as well as the freedom of navigation arrangements, which Oman provides the U.S. Additionally, the U.S. enjoys broad basing rights in Oman as well. However, the U.S. has a rather unique security cooperation relationship with Oman. Oman agreed to accept detainees from the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay. And there is no shortage of press coverage highlighting Oman's role as an intermediary in the region, often orchestrating behind the scenes negotiations between the U.S. and Iran, which otherwise may not have been possible. Beyond historical connections, Oman's relationship with the United States is upheld by three categories of assistance; Foreign Military Sales, Security Cooperation, and Regional Engagement.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Connolly, K. (2015, June 26). *Lebanon Pivotal to Iran's Reach Across the Middle East*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33281739>

<sup>18</sup> Al Jazeera. (18 May 2016). *Lebanon braced for fallout of US law on Hezbollah*, Central bank Governor says failure to comply with HIFPA would isolate country's banks from the international market. Retrieved from Al Jazeera News: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016.05/law-targeting-hezbollah-worries-lebanon-160518215124772.html>

<sup>19</sup> Department of State, (2016, March 3rd). U.S. Relations With Oman, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35834.htm>; op. cit.; Ignatius, D. (2016, June 7). *The Omani 'back channel' to Iran and the secrecy surrounding the nuclear deal*. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-omani-back-channel->

The United States' diplomatic history with Oman goes back to 1833 when they entered into their first treaty together, and since close and friendly relationships have been maintained. Foremost, the U.S provides Security Assistance to Oman in the form of Foreign Military Financing. The Sultanate of Oman "has long seen the United States as the key security guarantor" of the Persian Gulf region. No Omani nationals were involved in the September 11, 2001 attacks, and Oman cooperates with U.S. intelligence investigations and military efforts against both Al Qaeda and, more recently ISIS. Furthermore, Oman has actively participated in the International Military Education and Training program. Used by the U.S. to promote our standards regarding human rights, this program funds classes in the English language and provides funding for counter-terrorism in Oman.<sup>20</sup>

### *Security Assistance*

According to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Oman has been a reliable partner in the United States' Foreign Military Sales program since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Over the last decade, the U.S. provided Security Assistance to Oman in the form of Foreign Military Financing (\$78.652 million), International Military Education and Training (\$16.32 million), and Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, De-Mining and Related Programs (\$16.453 million). Additionally, Oman has used this Security Assistance to purchase numerous important military equipment from the United States including: twelve F-16 aircraft, countermeasures for head-of-state aircraft, air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles, missile defense, patrol boats, and anti-tank weaponry. Additionally, the Omani Government continues to request U.S. support for future initiatives as:

"The Government of Oman requests follow-on support for its existing F-16 fleet that includes support equipment, communications equipment, personnel training, spare and repair parts, publications, Electronic Combat International Security Assistance Program (ECISAP), Contractor Engineer Technical Services (CETS), Technical Coordination Group (TCG), International Engine Management Program (IEMP), Precision Measurement Equipment Laboratory (PMEL) calibration and technical orders. The estimated value of this possible sale is \$260 million."<sup>21</sup>

Oman's continued participation in the U.S.'s Security Assistance program is beneficial to both nations. The potential sale of these items will help strengthen the

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[to-iran-and-the-secrecy-surrounding-the-nuclear-deal/2016/06/07/0b9e27d4-2ce1-11e6-b5db-e9bc84a2c8e4\\_story.html](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS21534.pdf)

<sup>20</sup> op. cit.; Katzman, Kenneth. (2016, April 26). *Oman: Reform, Security, and U.S. Policy*. Retrieved from: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS21534.pdf>; Burns, W. J. (2010, September 30). *Oman 2010: 40 Years Building the Future*. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.state.gov/p/us/rm/2010/148455.htm>

<sup>21</sup> Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Oman-Continuation Of Logistics Support Services And Equipment. 2016. Retrieved Wed. 29 Sept. 2016 Retrieved from: [http://www.dsca.mil/sites/default/files/mas/oman\\_16-24.pdf](http://www.dsca.mil/sites/default/files/mas/oman_16-24.pdf)

military-to-military relationship and will ensure opportunities for the two nations to work together, not only to train Oman forces, but also to better assist with future Security Cooperation initiatives in the region.

### *Security Cooperation*

In assessing Oman's collaboration in Security Cooperation initiatives in the region, it should be viewed through the lens of a broader definition of the term. Much like its Gulf State partners, Oman does provide some basing rights for U.S. military activity, as is the case with the U.S.'s use of Thumrait Air Base active with U.S. participation since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Oman also regularly participates in military training exercises with the United States in order to enhance combined military operations. For example, elements from the United States Marine Corps recently conducted Non-combatant Evacuation Operation (or NEO) Exercises with the Omanis. These types of training exercises are routine for the Department of Defense, and are standard-bearers of Security Cooperation initiatives with the respective host nations, such as is the case with Oman.<sup>22</sup>

Other Oman initiatives that are also regular contributors to Security Cooperation with the United States but are not quite as tangible and definitive as basing rights and joint military exercises. For example, in Oman's agreement to take Guantanamo Bay detainees from the U.S. that may in part be directly due to their purchase of F-16's and anti-tank missiles.<sup>23</sup>

The United States also depends greatly on Oman's generosity for access to the Straits of Hormuz, a key transit point for our U.S. Navy ships to reach the Persian Gulf, U.S. ports in Bahrain, UAE, and other stops plus commercial traffic. Since Iran owns the other half of the Straits, the U.S. depends heavily on Oman's cooperation for access which directly supports our security initiatives in the region.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Bentham, M. (2001, September 30). *American planes fly in to RAF desert base in Oman*. Retrieved November 19, 2016. ; U.S. Naval Forces Central Command Public Affairs. (2016, September 22). Navy-Marine Corps Conduct First Non-Combatant Evacuation Exercise in Oman. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from [http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story\\_id=96811](http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=96811)

<sup>23</sup> Cafiero, G. (2016, February 18). *How Oman Is Helping Obama Shut Down Guantanamo Bay*. U.S. News. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-02-18/how-oman-is-helping-obama-shut-down-guantanamo-bay>

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) Freedom of Navigation (FON) Report for Fiscal Year (FY) 2013, (2014, March 6th), from <http://policy.defense.gov/Portals/11/Documents/gsa/cwmd/FY2013%20DOD%20Annual%20FON%20Report.pdf>; Gladstone, R. (2015, May 01). *Strait of Hormuz Once Again at Center of U.S.-Iran Strife*. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/02/world/middleeast/strait-of-hormuz-once-again-at-center-of-us-iran-strife.html>

## *Regional Engagement*

With respect for Regional Engagement, Oman plays a crucial role in this in the region. Moreover, there are many examples of critical roles that Oman has contributed to successful outcomes of U.S. initiatives in the region. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is a key partner of the United States on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Gulf, with Oman being a member state. Many of our security initiatives in the region are with all GCC member states, with military basing and arms sales only making up a small part of it.<sup>25</sup>

As previously mentioned, Oman's most important role in recent years has been of its ability to act as an intermediary between the United States and Iran on critical negotiations between the two, establishing a diplomatic side-channel between two nations that rarely communicate. Oman's negotiating prowess in recent years include the recent nuclear deal with Iran.<sup>26</sup>

Trade with Oman is also rich. Given the Free Trade Agreement that the U.S. and Oman entered into in 2009, we may want to consider how trade plays into the appreciation/cooperation that Oman gives in return for U.S. Security Assistance. While we provide Oman with equipment like machinery, vehicles, aircraft, and medical instruments, Oman provides the U.S. with materials as crude oil, jewelry, plastics, and iron. Additionally, there remains a potential for cooperation and growth between the U.S. and Oman regarding its more traditional trade initiatives related to oil infrastructure and oil supply.<sup>27</sup>

## *Conclusion*

Of all of the partner-nations that the United States maintains diplomatic and military relationships with in the Middle East, Oman should be held in high regard as a dependable and consistent ally in the region. Oman has proven on many occasions that it is a willing participant in the U.S.'s security initiatives in the region. Oman has the potential to 'punch above its weight' in foreign policy circles at crucial times, and it is imperative to the United States continue to cultivate that relationship in ways which are mutually beneficial to both nations.

## *Domestic and Military Concerns*

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<sup>25</sup> Carter, Ash. (2016, April 20<sup>th</sup>). Opening Statement as Delivered at U.S.-GCC Defense Ministerial Joint Press Conference, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

<sup>26</sup> Lister, T. (2011, September 15). *Oman in 'honest broker' role again as U.S. seeks freedom of Iran hikers*. Retrieved November 19, 2016, from <http://www.cnn.com/2011/09/15/world/meast/oman-iran-hikers/index.html>; Gambrell, J., & Schreck, A. (2015, September 21). *Oman, again the Mideast mediator, helps free Yemen*. Retrieved November 19, 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Department of State. (2016, March 1st). U.S. Security Cooperation With Oman, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/fs/2016/253850.htm>

Domestically, Oman struggles to diversify its economy. Oil makes up about 60% of Oman's revenues, and experts predict that existing oil reserves will only last about fifteen more years. The nation wants to both diversify its economy and invest in liquid natural gas production

Militarily, much like the U.S., Oman is dealing with terrorism which plagues the Arabian Peninsula. The nation also struggles to normalize its relationship with Shiite-Islamist-dominated Iraq.<sup>28</sup>

## **Jordan**

### *Situation*

Due to its location, Jordan is a key piece of the United States' security strategy in the Middle East. Although a formal treaty does not connect Jordan and the United States, the nations have worked closely together towards security and regional stability since the 1950's. Following the 9/11 attacks, Jordan issued bans on banking operations linked to terrorist activities and pursued individuals linked to Al Qaeda. Jordan has historically been a strategic partner in promoting Israeli-Palestinian cooperation, mitigating threats from the Islamic State, and serving as a staging ground for operations in Syria. U.S. assistance should not neglect to focus on in-country stability, border security, and Jordan's participation in the Syrian refugee crisis. Due to its powerful neighbors and strategic location Jordan will continue to be an important asset in the region.<sup>29</sup>

Jordan lacks the major resources of its regional counterparts, and therefore its economy is significantly dependent on foreign aid, tourism, and remittances. The United States has provided economic and military aid, respectively, to Jordan since 1951. Since FY2015 Jordan has been provided with \$15.83 billion in aid. In February, 2015 President Obama signed a three-year memorandum of understanding (MOU) pledging to provide Jordan with \$1 billion annually in U.S. foreign assistance from FY2015 through FY2017. FY2016 appropriations set forth at least \$1.275 billion in economic and military aid for Jordan and authorizes the use of broader Department of Defense funding to increase border security. Also, Congress has provided up to \$600 million from the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund in security assistance.<sup>30</sup>

U.S. military funding for Jordan has been steady over the last decade, and continues to diversify. The Coalition Support Fund, used to reimburse coalition partners for participating in U.S. military operations has seen significant disbursements to Jordan in FY2015. Jordan has received several Foreign Military Financing grants to maintain a small group of F-16 fighters and purchase Advanced Medium Range Missiles. These

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<sup>28</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>29</sup> Sharp, J. M. (2016, January 27). *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*



grants also allow for purchase of U.S. Blackhawk helicopters, Javelin missiles, Hellfire missiles, High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems, and night-vision devices. These improvements to Jordan's military capabilities add to its ability to monitor the border and respond to terrorist threats in partnership with the U.S.<sup>31</sup>

### *Security Assistance*

U.S.-Jordanian military cooperation is a key component in bilateral relations. Jordan has had an increased role in the fight against ISIS by conducting airstrikes in Syria and Iraq. For this reason, majority of Jordan's request has been to continue the air campaign against ISIS and to secure their border.

- March 2015, State Department approves Foreign Military Sale for M31 Unitary Guided Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (GMLRS) for an estimated cost of \$192 million. The Jordanian government has requested 72 (GMLRS) Rocket Pods (6 rockets per pod for a total 432)<sup>32</sup>
- May 2015, State Department approves sale of UH-60M VIP Blackhawk and (2) T700-GE-701D engines for a total cost of \$21 million.<sup>33</sup>
- August 2009, a request is made for 85 AIM-120C-7 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM) for a total cost of \$131 million.<sup>34</sup>
- November 2009, a request by Jordan to buy 1808 Javelin Anti-Tank Guided Missiles, 18 Fly-to-Buy Missiles, 162 Javelin Command Launch Units (CLUs) with an estimated cost of \$388 million.<sup>35</sup>
- September 2009, a request by Jordan to buy 12 M142 High-Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS) Launchers; 72 M31 Unitary Guided Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (GMLRS) Rocket Pods; 36 Multiple Launcher Rocket Systems (MLRS) Practice Rocket Pods; 12 M1084A1P2 Family of Medium Tactical Vehicle Trucks (FMTV); one Advanced Field Artillery Tactical Data System (AFATDS); three M108A1P2 Wreckers; three M1151A1 High-Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles (HMMWVs); 27 AN/VRC-92E Single Channel Ground and Airborne Radio Systems (SINGARS); and 18 AN/VRC-90E SINGARS and related services and support. The estimated cost is \$220 million.<sup>36</sup>
- February 2016, State Department approves a Foreign Military Sale to Jordan for the repair and return of 52 F100-PW-220E F-16 Engines at a cost of \$115.1 million.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Sharp, J. M. (2016, January 27). *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <https://fas.org/sqp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Country Information Paper, Jordan, 2015. <http://www.dsca.mil/search/node/Jordan>

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> *ibid*

<sup>35</sup> *ibid*

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

<sup>37</sup> *ibid*

In 2015, King Abdullah II requested additional munitions, which lead to more rapid munitions delivery by the United States, including F-16 air strike munitions, guided bomb kits, pilot survival gear, and spare parts. Reports indicate that items requested by Jordan for border security include UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters, Hellfire missiles, Kevlar vests, night-vision devices, and TOW anti-tank missiles. Jordan is also eligible to receive excess U.S. defense equipment, and has received around \$81.69 million worth of articles, equipment, and training since 2009. The U.S. and coalition forces also provide directly or provide funding for Patriot missile systems, artillery, fighter aircraft, and communications systems to promote the security of Jordan and the region.<sup>38</sup>

### *Security Cooperation*

Currently there are 2,200 U.S. military personnel deployed to Jordan and will remain in there, at Jordan's invitation, until the security situation stabilizes. These soldiers support the U.S. F-16s in Jordan and control the Patriot missile battery near Jordan's Syrian border, among other duties. Jordan's primary role in the Syrian effort is to lead the coalition's vetting initiative, which determines which opposition groups should be considered terrorists and be excluded from political transition. Jordan's role in the coalition's efforts against the Islamic State have been increasing, including air strikes, which escalated after the execution of a Jordanian pilot by the Islamic State in 2015. Additionally, the U.S. has provided military training for senior leadership and counter-terrorism partnership training. This training relationship pre-dates the current coalition operations against ISIL. Jordan continues to allow the use of its bases by the U.S. and coalition forces, and plays an important role with the U.S. in regional intelligence sharing. A highlight to the integration of U.S. and Jordan Forces is Eager Lion. It is the largest military exercise in U.S. Central Command where thousands of service personal from different countries build relationships and partnerships.<sup>39</sup>

Given Jordan's geographic location to the region, and it's more moderate Islamic practice, the country is sensitive toward the spread of extremist ideologies and terrorist activities that threaten its security. Jordan has consistently been a willing partner of the U.S. in our recent initiatives in combatting terrorism over the last decade to varying degrees. This indicates that Jordan is smartly applying the Security Assistance that they

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<sup>38</sup> Mehta, A. (2015, October 27). *Obama Admin Emphasizes Jordanian Support*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/land/weapons/2015/10/27/russia-jordan-king-abdullah-visit-obama-military-support/74652808/>; Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Country Information Paper, Jordan, 2015. <http://www.dsca.mil/search/node/Jordan>

<sup>39</sup> Op. cit; Pellerin, C. (2016, May 23<sup>rd</sup>). *Votel: Eager Lion Exercise Highlights U.S.-Jordan Force Integration*. Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/778399/votel-eager-lion-exercise-highlights-us-jordan-force-integration>; Petra. (2015, April 7<sup>th</sup>). *Jordan seeks close security cooperation with US* — Majali. Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/jordan-seeks-close-security-cooperation-us-%E2%80%94-majali>



have accepted from the U.S. and is a willing participant in our Security Cooperation initiatives.<sup>40</sup>

In the best interest of exercising precise regional engagement, Jordan provides an excellent opportunity to audit our current Security Cooperation initiatives that we have with them, especially given the large amount of investment that they have received since 9/11. In order to ensure that we are maximizing the application and outcome of our Security Assistance and Security Cooperation activities with Jordan, it is imperative to maintain a clear understanding of each other's security needs in the region and ensure that both nations work together to bolster Security Cooperation in the most effective and efficient way. It is necessary to do that with any nation that we conduct such activities. However, given Jordan's high potential to be a guarantor of success for U.S. security initiatives in the region, more precise engagement and expectation management with Jordan is warranted and recommended.<sup>41</sup>

### *Regional Engagement*

With respect for Regional Engagement, Jordan plays a crucial role in this in the region. Moreover, there are many examples of critical roles that Jordan has contributed to successful outcomes of U.S. initiatives in the region. The bans placed by the Jordanian government on banking operations after 9/11 show the commitment Jordan has with the United States going after terrorist. Jordan's most important role in the region has been their increased role in the air campaign against ISIS, as well as housing 600,000 Syrian refugees which have put a strain on Jordan's limited resources. Even the U.S. State Department has emphasized the importance of Jordan's role as the lead Arab partner in the coalition against ISIS has an active participant in the air campaign.<sup>42</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Jordan is a vital ally in the region, especially with the ongoing war with ISIS, but not all operations with Jordan have been successful. Ineffective operations on the Southern Front and Russian intervention have held back some security operations, but have not

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<sup>40</sup> Opall-Rome, B. (2016, May 9<sup>th</sup>). *Jordan Proves Heavyweight in Fight Against ISIS*. Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/2016/05/09/jordan-proves-heavyweight-fight-against-isis/83936296/>

<sup>41</sup> Keith, R. (2014, July 11<sup>th</sup>). *US Foreign Aid: Washington Gives Billions, But Is It Money Well Spent?* Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016. <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-foreign-aid-washington-gives-billions-it-money-well-spent-1625994>

<sup>42</sup> Kumar, I. (2015, November 11<sup>th</sup>). *King Abdullah: ISIL "A War Inside of Islam" That We Need to Fight Together*. Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://www.euronews.com/2015/11/11/exclusive-king-abdullah-ii-on-syrian-refugees-in-jordan-and-the-islamic-state>; McKeeby, D. (2016, January 13<sup>th</sup>) *Standing with Jordan Through U.S. Security Assistance*. Retrieved December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<https://blogs.state.gov/stories/2016/01/13/standing-jordan-through-us-security-assistance>

affected the overall mission. Most recently, in November, 2016 three American military trainers who were in Jordan to help upgrade the kingdom's armed forces were shot at a Jordanian air base. The incident is still under investigation. This investigation could play a major role in what further assistance the U.S. will lend to Jordan after the last agreement has ended. Though that the United States continue to support Jordan and are continuing to support the country it is hard to see the exact cooperation that given to the U.S. The U.S.'s objective is very clear in Jordan it is to fight ISIS and any other forms of terrorism that wishes to do harm to the homeland.<sup>43</sup>

## **Security Assistance in North Africa**

### **Morocco**

Morocco and the U.S. share many of the same interest such as: economic prosperity of both countries, the pursuit of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the maintenance and promotion of regional security and cooperation, and sustainable development. Over the past three decades, U.S.-Moroccan relations was characterized by mutual respect and friendship. Morocco and the United States boast a "Friendship & Commerce Treaty" which remains today the longest unbroken treaty in American history.<sup>44</sup>

Morocco, too, is a strong partner with the U.S. in terms of counter-terrorism in the region. Formally recognized in 1786, Morocco and the U.S. signed a treaty of peace and friendship. Since then, the two have worked closely on issues such as regional security, political and economic transition, and sustainability. As the 55th largest trading export market for American goods, Security Cooperation with Morocco is a strong priority for the U.S.<sup>45</sup>

The two countries share common values, mutual trust, and strong friendship and partnership. Recent examples of that partnership include the creation of specially trained counterterrorism military units, clamping down on illegal immigration, blocking terrorist access to financial resources, promoting ethnic and religious tolerance and accelerating economic growth through rehabilitating the agricultural sector. Further, the 2012 Congressional Budget Justification defines Morocco as a key partner nation in supporting the U.S. strategic goal of enhancing U.S. interoperability throughout the African continent. This is important because they are maintaining regional interests in Africa. Most notably, in the State Department's Country Reports on Terrorism of 2014, Morocco received positive reviews from the State Department on their counter-terrorism strategy and their security cooperation efforts both regionally and internationally. This is

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<sup>43</sup> Baker, P. (2016). *3 U.S. Military Trainers Killed at Jordan Air Base*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/05/world/middleeast/jordan-us-military-shooting.html>

<sup>44</sup> Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. *U.S relations with Morocco*. August 12, 2014. [www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5431.htm](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5431.htm)

<sup>45</sup> *ibid*

quite an accomplishment for Morocco, considering that the United States has invested considerably less in Security Assistance and Cooperation with them when compared to its regional neighbors.<sup>46</sup>

### *Security Assistance*

There are recent reports on the Security Assistance Monitor website that Morocco is actively receiving U.S. military arms sales and assistance. However, a more detailed list of specific military equipment provided to the Moroccans since 9/11 is found at the Defense Security Cooperation Agency's website. That list is not very long. Since 9/11, the U.S. has provided the Moroccans with 600 TOW Missile and 300 TOW launchers, with the appropriate maintenance and training package in November 2015. Period. Only recently did we step up with combined military exercises and training. In April of 2016, the U.S. and Morocco, along with several of their counterparts gathered for the 16th iteration of the African Lion which focused on inter-military cooperation, and crisis-action planning. "For the first time, the U.S., Morocco, and Mauritania also conducted a joint intelligence training mission in preparation for the exercise".<sup>47</sup>

In fact, compared to its Middle East and North Africa neighbors, Morocco does not receive as robust Foreign Military Sales and Financing package from the United States. And what aid that it does receive most often has pre-conditions and caveats attached to it. The United States has provided funding to Morocco for counter-terrorism training as well as border surveillance and communications equipment. But the overall total dollar amount that Morocco receives in FMF from the United States is pennies on the dollar when compared to its neighbors in the region. Specifically, the U.S. recently provided "\$15 million in total aid (\$12 million in FMF, \$3 million in INCLE)." Attached to this aid were pre-conditions that the funds "support democratic reforms and economic development." Additional funding requests for Morocco included, "\$29.872 million in total aid (\$20 million in ESF, \$5 million in FMF, \$3 million in INCLE, \$1.872 million in IMET)." But this funding was also to include methods to "support a human rights and monitoring role for the U.N. Mission in Western Sahara, in cooperation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> U.S. *Enhances Military & Security Cooperation with Morocco*. The North Africa Post. (2015). Retrieved October 30, 2016, from <http://northafricapost.com/10327-u-s-enhances-military-security-cooperation-with-morocco.html>; Jowiya, B. K. (2014). *The Special Morocco-U.S. relationship - Asfar*. Retrieved October 30, 2016, from <http://www.asfar.org.uk/the-special-morocco-us-relationship/>; Chapter 2. *Country Reports: Middle East and North Africa Overview*. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2016, from <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239407.htm>; Morocco - Security Assistance Monitor. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2016, from

<sup>47</sup> Scott, Caitlin Dearing & Merran, Jordan. *Infographic: African Lion and the Evolution of U.S. Morocco Security Cooperation*. Morocco on the Move. April 20, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Humud, Carla E. & Jeremy M. Sharp. (October 19, 2015). *U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2016 Request*. <http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/mideast/R44233.pdf>

### *Foreign Assistance and NGO Support*

There are other areas in which money is being invested in Morocco which have had an impact on Security Cooperation initiatives. Through the use of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), the U.S. has provided foreign assistance intent on countering violent extremism. There are three such programs significant to Morocco. First is USAID's "Countering Violent Extremism in the Middle East and North Africa (CoVEMENA)."<sup>49</sup> The second initiative is, "\$66.5 million in State Department- and USAID-administered funds" to assist Morocco in building capacity "to counter the threat posed by terrorist groups in the region." Finally, a Defense Department effort that provides, "\$450 million in Defense Department Counter-Terrorism Partnership Fund (CTPF) for programs to build the counterterrorism capacity" of Morocco and other countries in Africa "to counter AQIM, Al Shabaab, and other terrorist groups (including Boko Haram, which has pledged allegiance to the Islamic State)." Beyond military assistance and aid, Morocco benefits from "USAID programs that address development challenges such as illiteracy, malnutrition, and unemployment. In Morocco, USAID is implementing job training and structural adjustment programs to transition its economy following the October 2004 signing of the U.S.-Moroccan Free Trade Agreement."<sup>50</sup>

### *Security Cooperation & Regional Engagement*

In the past, the U.S. has expressed concerns regarding Morocco's human rights record, which may have an impact on future security cooperation initiatives. A report from the U.S. Government Accountability Office 2006 (GAO-06-850), called "Lapses in Human Rights Screening in North African Countries Indicate Need for Further Oversight," and indicates that there might be some issues concerning Security Cooperation and the allocation of funding and training for those purposes. However, recent reports indicate that in the wake of terrorist threats and a recent decrease in funding from 2014, Moroccan leaders are more willing to boost Joint Security Cooperation.<sup>51</sup>

There are other examples of recent regional engagement on Morocco's behalf that point to Security Cooperation opportunities. Morocco supported the Framework for the Elimination of Chemical Weapons in the Executive Council of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. Additionally, Morocco supported the UNSC resolution that called on the Syrian regime to fully cooperate in the elimination of its chemical weapons program. With regard to its neighbor, Mali, during its reconstruction, His Majesty King Mohammed VI recently announced that Morocco will train 500 Malian imams in the countries' shared spiritual values of openness and tolerance.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Humud, Carla E. (August 11, 2016). *Al Qaeda and U.S. Policy: Middle East and Africa*  
<http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/mideast/R43756.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

<sup>51</sup> [www.english.aawsat.com](http://www.english.aawsat.com)

<sup>52</sup> Morocco - Embassy of the United States. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2016, from

Security Cooperation and engagement throughout the Middle East and North Africa region is especially crucial in the wake of 2011's Arab Spring. There are barriers that prove to be more of a hindrance than a benefit. One such barrier is relations between Algeria and Morocco, which in the past decades has been far from warm. This especially impacts the Western Sahara region.<sup>53</sup>

### *Domestic and Military Concerns*

Domestically, Morocco struggles with political instability in regard to the balance of power between its monarchy and the rest of its political system. The nation also, in the opinion of some, falls short of providing basic human rights, including freedom of expression and religion and equal rights for women. Militarily, Morocco must deal with issues of terrorism that are common in the region. Morocco nationals have been both the perpetrators and victims of terrorism attacks, and terrorism has been dubbed the "main threat to Morocco's domestic security".<sup>54</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Given Morocco's proximity to the counter-terror fright on the African Continent, as well as its critical cultural and regional ties to the Middle East, Morocco hold potential to be a key supporter of U.S. security initiatives in that part of the world. They are in a unique position to support U.S. efforts in combating violent extremism as well as supporting U.S. policy initiatives in both Africa and the Middle East. Morocco may still have some work yet to do on other issues, such as its human rights record, but it still remains the most stable of the Northern African nations and provides ample opportunities for U.S. regional engagement on security issues.

### **General Recommendations**

In the security environment of uncertainty the United States faces, long-term efforts to build and maintain a foundational base of security partners through exercises, military education, and exchanges are wise investments to hedge against future security challenges. Assessment constructs must capture both short- and long-term returns with an emphasis on transitional continuity from short to long term. The fact that there is no agreed upon framework to validate security cooperation does not mean one cannot be created, and it is hoped this and other studies lend evidence to accomplishing this. Here we look strategically and operationally, using both qualitative, and quantitative analysis to see if what we are doing is actually working. We believe that it is in the five nations studied. We must also ask ourselves if we are accomplishing the mission we identified at the beginning. Lastly, time is another factor which needs to be taken into

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<https://morocco.usembassy.gov/osc.html>

<sup>53</sup> El-Katiri, M. (2016, October 25). *The Quest for Military Cooperation in North Africa: Prospects and Challenges*. Retrieved November 20, 2016, from

<http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1330>

<sup>54</sup> Arieff, Alexis. *Morocco: Current Issues*. Current Politics and Economics of Africa 5.2 (2012): 225.



consideration. A realistic timeline must be put in place in order to achieve the mission we want accomplished. We cannot expect to see a return on our investment in security cooperation unless adequate time is given for that to develop and sustain.<sup>55</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Of the five countries of this study, the top three largest recipients of United States treasure from 2001 to 2016 in all programs of military and police aid were Jordan (\$720m in 2015), Lebanon (\$327m in 2007), and Bahrain (\$90m in 2003). Security Sector Assistance is used to influence partner nation to achieve US strategic goals. The magnificently humble Oman and then the somewhat mysterious Morocco were not far behind Bahrain however, with tops in U.S. investments being \$81m in 2003 and \$66m in 2012 respectively. It is easy to see also how the amount of United States investment in the region is driven by events on the ground. The US spent a lot of money in foreign military and police aid to Oman, Jordan, and Bahrain in 2003, the year we executed Operation Iraqi Freedom. Those are also countries we still have varying degrees of basing rights with to this day, participate in combined military operations and training exercises, and contribute somewhat readily to our security interests. After the events of Arab Spring of 2011, we started investing less foreign military aid in Bahrain and Oman, both having experienced internal unrest at varying times. Those two countries have yet to receive pre-Arab Spring levels of US monetary investment in military and police aid. Morocco and Jordan have happily received the most recent large investments of American capital, as the US focus shifted toward countering terrorism in North Africa and ISIS expansion in Iraq and Syria in the years since 2014. Jordan, Bahrain, and Oman have been great benefactors of our military equipment, while Morocco and Lebanon have been the focus of other types of programs.<sup>56</sup>

With regard to sectarian issues in these countries, extensive problems remain, on a scale from extremely volatile to relatively neutral and benign. Bahrain is a Sunni monarchy with a Shia majority population, and most would argue that oppress this majority. The murky situation in Lebanon represents a rather even split between Sunni and Shia among its Islamic population dominated by traditional Shia control. Bahrain and Lebanon offer the best opportunities for Iranian malign influence out of these five countries. Jordan and Morocco are hold mostly Sunni populations, with Jordan being the more tolerant of the two regarding Shiites, thereby being the most susceptible to

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<sup>55</sup> Dyekman, G. J. (2007, November). *Security cooperation: A Key to challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Retrieved from Strategic Studies Institute: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/files/pub820.pdf>; Gregory Elgort., *Evaluation of Assessment Methodology to Support Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa* United States Military Academy.

<sup>56</sup> Security Assistance Monitor. (n.d.). Retrieved December 16, 2016, from <http://securityassistance.org/>; Op. cit., Williams, "Achieving," 10.

ISIS threats. Lebanon, Jordan, and Iran are major stakeholders with Syria for differing reasons, and are concerned about the outcome there as it greatly and directly affects them all. Then there is Oman, unique in that it is a mostly Ibadi Islamic population, allowing them to avoid much of the sectarian problems which typically plague its neighbors in the region. It also allows Oman to act as intermediary between its larger belligerents that are on opposite sides of the sectarian issues. We can conclude that tailored Security Sector Assistance (SSA) based upon knowing the values, ethnicity and religions of the region and especially the nations which we are assisting, can be carefully crafted to produce acceptable U.S. security cooperation. This is anchored in the belief that most citizens of these nations want security foremost with some sense of self-determination as seen through the lens of their religious beliefs, and that the United States can bring that incrementally along a timeline. This can be accomplished by mitigating threats through strategic, operational and tactical cooperative military and diplomatic initiatives which are mutually reinforcing, and stand the test on time for all nations involved.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> (2010). International Religious Freedom Report 2010. Washington DC.

## Appendix

Bahrain																
Type of Assistance	Amount of Assistance															Totals
	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	
<b>Title 22</b>																
IMET	0.249	0.395	0.448	0.568	0.649	0.651	0.616	0.622	0.661	0.671	0.435	0.554	0.487	0.522	0.577	8.105
FMF		28.5	90	24.682	18.847	15.593	14.998	3.968	8	19	15.461	9.999	12.575	10	7.5	279.123
NADR					1.489	2.761	0.776	0.744	0.5	0.8	1.5	0.5	0.427	0.45	0.45	10.397
FMS	338.23	83.665	90.051	87.964	63.237	54.697	84.074	41.891	100.883	110.998	50.701	98.02	69.201	55.849	39.758	1369.219
<b>Title 10</b>																
1206						5.3	24.54	4.3	16.2				0.4			50.74
<b>Totals</b>	<b>338.479</b>	<b>112.56</b>	<b>180.499</b>	<b>113.214</b>	<b>84.222</b>	<b>79.002</b>	<b>125.004</b>	<b>51.525</b>	<b>126.244</b>	<b>131.469</b>	<b>68.097</b>	<b>109.073</b>	<b>83.09</b>	<b>66.821</b>	<b>48.285</b>	<b>1717.584</b>

Lebanon																
Type of Assistance	Amount of Assistance															Totals
	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	
<b>Title 22</b>																
IMET	0.546	0.568	0.7	0.7	0.809	0.752	0.905	1.477	2.278	2.5	2.476	2.372	2.849	2.347	2.218	23.497
FMF						29.663	224.8	6.943	159.7	100	74.85	75	71.207	74.999	84.117	901.279
NADR	1	1.2	1.475	0.9	2.3	2.978	8.5	4.745	4.6	6.8	4.8	5.05	5.295	4.76	4.96	59.363
FMS	6.097	3.148	3.086	1.942	1.252	1.702	13.193	16.737	40.374	69.223	17.312	23.145	59.942	89.198	98.521	444.872
<b>Title 10</b>																
1206						10.5	30.4	14.031	49.241	23	0	0	8.7	23.9	12.02	171.792
<b>Totals</b>	<b>7.643</b>	<b>4.916</b>	<b>5.261</b>	<b>3.542</b>	<b>4.361</b>	<b>45.595</b>	<b>277.798</b>	<b>43.933</b>	<b>256.193</b>	<b>201.523</b>	<b>99.438</b>	<b>105.567</b>	<b>147.993</b>	<b>195.204</b>	<b>201.836</b>	<b>1600.803</b>

Oman																
Type of Assistance	Amount of Assistance															Totals
	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	
<b>Title 22</b>																
IMET	0.25	0.481	0.567	0.825	1.141	1.135	1.11	1.43	1.45	1.525	1.622	1.638	1.935	2.011	1.605	18.725
FMF	0	25	81	24.85	19.84	13.86	13.494	4.712	6.999	8.847	13	8	7.595	8	4	239.197
NADR	0.273	0.515	0.085	0.4	0.654	0.4	1.284	1.593	0.95	1.655	1.5	1.5	1.475	1.5	1.5	15.284
FMS	3.744	1.587	16.512	27.136	91.382	432.287	104.037	57.172	42.917	29.981	36.133	48.901	58.354	78.744	42.813	1071.7
<b>Title 10</b>																
1206											0.948					0.948
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4.267</b>	<b>27.583</b>	<b>98.164</b>	<b>53.211</b>	<b>113.017</b>	<b>447.682</b>	<b>119.925</b>	<b>64.907</b>	<b>52.316</b>	<b>42.008</b>	<b>53.203</b>	<b>60.039</b>	<b>69.359</b>	<b>90.255</b>	<b>49.918</b>	<b>1345.854</b>



Jordan																
Type of Assistance	Amount of Assistance															TOTALS
	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	
<b>Title 22</b>																
IMET	1.7	2.012	2.4	3.225	3.039	3.02	2.922	2.941	3.109	3.772	3.76	3.65	3.608	3.588	3.787	46.533
FMF	74.835	100	604	204.785	304.352	207.9	252.9	348.38	485	200	299.4	300	284.829	300	385	4351.381
NADR	0.947	1.595	1.448	2.03	2.059	2.491	26.741	23.571	19.15	24.725	12.5	11.75	8	6.7	7.2	150.907
FMS	80.428	67.016	69.434	104.263	140.323	102.199	169.242	258.438	169.017	169.826	208.623	363.723	326.245	276.38	191.738	2696.895
<b>Title 10</b>																
1206															26.762	26.762
<b>Totals</b>	<b>157.91</b>	<b>170.623</b>	<b>677.282</b>	<b>314.303</b>	<b>449.773</b>	<b>315.61</b>	<b>451.805</b>	<b>633.33</b>	<b>676.276</b>	<b>398.323</b>	<b>524.283</b>	<b>679.123</b>	<b>622.682</b>	<b>586.668</b>	<b>614.487</b>	<b>7272.478</b>

Morocco																
Type of Assistance	Amount of Assistance															Totals
	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	
<b>Title 22</b>																
IMET	0.999	1.041	1.575	1.997	1.92	1.884	1.882	1.713	1.916	1.789	1.989	1.898	1.677	1.817	1.967	26.064
FMF	2.495	3.5	5.2	9.94	15.128	12.375	12	3.625	3.655	9	8.982	8	7.595	7	12	120.495
Nadr				0.35	2.074	0.775	1.412	1.119	0.625	1.2	1.1	3.3	1.684	1.47	1.5	16.609
fms	8.381	7.184	8.569	9.252	16.785	40.677	7.985	3.789	10.274	27.844	981.033	434.003	212.529	78.744	42.813	1889.862
<b>Title 10</b>																
1206							0.237									0.237
<b>Totals</b>	<b>11.875</b>	<b>11.725</b>	<b>15.344</b>	<b>21.539</b>	<b>35.907</b>	<b>55.711</b>	<b>23.516</b>	<b>10.246</b>	<b>16.47</b>	<b>39.833</b>	<b>993.104</b>	<b>447.201</b>	<b>223.485</b>	<b>89.031</b>	<b>58.28</b>	<b>2053.267</b>





