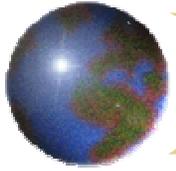# *Concepts for Cooperation in the Black Sea Region*

Dr. Jennifer D.P. Moroney

Prepared for GCMC Conference on Black Sea Security

June 2005

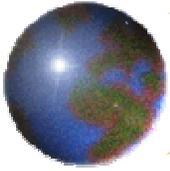RAND Corporation

§ Security Challenges
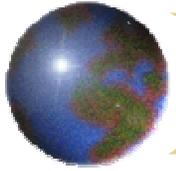
§ Black Sea Regional Organizations

§ Issues That Can Stimulate Cooperation and Competition

§ Concepts for Regional Cooperation and Ways Ahead

"The Black Sea region is at the epicenter in the grand strategic challenge of trying to project stability into a wider European space and beyond into the Greater Middle East. As NATO expands its role in Afghanistan and prepares for a long-term mission there and contemplates assuming added responsibilities in Iraq, the wider Black Sea region starts to be seen through a different lens: Instead of appearing as a point on the periphery of the European landmass, it begins to look like a core component of the West's strategic hinterland."

   - Ron Asmus/Bruce Jackson, "The Black Sea and the Frontiers of Freedom", *Policy Review*, June/July 2004.
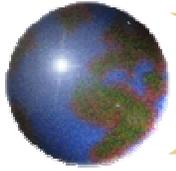
§ Early on, the West largely neglected to view the Black Sea region as a strategic priority for several reasons

– Black Sea region seen as the 'Bermuda Triangle'

– Limited push from leaders (as a collective) for improved ties with the West

– "Cluster view"

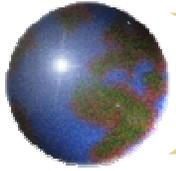§ Now there is a renewed interest in the region from an economic and security perspective

– NATO and EU enlargement

– Increased bilateral and multilateral funding for regional activities

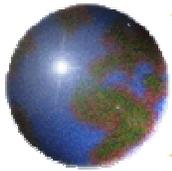§ But still difficulty in defining the Black Sea as a region

§ What are the goals of Black Sea regional organizations?

§ In what areas do their interests converge? What gaps exist? Regional organization limitations?

§ What are some key ways to deepen cooperation in the Black Sea region?

§ What are the impediments to the deepening of regional cooperation?

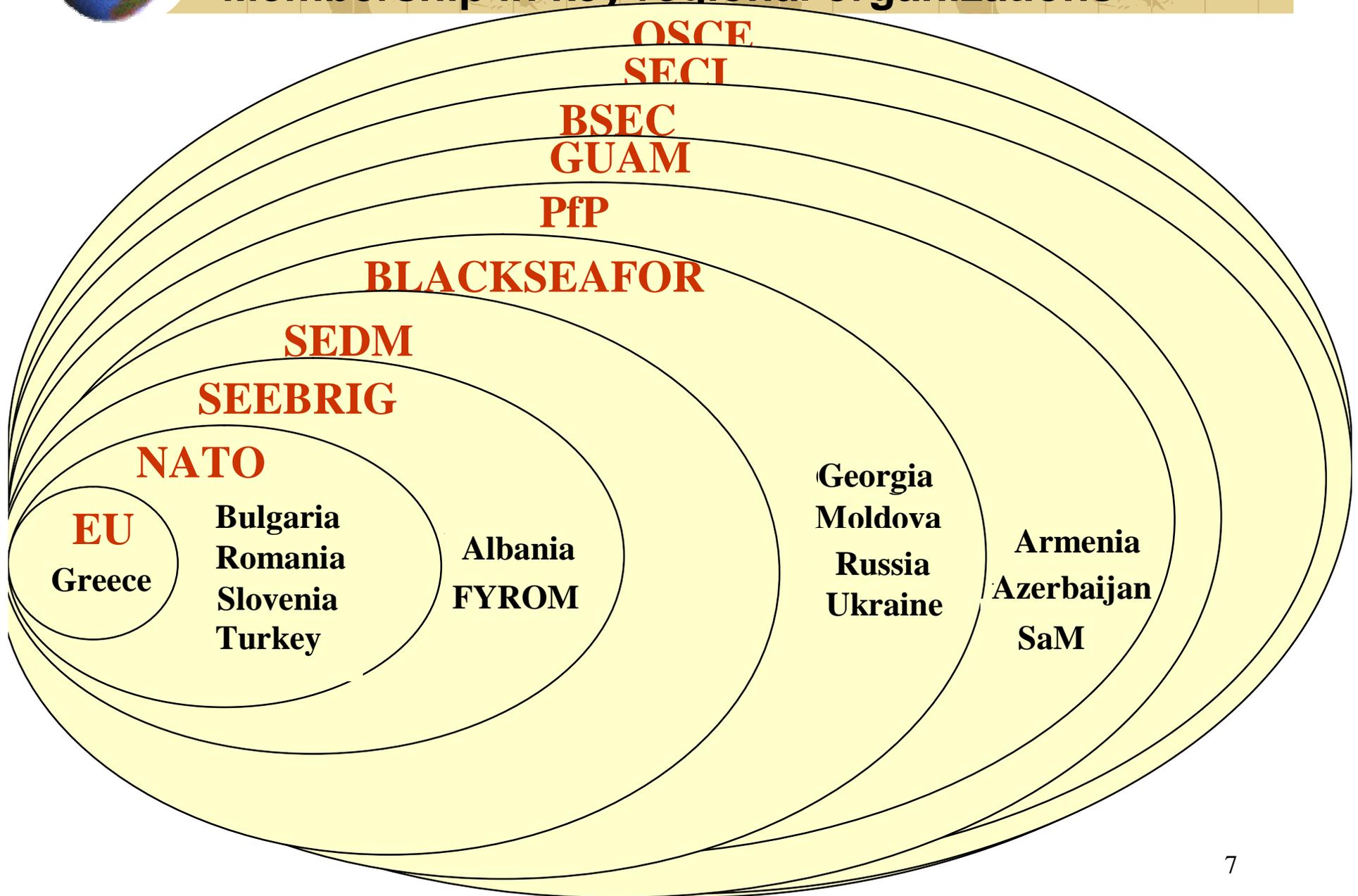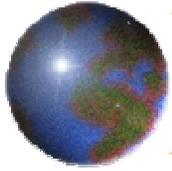§ How do key international and regional organizations view the Black Sea?

Security Challenges in the Black Sea Region

- Porous borders, illegal trafficking of people and substances
  - Detection and interdiction capabilities
  - Legal frameworks to search, seize and detain
  - Export controls and identifying dual-use commodities
  - Sustainability of training and equipment
  - Integrated regional response capability

- Organized crime and criminal networks; corruption

- Terrorism-related incidents (actual or prevented) in the Black Sea region have increased since 2000
  - Ukraine
  - Georgia
  - Turkey
  - Russia (especially North Caucasus)
  - Romania and Bulgaria

OSCE
SECI
BSEC
GUAM
PfP
BLACKSEAFOR
SEDM
SEEBRIG
NATO
EU

Greece

Bulgaria
Romania
Slovenia
Turkey

Albania
FYROM
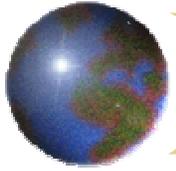
Georgia
Moldova
Russia
Ukraine

Armenia
Azerbaijan
SaM

7

Common Goals of Regional Organizations

§ Maintain stability (NATO)

§ Improve economic activities (secure oil energy resources, shipping, tourism) (NATO, OSCE, EU, BSEC)

§ Combat terrorism (OSCE, NATO, EU)

§ Security sector reform (EU, OSCE)

§ Curtail arms/narco/human trafficking (EU, OSCE, NATO, BSEC)

§ Maintain/improve border management (EU, OSCE, NATO, BSEC)

§ Prevent and manage conflict (OSCE)

§ Democratization (EU, OSCE)

§ Defense and military reform (NATO, OSCE, SEDM)
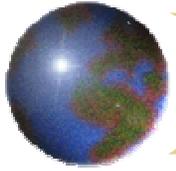
§ Protect human rights (EU, OSCE)

To achieve these goals, an integrated regional crisis and response capability and strategy are needed for the Black Sea

Examples of Organizational Collaboration

§ BSEC-SECI--- counter organized crime and terrorism

§ OSCE-NATO--- civilian police training SA/LW; maritime security; consequence management; search and rescue

§ SEECP-OSCE--- SA/LW cooperation

§ EU-BSEC---Nuclear safety; combating terrorism and organized crime; science and technology; European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (economic cooperation)

§ OSCE-BSEC---terrorism, trafficking and organized crime

§ BLACKSEAFOR-NATO/PfP: Exercises, including *Cooperative Partner* 2003

There is a need to institutionalize some of these regional collaboration arrangements

What are the apparent gaps in regional collaboration?
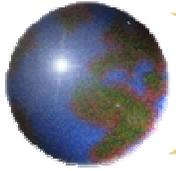
Lack of significant:

§ Land/air/maritime security emphasis

§ Consequence management and response exercises

§ Civil-military cooperation in a multilateral fora

§ Integration of national response systems at the regional level

§ Others???

What can spur cooperation in the Black Sea?

§ Common threat perceptions

– Combating terrorism, WMD, human and narco-trafficking

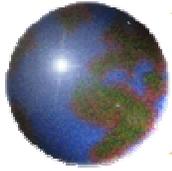§ Common economic interests

– BTC collaboration; free trade area

§ Environmental threats

§ Joint projects and training opportunities
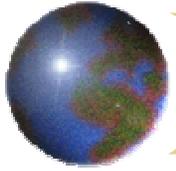
– Involve civilian, paramilitary and military agencies

§ Development of niche capabilities of the region

§ Other areas?

Select Niche Capabilities

	PK/ Infantry	EOD/ demining	Chem-bio	SOF	Constabulary /MP	Other (civil affairs, medical, etc…
Albania	X	X		X?		
Armenia		X				Medical
Azerbaijan	X					
Bulgaria			X			
Macedonia				X?		
Georgia	X			X?		
Greece						
Moldova	X					
Romania				X	X	Medical
Russia						
Slovenia					X	
Serbia and Montenegro						
Turkey	X			X		
Ukraine	X					

§ Fear of being dominated by larger neighbours

– Russian influence and interests

Ø Contentious issues: BTC opening; NATO enlargement; US military presence; US observer status in BSEC; adapted CFE Treaty

Ø Meddling in internal affairs of its neighbors

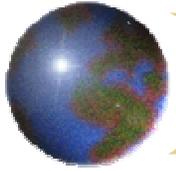– Energized Russia-Turkey strategic partnership

– China?

§ Lack of progress in resolving frozen conflicts

§ Immigration pressures from the east

§ Militarization of Iran

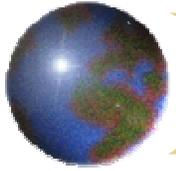§ Limited resources and third party attention encourages 'one upsmanship'

NATO and the EU do not have a strategic vision for the Black Sea region; AND effective interface between regional organizations is lacking

Are Black Sea countries interoperable in regional and out-of-area operations?

§ Yes, but there are still significant compatibility challenges…

– Understanding of NATO doctrine and rules of engagement

– Command and control

– Information and intelligence sharing

– Operational issues

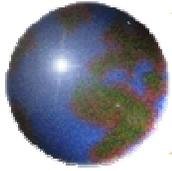– Communications (language capabilities, equipment)

– Logistics and support

Application of Lessons to Regional Cooperation

How can states in the region learn from their experience working together?

§ Learn lessons from operational experiences– collect, analyze, validate, disseminate

  – Talk openly about these issues; share ideas and perspectives

  – Work these issues into regional exercises (e.g., BLACKSEAFOR, SEEBRIG, PfP, and ISO PfP) and other training events

§ Improve interagency and intra-country cooperation between civilian, paramilitary, and military agencies

Concepts for Regional Cooperation

§ Enabling partnerships

– Encourage mentor-like relationships

– Leverage multilateral organizations' projects where interests converge

§ Collaborative research and joint projects

– Based upon shared goals and threat perceptions

– Include military, paramilitary, and civilian agencies and NGOs

§ Regional response capabilities

– Focus on consequence management capabilities

– Consider recent coalition experience to identify compatibility problems

– Cultivate niche capabilities for regional and out-of-area operations

Prioritize the development of an integrated regional crisis and response capability for the Black Sea region

QUESTIONS?