"Squaring the Circle": Cooperative Security and Military Operations

Jeffrey D. McCausland
Dickinson College

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.dickinson.edu/faculty_publications

Part of the Defense and Security Studies Commons, and the Military and Veterans Studies Commons

Recommended Citation
“Squaring the Circle”: Cooperative Security and Military Operations

Jeffrey D. McCausland

INSS Occasional Paper 45

July 2002

USAF Institute for National Security Studies
USAF Academy, Colorado
The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Air Force, the Department of Defense, or the US Government. The paper is approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

*******

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Dr. Jeffrey D. McCausland holds the Class of 1961 Chair of Leadership at the United States Naval Academy. He completed his active duty service as a Colonel in the United States Army in 2001 culminating his career as Dean of Academics, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1972 and was commissioned in field artillery. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army airborne and ranger schools as well as the Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. He holds both a Masters and Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Colonel McCausland served in a variety of command and staff positions both in the United States and Europe throughout his military career. This includes the position of Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council Staff during the Kosovo crisis. He also worked on the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) as a member of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, US Army Staff, the Pentagon. Following this assignment he assumed command of a field artillery battalion stationed in Europe and deployed his unit to Saudi Arabia for Operations Desert Shield and Storm in 1990 and 1991. He has published broadly on leadership, military affairs, European security issues, the Gulf War, and arms control. He has been a visiting fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Germany; George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, Garmisch, Germany; and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. He served as a member of the Chief of Staff of the Army’s Blue Ribbon Panel on Training and Leader Development and provided advice and assistance to the Chief of Staff of the Air Force’s Aerospace Leader Development Panel.
Comments pertaining to this paper are invited; please forward to:
Director, USAF Institute for National Security Studies
HQ USAFA/DFES
2354 Fairchild Drive, Suite 5L27
USAF Academy, CO  80840
phone:  719-333-2717
fax:    719-333-2716
email:  james.smith@usafa.af.mil

Visit the Institute for National Security Studies home page at
http://www.usafa.af.mil/inss
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Summary</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existing Agreements and Their Limitations</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna Document</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Skies</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ottawa Treaty</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control in the Balkans—the Dayton Accords</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control During War and Conflict</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution—Kosovo and Beyond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions and Recommendations</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOREWORD

We are pleased to publish this forty-fifth volume in the *Occasional Paper* series of the United States Air Force Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). We consider this to be an important paper for at least three reasons. First, it provides a pointed overview of conventional arms controls. So much of the focus in arms control literature is exclusively on strategic agreements that this important arena is overlooked. Second, this paper addresses the interaction effects of multiple arms control agreements. These second order consequences—often unforeseen and potentially negative—raise a warning flag for future multilateral and theater arms control and cooperative security efforts. Third, and closely related, the paper highlights the potential for the “offensive” use of arms control provisions by the full range of state parties to arms control agreements. Agreements are negotiated with a particular target state or group of states in mind and toward the bounding or control of specific behaviors and capabilities. Seldom do we really consider the second and subsequent order potential in compliance and verification monitoring that are highlighted here. Such indirect consequences clearly must be anticipated today and factored into a whole range of national security planning.

About the Institute

INSS is primarily sponsored by the National Security Policy Division, Nuclear and Counterproliferation Directorate, Headquarters US Air Force (HQ USAF/XONP) and the Dean of the Faculty, USAF Academy. Our other sponsors include the Secretary of Defense’s Office of Net Assessment (OSD/NA); the Defense Threat Reduction Agency; the Air Staff’s Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Directorate (XOI) and the Air Force's 39th and 23rd Information Operations Squadrons; the Army Environmental Policy Institute; and the Air Force Long-Range Plans Directorate (XPXP). The research leading to the papers in this volume was sponsored by OSD/NA, DTRA, and XONP. The mission of the Institute is “to promote national security research for the Department of Defense within the military academic community, and to support national security education.” Its research focuses on the areas of greatest interest to our organizational sponsors: arms control and strategic security; counterproliferation, force protection,
and homeland security; air and space issues and planning; information operations and information warfare; and regional and emerging national security issues.

INSS coordinates and focuses outside thinking in various disciplines and across the military services to develop new ideas for defense policy making. To that end, the Institute develops topics, selects researchers from within the military academic community, and administers sponsored research. It also hosts conferences and workshops and facilitates the dissemination of information to a wide range of private and government organizations. INSS provides valuable, cost-effective research to meet the needs of our sponsors. We appreciate your continued interest in INSS and our research products.

JAMES M. SMITH
Director
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper examines the real and potential tensions that exist between military operations and existing arms control agreements. It focuses on conventional arms control since military operations during hostilities is where limitations have potentially the greatest effect. This focus on conventional arms control further implies that the agreements examined are primarily (though not exclusively) those relating to possible operations in Europe or originating from there since the majority of the existing agreements apply to the European theater. Finally, the paper is presented from the perspective of the United States. Arms control and military operations are both addressed as “means” to accomplish American strategic objectives or “ends.”

The study consists of three areas. First, it summarizes existing agreements, the limitations they place on military operations, instances where these restrictions affect operations, and possible issues with respect to each treaty in the future. Second, it discusses in detail how arms control inspections affected military operations in Kosovo during and after the conflict. This includes a review of the inspections/observations that occurred in Italy, Macedonia, and Albania during the crisis as well as arms control efforts within Kosovo itself and subsequently in Macedonia. Finally, the study draws conclusions and makes six recommendations for the future.

- Arms control expertise must be more widely available, both in NATO and nationally, to ensure that such expertise can be deployed at all levels of military command.
- Advance generic planning should be undertaken by the US and all NATO allies to shorten the political decision-making process and ensure appropriate and timely execution of Vienna Document activities relating to any unusual build-up of NATO forces during periods of increased tension or crisis.
- The application of arms control responsibilities should be included in the scenarios of command post and field training exercises.
- Compliance with arms control responsibilities needs higher visibility within the NATO and American military command.
• The Kosovo experience underscored the critical importance of JCS and OSD experts’ participation in the interagency process.
• There is a greater need for immediate military advice and expertise at State, CIA, and the National Security Council in order to assess quickly the impact of arms control inspections on current and planned military operations. Furthermore, careful examination should be made of potential changes to existing agreements as well as the full impact of the implementation of new treaties that may enter into force.