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INTERNATIONAL MILITARY COOPERATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
SINCE INDEPENDENCE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF	Armenian Armed Forces
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CST	Collective Security Treaty
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
EU	European Union
GS	General Staff
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
KFOR	Kosovo Forces
MoD	Ministry of Defense
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	Non Commissioned Officers
NK	Nagorno Karabakh
OSCE	Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe
PAP-DIB	Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building
PARP	Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process
PfP	Partnership for Peace
RA	Republic of Armenia
RF	Russian Federation
SDR	Strategic Defense Review
UN	United Nations
US	United States

ABSTRACT

Within the frames of this master's essay the compliance of international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia with its national security protection policy is examined. The international military cooperation is scrutinized according to the main dimensions that have their place in the foreign policy of the country. The interests, expectations and the opportunities that the Republic of Armenia receives for its national security protection have been analyzed taking into account the strategic documents, such as National Security Strategy, Military Doctrine and Strategic Defense Review, as well as cooperation programs, charters of international security organizations, provisions from bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Introduction

The military history of the Republic of Armenia is closely connected to the history of its statehood building. Both were triggered by the conflict for Nagorno Karabagh, which led at the end to both the creation of the independent state and the national army. The Armenian military were formed in the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1991-1994. The sustainable development of the then fighting units, the enhancement of their qualifications transformed them into a regular army. The military is seen as the guarantor of the Armenian national security in a dangerous geo-political environment.

The Armenian Armed Forces (AAF) went through a long process of constant development and improvement establishing solid military cooperation with several countries and international organizations to strengthen its efficiency. The international cooperation of the Armenian Armed Forces allowed to implement important reforms in the military, which, in turn, strengthened its defensive capabilities. A lot has changed throughout the life of the independent state. Nevertheless there are core issues regarding national security and strong, wise military cooperation can bring desired products and have its contribution in proposing solutions.

For Armenia, national security has historically been synonymous with survival. Armenia had to face threats coming from neighboring countries and world powers. The regional environment since 1991 imposes to the Armenian authorities resilience and responsiveness to constant changes and new trends in defense and security matters. Overall, the State should be able to respond to internal and external threats, to protect the territorial integrity of the country and ensure the security of the people. For Armenia in particular, national security is highly present in the formation of domestic and foreign policies. But this is not a one-sided procedure;

Armenia's international relations have also their grade of influence on matters of national security, hence the formation of the country's political agenda.

Armenia is one of the founders of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and its membership to this organization is both one of the pillars of the country's defense and a source of multiple forms of military cooperation. The Republic of Armenia is actively engaged in all the activities of the CSTO and seeks to enhance relations thorough military cooperation with the other members of the organization.

As a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Armenia has the opportunity to maintain political, economic, and military partnership with former Soviet Union countries. In fact, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia takes active participation in council of defense ministers of the CIS member states. Armenia actively contributes to the internal reforms of this institution through cooperative instances.

Cooperation with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has a very important role for Armenia's defense system since the country decided to follow the European way of development. Armenia's relation with NATO looks overall for gains from the European experience of the development of the Armed Forces. In addition, Armenia's cooperation with NATO seeks to establish collaboration with different member states of this organization. According to the assessment documents based on the Armenia – NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan, the country is in an ongoing process of progress in the areas of defense and military reform. Armenia's cooperation with NATO played also a role in the conceptual development of the documents of National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine, which provide a guideline for the defense and security policies of the country.

Armenia's cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is framed around a key issue for its national security, which is the conflict over Nagorno Karabakh with Azerbaijan. The OSCE Minsk Group is directly involved in the negotiation processes over this issue.

Besides the military cooperation with international organizations for strategic issues concerning Armenia's national security, the country is engaged in bilateral relations with several other countries in particular with Russia. The Armenian-Russian cooperation is stronger than Armenia's cooperation with Euro-Atlantic structures, or any other country. Facing a constant threat from Azerbaijan and Turkey, Armenia's strategic alliance with Russia seems the main guarantor of Armenia's national security. Within Armenia's bilateral military cooperations it is also important to mention Greece where dozens of Armenian military officers are trained and receive military formation.

We will start the study firstly describing the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia since the collapse of Soviet Union. In this part of the essay we will get acquainted with the dimensions of Armenia's international military cooperation to understand the interests and expectations the country has from it in terms of enhancing its national security.

The study of Armenia's international military cooperation also delineates the reforms that the country has carried as well as the activities and actions that are planned to be undertaken as a result of the commitments it assumed with the partners. As the implementation of reforms and improvements in the Armenian Armed Forces is directly linked to building Armenia's capacity for ensuring national security we will look into how international military cooperation is reflected in the Strategic Defense Review, as the implementation of the provisions of this

document has a direct impact on the effectiveness and strength of the country's defense and security policies.

The essay, then, will proceed with the examination of the links between international military cooperation and national security. This part primarily focuses on the issue of how international military cooperation is reflected in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia as a guiding document for security issues. It intends to provide a precise understanding on the implementation of National Security Strategy through the analysis of Armenia's defense and security policies within the frames of its international military cooperation. Moreover, this chapter seeks to support the hypothesis that Armenia considers the multidirectional international military cooperation a factor that enforces its national security.

Research questions

How the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia is reflected in its National Security Strategy?

How the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia has contributed to defense reforms?

How the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia is reflected in the Strategic Defense Review?

What are the interests and expectations of the Republic of Armenia from the international military cooperation?

What opportunities does the international military cooperation provide to the Republic of Armenia in terms of ensuring its national security?

Hypothesis

Armenia considers the multidirectional international military cooperation a factor that enforces its national security.

Methodology

In order to conduct this study about the military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia since its independence, and to answer the research questions, a series of documents are examined. In particular the National Security Strategy in order to reveal to what extent the provisions of the international military cooperation are reflected in the document. Considering that Armenia enhanced defense reforms, the study also looks to find out how the provisions of the international military agreements are expressed in these reforms. In turn, the Strategic Defense Review of the RA is analyzed in order to find out if the provisions of international military cooperation are included in it and had been considered during the review process. The expectations of the RA from military cooperation, the opportunities that it provide and the State policy for ensuring national security are also considered in this analysis.

Interviews had been conducted with representatives of governmental bodies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Security Council, as well as the Drastamat Kanayan Institute for National Strategic Studies and former political leaders, analysts and experts in the field¹.

¹ The names of the six people that were interviewed for the purpose of this research will be kept confidential along the essay as requested on their behalf before granting the interview.

Literature Review

States base their foreign policy on national interests, of which those related to security issues are the first to be considered. The concept of national interest is not supposed to stand for arbitrary ideas, it implies a policy direction concerning the interests of the nation rather than those of individuals, sub-national groups or mankind as a whole. It clearly portrays the subordination of other interests to those of the nation (Wolfers 1952).

National security is a concept that refers to the State's territorial integrity and the safety of its population. It involves the policies that the State adopts to reach these goals. The national security of a State has its impact on the welfare of its population, as it ensures its safety against aggressions from abroad. The concept of security of an individual within a formal group has been transformed to the formation of a nation-state and human identity is now associated with their countries. Hence, the state and the government are required to ensure minimum security – apparent security (Paleri 2008). Human security can be understood as a particular relationship between individual and the state, between threats, dangers and concerns on the individual level and on the collective level. Hobbes considers that the preservation of the self lies at the very bottom of individuality and the main goal of individuals. To the degree that state seeks to preserve itself, it conceptualizes the units that then make up the basis of that self-preservation. The founding act of individuality in the philosophy of Hobbes is when individuals transfer the personal control of their life to the sovereign, the Leviathan. Hobbes considers that individuality is a modality of choice. It is the moral ability of individuals to transfer their personal sovereignty to a sovereign authority. Individuality is defined by the freedom to renounce individuality. The motivation for such a renouncement is the security from Hobbes' perspective, to enjoy the

advantage of collective protection from the dangers posted to all members of society. Hobbes considers that specific security concerns of the individuals in their diversities are condensed into a collective concern for general security. All varieties of individual threat are transformed into a collective guarantee of security (Goucha 2009, p. 55). Hobbes' stance is that state must be able to provide a sufficient level of protection of the population from external and internal threats (Aydinli 2006, p. 81).

Security in the sense of protection and safety implies that it is conscious about the vulnerabilities that it has, as well as realizes the threats that exist in the spheres of internal and external security of the state, and it is capable to overcome any negative influence against them through its own resources. The state ensures both its own security and the security of its people. In the first case as a source of a threat are other states or their alliances (external symmetric threat), international terroristic organizations² and separate structures of other states (external asymmetric threats), as well as internal forces against the sovereignty of the state and state rule (internal asymmetric threats). In this case the threat is against the life of the citizens, social status, welfare, religious-cultural and other values. The physical ability of a state to protect itself from the external threats and ensure its existence along with other states is pivotal (Hambaryan 2007). Otherwise, the threat to national security can be defined as an action or a sequence of events that threaten drastically and over a relatively brief span of time tend to degrade the quality of life of the inhabitants of a country, or threatens to tangibly limit the range of the policy choices that government, private or non-governmental structures decide, is defined as a threat to the national security. The spectrum of conflicts and disorders ranging from wars to internal rebellions, from blockades and boycotts to raw material shortages and devastating "natural

² The term used in National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia

disasters” such as decimating epidemics, catastrophic floods or massive and pervasive droughts (Ulman 1983).

Judging from the possible threats to the national security we can segregate the following components of national security: democratic governance, quality of life and morale, economic security, political, informational, environmental, military. The system of national security is a set of institutions which are interconnected, interrelated and represent the organic continuation of each other. Only the effective cooperation of those institutions makes possible the creation of guarantees for the security of the vital interests of individuals, society, and state (Derdzian 2003).

The notion of the national security was first used in 1904 in America by the president T. Roosevelt and till the adoption of the law on national security in 1947 primarily referred to self-defense issues. Later on, in the National Security Doctrine of the USA it was formulated as a national goal to protect the nation, its structures and its power from the internal and external enemies. Thus, in the foreign policy domain security was associated with self-defense. In the Soviet Union it was emphasized that the insurance of the interests of the national security of the state first and foremost represented guarantees of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, immunity of the borders, and prevention of interference in the internal affairs of the state. Hence, the security of the state is traditionally linked to the military security. Within the frames of defense activities, the security of the state includes both the external military activities of the state to prevent and impede armed aggression against it, and the implementation of activities in economic, social-political, defense, technical-scientific and other spheres, which will ensure the ability and capacity of the state to prevent and confront armed attacks. In this sense the safety and existence of the state depends on the efficiency of the state functioning mechanisms and the

policy run by the government which must be agreed upon with the stakeholders. These circumstances explain why security concept targeted to ensuring and safeguarding the vital interests of the state in individual states receives the form of a doctrine or strategy (Hambaryan 2007).

Several scholars and political scientist provided definition for the concept of national security. “Walter Lippmann (1943): “A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.” International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968): “The ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.” Armos Jordan and William Taylor (1981): “National security, however, has a more extensive meaning than protection from physical harm; it also implies protection, through a variety of means, of vital economic and political interests, the loss of which could threaten fundamental values and the vitality of the state.”” (Romm 1993).

The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia is a guideline for the state to represent the core of internal and external security directions, threats and priorities of the state. It’s a document that states the main fields of the Armenia’s national security and its assurances, defines the main values of Armenia’s security, which are independence, security of the nation and the country, peace and international cooperation, security of the Armenian identity and welfare. Moreover, it provides main guarantees for the realization of the National Security Strategy, which are the effectiveness of the state governing system, the insurance of the superiority of law, the strengthening of the democratic values, a just and independent judicial authority, preparedness of the Armed Forces, effective work of the security and law institutions, international cooperation assuring foreign policy, insurance of social justice, as well as other statewide issues. The current inner and outer threats of the national security are stated in the

National Security Strategy. These are the actions and phenomena which threaten the basis of the individual, the family, society and the State³.

Besides the development of such an important document as National Security Strategy, Armenia has adopted the Military Doctrine which comprises a consolidation of official perspectives for ensuring military-political, military-strategic, military-economic and military-technical principles of the military security of the Republic of Armenia. For guaranteeing military security the Doctrine defines the military-political principles of the military security, defense strategy of Armenia and unifies the activities of the state bodies for ensuring the military security of the state. Through the Doctrine it becomes clear the reform and innovative spheres of Armenia's Armed Forces along with the concrete spheres of the social life, by shaping the defense strategy and Armenian military construction in short-term and mid-term perspectives.⁴

As the development of those two core documents is the product of Armenia-NATO cooperation it can be surely stated that the international military cooperation has the aim of strengthening the efficiency and authority of the Ministry of Defense, is a key factor in the implementation of productive defense reforms, as well as serves the aims of national and international security by enlarging the cooperation with ally and partner countries⁵.

Under the light of the interaction of the state with other states the concept of security enlarges its meaning. In the contemporary world the preservation of national security in terms of military security can be implemented not only through military capacity but also via strong stance in the international security system, through active interaction with other security

³ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia 2007

⁴ Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia 2007

⁵Ministry of Defense. Defense Policy – International Military Cooperation. Retrieved November 21 2011, from <http://www.mil.am/1298098598>

structures. The interaction can be implemented through bilateral, as well as multilateral formats (participation at various international security organizations and systems, for instance UN, CSTO, NATO, etc.). The dynamics of international relations condition the interconnectedness of state interests which implies international cooperation for safeguarding country's priorities. This kind of approach toward international relations allows countries to resolve their security issues within the frames of international security models, particularly through relationships which safeguard states against aggressions from other states, ensuring independent and safe existence without external pressure. This comprises the model of international security according to which the breach of the security of one state represents a disruption of international security system. Consequently, the idea of security is enlarging and exceeds the limits of the military defense only, although the military component will always be the cornerstone (Hambaryan 2007).

In the sphere of protection of international security international organizations and structures, such as UN, CIS, EU, CSTO, NATO, Council of Europe, OSCE, IAEA gain more and more importance. UN has enlarged its involvement in peace building and peacekeeping operations. NATO and CSTO have big role in diminishing collisions, OSCE through Minsk Group is significantly involved in the resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and Vienna Document have important mission for disarmament and prevention of arm race. The actions undertaken by these structures are aimed to reinforce international security, create stable guarantees for ensuring it (Hambaryan 2007). The active engagement of the Republic of Armenia with the above mentioned international organizations in relevant spheres has its direct impact on the preservation of the national security of RA. Armenia's bilateral military cooperation with regional powers and membership to international organizations comprise main components of the country's security structure. It must

be emphasized that international military cooperation has its impact not only on the capacity building of the AAF but also on the strengthening the role of the Republic of Armenia in the sphere of international security and creating opportunities for pushing forward the state interests. Due to the wide-ranging international military cooperation the RA has undertaken defense and security sector reforms. The essential idea of conducting defense reforms is for ensuring the superiority of the Armenian Armed Forces over the Armed Forces of the enemy. Despite this fact, it aims to insert and install such standards which are capable to completely solve military security issues and correspond to the features of the Armenian National Security. Through the implementation of the defense reforms the military servicemen will have enough possibilities to cooperate, gain the assurance of international security along with that increasing international prestige and authority of the Republic of Armenia⁶.

⁶ Ministry of Defense. Defense Policy - Defense reforms. Retrieved November 21 2011, from <http://www.mil.am/1298096650>

Chapter 1

International military cooperation in the foreign policy domain of the Republic of Armenia

In order to understand the interests and expectations of the Republic of Armenia as well as the opportunities that it is able to provide for ensuring the national security of the country it is important to look into all the major international military cooperation directions and analyze the relations with different allies.

After the abrasion of the bipolar world the international political situation has changed. The threat of widespread military actions, especially nuclear war has decreased. Nevertheless, the new state of affairs in the world has brought new problems for ensuring security, such as international terrorism and several regional conflicts. For the sake of the security of post-Soviet countries and for overcoming new challenges, former Soviet Union member states undertook the establishment of a collective security system.

The ground for the establishment of a collective security body served the Commonwealth of Independent States which was formed on 21 December 1991. The Republic of Armenia became one of the founders of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and active participant in the development and implementation of various cooperation programs within the Commonwealth. This is due to the interests of the country in the economic, humanitarian, political, military and other spheres. The cooperation between member states is developed to ensure international peace and security, the realization of effective measures for the reduction of

arms and military expenditures, the elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, and the achievement of universal and full disarmament⁷.

In 1993 the governments of CIS countries signed a memorandum according to which the states have to cooperate with regards to border security issues. During the Council of the leaders of CIS member states Armenia signed a “Resolution on the cooperation of CIS frontier troops in case of a critical situation on the external borders” in 1996 in Moscow (Manukyan 2006).

CIS leaders adopted a 2010-2015 military cooperation concept. This document defines a common vision for the CIS on armed forces and cooperation development. The importance of this document is determined by the fact that it should take into account the interests of each state individually in the interests of the community. The document, created with a view of considering the individual interests of every CIS state, aims to strengthen military cooperation between the CIS countries⁸.

In this state of affairs Armenia possesses opportunity to have its say in regional security. From the perspective of RA’s security a significant role is attached to the reliable air defense system. The Air Defense Forces of Armenia and Russia along with ensuring air defense of CIS have the responsibility to protect Russian bases and Armenian objects. The united system of Air Defense of CIS represents a strategic and regional component, as well as material basis for repressing acts of aggression (Global Security 2011).

⁷ Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia. Retrieved June 4 2011, from <http://mfa.am/en/international-organisations/CIS/>

⁸“CIS Leaders to Adopt 2010-2015 Military Cooperation Concept” (2010). Retrieved June 3 2011, from <http://www.panarmenian.net/eng/news/57841/>

After the formation of CIS the Collective Security Treaty played a central role in the sphere of military cooperation signed on May 15 in 1992 in Tashkent. In the beginning there were 6 CIS member states that signed the treaty, those were Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, in 1993 Azerbaijan, Georgia and Belarus joined the treaty as well. It came into force in 1994 on April 20 by 5 year period⁹. The parties to the treaty agreed that they will not take part in the military pacts against the member states¹⁰ and if one of the member states is attacked it will be considered as an act of aggression against all the member states. All the member states are obliged to provide assistance including military one by all the means that they have under their disposal according to the article 51 of UN Charter about the right of implementation of collective security¹¹.

According to the Collective Security Treaty the party states to it have to agree upon the main provisions of the legal acts in the defense and security sector, conduct constant consultations with the member states on military construction, capacity building of Armed Forces, develop common approaches for increasing the combat-readiness of the Armed Forces.

During the first 6-7 years of its existence Collective Security Treaty was not able to become an effective factor for military-political consolidation. In 1999 on April 2 when the first 5 year of CST functioning ended 6 of the member states extended their participation to it. Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan did not prolong the treaty, thus they left this body (Shahnazaryan 2006).

⁹ Collective Security Treaty Organization. Basic Facts about Collective Security Treaty Organization. Retrieved June 3 2011, from http://www.odkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm

¹⁰ Article 1 of the Charter of Collective Security Treaty Organization, 2002

¹¹ Article 4 of the Charter of Collective Security Treaty Organization, 2002

The reason that Azerbaijan left this treaty was because it was not pleased with Armenia – Russia close military cooperation, particularly with the existence of Russian military bases in RA. There was another reason why Azerbaijan left the CST. Azerbaijan wanted to use CST for its own success in the solution of Nagorno Karabakh problem, but having no achievements in this regard the government of Azerbaijan ceased its membership (Manukyan 2006).

After prolonging the treaty the member states started to implement practical actions for making the treaty more effective. Moreover, they aimed to raise the role and authority of CST in the international relations. In 2000 on May 24 in Minsk the six member states including Armenia announced that they were going to adapt Collective Security Treaty to the contemporary geopolitical situation and this comprised a serious step for the formation of an effective system for international security in Europe and Asia. Collective Security Treaty has become a kernel and fundamental body for the consolidation of the member states in military-political aspect. The military-political relations among member states are prioritized to the military relations with third states. The Collective Security Treaty creates a firm ground for resisting new and non-traditional threats with collective actions (Manukyan 2006).

In 2002 on October 7 Heads of the Member States signed the Agreement on the legal status of the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Charter of the CSTO in Kishinev. These documents came into force on September 18, 2003¹².

Within the frames of this cooperation and under the chairmanship of Armenia the member states created Rapid Reaction Collective Forces in 2009. This force is mainly established for the use in case of military aggression, conduct anti-terrorist operations, fight

¹² Collective Security Treaty Organization. Basic Facts about Collective Security Treaty Organization. Retrieved June 3 2011, from http://www.odkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm

transnational crime and drug trafficking, and neutralize the effects of natural disasters. It is permanently based in Russia and placed under a single command with CSTO member countries contributing to the force with special military units (RIA Novosti 2009).

Analyzing the membership of the Republic of Armenia to the Collective Security Treaty Organization it can be stated that Armenia being a party to this treaty is provided with more opportunities for procurement of armaments and has received legal guarantees from this international organization that in case there is a threat toward national security of Armenia all other member states are obliged to take appropriate measures for the protection of their ally.

Another important aspect of Armenian military cooperation represents its collaboration with Euro-Atlantic security structure North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Armenia – NATO cooperation started when Armenia joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Later in 1994 Armenia became part of Partnership for Peace program. Since 2002 the Republic of Armenia participates at the Planning and Review Process of the PfP and in 2004 first time Armenian Armed Forces participated in peacekeeping operations in Kosovo which had its significant impact on further strengthening of Armenia-NATO relations. The main areas of the cooperation are democratic, institutional and defense reforms, as well as peace support activities. Armenia's collaboration with this Euro-Atlantic structure is laid out in the Individual Partnership Action Plan, which sets a vast range of reforms planned for the implementation in Armenian Armed Forces. Key point in Armenia – NATO relations which is always underlined in the foreign policy of this country is that Armenia does not seek membership to this structure, but at the same time intends to deepen practical and political relations with the Alliance. At the current stage Armenian troops comprise part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in

Afghanistan, as well as in NATO-led international peacekeeping force in Kosovo (U.S. Department of State 2011).

The importance of Individual Partnership Action Plan for the Republic of Armenia comprises not only the fact that it's a good tool for the implementation of the reforms but also for enhancing the political dialogue and cooperation with NATO, and with the individual member states of this Alliance as well. Within the frames of this cooperation Armenia and NATO consider European Neighborhood Policy and IPAP to be mutually complementing projects. Taking into account wide-ranging activities implemented within the frames of IPAP it can be stated that Armenia does not only cooperate with NATO, but is engaged in consultations with NATO member individual states on the issues of rule of law, the transparency of the reform implementation, countering terrorism and organized crime, and the fight against corruption. Due to the IPAP, NATO agrees to provide consultation and advice to Armenia in the process of the implementation of these reforms.

By joining the Partnership for Peace program in 1994 Armenia is directly involved in ensuring Euro-Atlantic security along with NATO member states. The contribution that Armenia is able to have in the operations led by NATO is the participation in peacekeeping operations. In 2008 Armenian contingent in KFOR was doubled. This type of involvement in NATO-led operations facilitates the interoperability of Armenian Armed Forces with the relevant forces of NATO countries. Armenia has established a peacekeeping brigade with combat support and combat service support following the NATO standards for this purpose. NATO is also involved in the consultations over the reform of the military education. Due to Armenia's involvement in Partnership Action Plan on Terrorism (PAP-T) it is able to fight against terrorism, particularly

sharing intelligence and analysis with NATO, improving national capability and border security (North Atlantic Treaty Organization 2010).

It's not only Armenia that attaches great importance to more engagement in the relations with NATO. This process is reciprocal as it emanates from NATO's strategic policy targeted to more engagement in South Caucasus and for this purposes it uses the method of individual partnership with the states of this region. Nowadays Armenia is involved in all the possible areas of cooperation with NATO. Speaking more detailed about the Armenia – NATO cooperation we can state that the interests and expectation of the RA are directed to the establishment of a political dialogue, reforms in the defense system and military interoperability, involvement in the implementation of the operations headed by NATO, cooperation in the field of crisis management system reform, as well as regional confidence building via the participation at regional projects, partnership in the sphere of the fight against terrorism, implementation of joint scientific projects in order to combat new threats and challenges to the security, and finally public awareness raising on security and defense issues (Mission of Armenia to NATO 2007).

Armenia's cooperation with Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is developed around key national security issue Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Since 1992 the OSCE has been one of the first bodies who has come up with mediation efforts with the establishment of the Minsk Group. In 1997 Russia, USA and France were appointed as co-presidents for the Minsk Group (Arisoy 2010). There has been a little progress made by this Group on the resolution of the conflict due to the fact that each of the sides to the conflict are persistent on the conditions that the other side will not agree upon (Carley 1998). In this complicated state of affairs the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairmen have done a substantial work in terms of facilitating the relations between the parties. Nevertheless, the efforts of this Group have been

able to ensure that there is a degree of interest in the negotiation process. In order to be able to talk about a degree of success in this cooperation there must be a willingness for making some compromises and achieving a resolution in a peaceful way (Grimley 2008).

Besides the cooperation that RA has within the frames of various international organizations and military structures, it is notable to speak about Armenia – Russia bilateral cooperation. The diplomatic relations between these two countries were established in 1992 and since that time wide-range and multidimensional cooperation is developed. There can be counted more than 170 intergovernmental and interdepartmental treaties and agreements regulating relations in political, military-political, economic and humanitarian spheres¹³. The Armenia – Russia relations bear a great significance for the country's national security. In 1995 Armenia and Russia signed a treaty which regulates the presence of Russian military base in Armenia. In 2010 the treaty was amended by the leaders of both countries, which made clear that the Russian base will not only protect Russia's interests in Armenia, but also has to guarantee Armenia's national security. Another important aspect of the prolongation of this cooperation till 2044 represents the fact that Armenia will be provided with modern and compatible weaponry and military hardware, the existing base houses MiG-29 fighter jets and S-300 missile-defense systems, as well as troops (Ekmanian 2010). This step by Armenian and Russian governments is considered to be an act to keep balance of forces in the region and will contribute to the peaceful settlement of Karabakh conflict. Besides protecting RA's borders it will solve security issues as well.

¹³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia. Bilateral Relations between the Republic of Armenia and Russian Federation. Retrieved June 4 2011, from <http://mfa.am/en/country-by-country/ru/>

It is very important to emphasize that the existence of Russian military base in Armenia is secured by precise legal regulations and is not targeted against any third country. Military actions, its staff and criteria for armament are in accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, as well as with the principles issuing from this treaty and with the procedure of its implementation within the frames of Tashkent agreement. The agreement provides that the parties to it have to take appropriate measures when there is a threat against the peace, breach of the peace or there is a necessity to counterattack the aggressive actions undertaken by a state or a group of states according to the article 51 of the Charter of UN (Manukyan 2006).

Basically Greece was the only country that after the collapse of the Soviet Union opened the doors of military education institutions for the military officers of Armenian Armed Forces which newly got its independence and was in a war. During these 12 years Armenian Armed Forces were supplemented by 130 officers who got their education in Greek military education institutions. Within the frames of military cooperation Armenia has signed dozens of military cooperation agreements and documents. Greece as a NATO and EU member state passes its all experience to RA now. It has been 6 years since Armenian peacekeeping subdivision is involved in Greek peacekeeping brigade in Kosovo. The servicemen in Armenian peacekeeping brigade are the graduates of the Greece Military academy of Land Forces. Military cooperation with Greece is on the top and we are sure that its going to develop as it is historically rooted in our blood and hearts (Ramazyan 2010).

After the examination of the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia we can conclude that the interests and expectations of this country are built around several important aspects, one of which is the reform of Armenian Armed Forces, which will

increase civilian oversight, development of peacekeeping brigades for ensuring Armenia's readiness and capacity to support international peace, through this cooperation Armenian servicemen have the opportunity to participate in different trainings and educational programs, do war gaming, purchase armaments etc. This country is one of the few countries that participates in peacekeeping operations and here in comparison to Azerbaijan and Turkey Armenian Armed Forces are considered to be more stable and reliable one in the region, as they have never been engaged in politics unlike the ones in the neighboring country. Through international participation in the form of education and joint activities Armenia is preparing for the possible attack in order to be able to ensure the security of the country. In this regard it can be stated that the activities of Azerbaijan as a possible perpetrator are behind, thus at the current stage their capacity can be considered as less developed.

Hereby, we can state that the international military cooperation provides hard and soft power to Armenian Armed Forces. The interests of Armenia in terms of hard power relate to the improvement of defensive capabilities of AAF that can repel certain aggression which can happen toward Armenia and the soft power brings experience and advice, opportunity of conducting consultations on the issues of security.

The established bilateral and multilateral strong partnership sends messages to the independent of Armenia's national security that in case of an act of aggression it has to deal with not only Armenian Armed Forces but also with the international stakeholders which are involved in ensuring Armenia's national security. The unique cooperation that the Republic of Armenia has with Western military structures and post Soviet military bodies puts Armenia in a role of an unifier. In this state of affairs Armenia tries to create a common approach to the regional security issues among the world powers who have different stakes here. Of course it does not matter how

hard Armenia tries for regional peace and security through its cooperation, there are factors coming from RA's security environment that hinder those actions. Here Armenia attaches great importance to the involvement in international community. Through the use of their capabilities and potential it seeks to create the environment of commonness in the region and clear understanding of the benefits from cooperation instead of confrontation.

Chapter 2

International military cooperation and defense and security reforms

In 2005, the Ministry of Defense started the reform of the Defense sector based on the analysis of the national experience and due to cooperation with other countries. The defense reforms have emanated from Armenia-NATO cooperation having the provisions of the defense reforms depicted in IPAP. These activities have been carried out since 2005 and have already produced their results. Due to the modifications the government has adopted the new law “On Defense” of the Republic of Armenia, as well as has introduced the civil service system in the Ministry of Defense¹⁴.

The Minister of Defense has differentiated 3 phases of the implementation of defense reforms:

1. Development of conceptual approaches and development of relevant documents for the specification of the provisions for the military security of the RA (2007 - 2008). This is the period when the National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia were approved,

2. Strategic Defense Review for defining the capabilities of the Armed Forces, spheres requiring modifications, scope of the changes and plan them (2008 - 2010). This phase of the defense reforms has been accomplished with the public release of Strategic Defense Review.

¹⁴ Foreword by the Minister of Defense of Armenia Seyran Ohanyan, 2011. Retrieved September 24 2011, from <http://www.mil.am/files/S.Ohanyan-eng.pdf>

3. The third phase of the reforms represents the implementation of practical steps for the improvement of Armed Forces with utilization of national and international opportunities (2010 - 2015)¹⁵.

The type and the content, principles, values, goals and objectives of the reforms, and overall the reforms perspectives are defined by the threats deriving from security environment, challenges effusing from regional and non-regional issues. The reorganization and modernization of the defense sector derives from the necessity to correspond to the requirements important for the achievement of the objectives of the Armenian Armed Forces.

The objective of the reforms is the establishment of a more flexible and up-to-date Military Security System which will comprise democratic fundamental principles, will protect the basic values of the national security and will ensure the accomplishment of Armenia's commitments to the international community. The planned reforms are for the improvement of the military standards of the AAF, ensuring compatibility and interoperability of the security and defense system with the ones of allied countries, moreover, within the frames of this defense and security sector reforms it is important to achieve the development of rapid reaction capabilities in crises situations for dealing with national problems and for participating in international missions¹⁶.

¹⁵ Speech by the Honorable Mr. Seyran M. Ohanyan, the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Armenia at Harvard Black Sea Security Program Workshop, 2008. Retrieved November 19 2011, from <http://www.harvard-bssp.org/static/files/372/Harvard%20BSSP%20Workshop%20Ohanyan%20Minister%20of%20Defense%20Armenia.doc>

¹⁶ Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia, 2007

In the current state of affairs there is a necessity to reinterpret the traditional understanding of security and to enlarge the scope of issues that relate to security and defense sectors. The peculiarity of Armenian Military security represents the fact that through using the principles of international integration and complementarity in military cooperation, this country aims to ensure its military security due to diversity in military cooperation and improvements in Military Security sector. For the implementation of the changes the Ministry of Defense uses local capability as well as the opportunities that international community provides.

The defense and security sphere represents one of the most important and costly spheres, which cannot be static and need to be in compliance with the security environment of the country. Hence, the defense and security sphere needs to accommodate to the developments, updates and constant changes. In this regard we can state that the changes undertaken by the government are the response to the developments in the region. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the defense reforms demand deep, comprehensive and perspective approach, it's not about instant changes, it demands radical changes. Thus, in the process of defense reforms the Ministry of Defense plans not the near future, but the strategic long-run (Ayvazyan 2008).

One of the main aspects of the reform is in the Armed Forces for having combatable and well-prepared army, able to protect territorial integrity and sovereignty of Armenia, competent for reacting to the threats against military security. For this reason the RA is using the opportunities provided by international military cooperation, deepens the cooperation with allies and partners and continuously develops them. The essential part of this relates to the development of cooperation with Russian Federation and membership to the Collective Security Treaty Organization on one hand and on the other hand establishment of high level of relations with North Atlantic Treaty Organization and member states to it, as well as with China, as a

separate world power where Armenian military servicemen are getting their military education. Taking into account the congeniality of military-political interests and necessity to unite efforts in this regard, the Republic of Armenia takes its activities within the frames of different international military cooperation actors in compliance with each other.

The tangible part of the defense reforms are directed to the establishment of democratic values in the Armed Forces, which is reflected in the promotion and enlargement of civilian control. The initiation of these reforms brings challenges to the Ministry of Defense. The democratic values and principles in Armed Forces have the possibility to affect the fighting capacity of the Armed Forces, as by its nature this body limits some constitutional rights. Thus, the reforms in the Armed Forces bear contradictions in them and here Ministry of Defense considers the experience of its European allies practical and helpful (Tonoyan 2008).

Within the frames of defense and security sector modifications the Ministry of Defense considers international integration as a primary goal. Predominantly, the cooperation between the Armed Forces of RA and RF unites Armenia not only with Russian Federation, but also ensures full interoperability within the frames of CSTO. On the other hand the formation of a peacekeeping brigade creates opportunities for the implementation of joint tasks with NATO and ally states. The prolongation of Armenian-Russian pact was accompanied by the Armed Forces modernization plan endorsed by the President. This plan implies buying new weapons for the Armed Forces. Due to Armenia-Russia cooperation and Armenia's membership to CSTO this country is able to get the weapons with a very cheap price (Danielyan 2010).

It was clear from Robert Kocharyan's presidency that Armenia does not have any aspirations for the membership to NATO. The same continues with Serzh Sargsyan and the membership issue is not on the foreign policy agenda. This country has already chosen the

membership to another security organization which derives from its national interests. In its relations with NATO Armenia has more practical approach, and has close cooperation especially in the spheres which contribute to the security of the country, improvement of defense sphere and normal development. Armenia-NATO cooperation is based on the Individual Partnership Action Plan. The implementation of that Plan is directed to the defense reforms and in the wider sense to the improvement of political institutions, security, defense and crisis management structures, ensuring the operation of Armenian peacekeeping subdivisions along with the forces of NATO member states. In the broader sense it can be stated that the cooperation with NATO is also directed to the establishment of close bilateral ties with its member states. With the consistent implementation of the defense reforms in the sphere of military education, defense planning and budgeting Armenia seeks to reach best standards recognized worldwide (Yedigaryan 2008).

In the recent years the cooperation with NATO has transformed into a new level. Particularly, the Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB), “Democratic Governance” initiative, cooperation with scientific centers and many other programs create constructive atmosphere for the development of defense policy, strategic documents, ensuring relevant legislation, establishment of cooperation for the improvement of the defense structures, and all these represent key aspects of defense reforms (Tadevosyan 2008). Armenia faces numerous military threats and in most of the cases the neutralization of them requires competent, powerful armed forces. For the Armenia’s defense system combat-ready armed forces are essential for ensuring national security. In order armed forces are capable to face new challenges; there is a need of constant and dynamic process. In this regard cooperation in Euro-Atlantic direction particularly within the framework of Planning and Review Process and

the Individual Partnership Action Plan contributed to substantial reforms. These reforms are of a systematic nature. Besides, Armenia aims to create peacekeeping forces (Kotanjian 2008).

The collaboration with other European structures does not provide a platform for the accomplishment of defense reforms. Predominantly, despite mutual interest and big prospects, cooperation with European Union is not fully developed yet. Relations with OSCE are limited to the sphere of military-political issues and arms control.

Generally speaking the reforms in the sphere of defense and security have several vivid tendencies. Both international and national defense systems have integrated nature. The integrated nature of international defense system comes as a result of a necessity to counteract to the new threats to the security jointly. National integration is conditioned by the need to have efficiently functioning defense system, particularly decision making, task setting and decrease of the period of the implementation of those tasks, highly performed logistics in the Armed Forces and implementation of the savings due to that. Moreover, the reforms are targeted to the purposeful policy formation and planning of the forces and capacity for reacting to the existing threats by the General Staff. This is the strategy of the functioning that is adopted by the Ministry of Defense and General Staff of the Republic of Armenia (Tonoyan 2008).

Concluding the review of the defense reforms of Armenian Armed Forces we can say that moderate and balanced policy of the RA fully contributes to the realization of the national interests, especially in regards to ensuring political-military security of the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno Karabakh (Yedigaryan 2008).

Second stage of the Defense Reforms: Strategic Defense Review as a reflection of international military cooperation.

Within the frames of Armenia's cooperation with NATO it was planned to conduct a Strategic Defense Review aiming to reform defense and security sector. The Strategic Defense Review (SDR) has been accomplished based on the results of updated threat assessment. The recommendations for reforms provided by Strategic Defense Review are designed for the implementation along with the defense and security sector reform objectives enclosed in Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process (PARP) and Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB) documents¹⁷.

The document provides a deep insight into the peculiarities of the route through which the Armenian Armed Forces need to be restructured to be able to face contemporary security challenges, threats and overcome them efficiently for the sake of the national security of Armenia.

Based on the threat assessment Strategic Defense Review has separated sectors toward which Armenian Armed Forces have to be prepared. The major aspects of threat for the transformation of the AAF force structure are: 1. violation of a ceasefire and military actions against the Nagorno Karabakh Republic, as well as possible outrage of military operations against the Republic of Armenia, 2. Loss of control over the situation on the line of contact between the Nagorno Karabakh Republic and the Republic of Azerbaijan, which can lead to the increase of military incidents and unrestrained military situation, 3. Impairing of the situation in

¹⁷ Individual Partnership Action Plan: Armenia 2009 – 2010

the region, possible reasons for that can be violence spillover, migration, economic and political unsteadiness, as well as military clashes, etc¹⁸.

The foreign policy priority of the Republic of Armenia is its further involvement in European institutions and structures. Within the frames of this objective it tends to strengthen its cooperation with NATO. The Republic of Armenia has its valuable input in the operations led by NATO and has contributed to Euro-Atlantic security along with NATO allies. In 2004, Armenian military servants joined the peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, later in 2008 Armenian peacekeeping forces in Kosovo Forces were doubled. Armenia has been involved in International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan since February, 2010. Armenia seeks to develop a peacekeeping brigade with combat support and combat support units, using NATO standards¹⁹. This shows the willingness of our country to contribute to peace-support and stability operations and that Armenia aims to safeguard its role as an international security supporter through cooperation with OSCE, CSTO, NATO.

The process for developing and reforming defense and security sector for democratic oversight, improvement of military justice and human rights situation starts with the actions aimed to reorganize and reform Ministry of Defense (MoD) and General Staff (GS), as well as targets standardization of operational planning, establishment of a multiyear planning, programming and budgeting system, improvement of civilian control and reduction of corruption (Cornell et al 2004). Due to Armenia's intense cooperation with NATO it intends to solidify democratic control and civilian oversight over armed forces. In its undertakings Armenia aims to

¹⁸ Strategic Defense Review 2011-2015: Public Release, Ministry of Defense, 2011

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Policy. International Organizations. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Retrieved June 4 2011, from <http://mfa.am/en/international-organisations/NATO/>

increase the participation of civilians in the defense and security policy design process. Thus, civil society involvement and enlarging educational and training opportunities for the policy makers and staff represents high importance. The obligations and commitments of our country brought above have their clear reflection in the Strategic Defense Review document which implies that Defense Policy of the RA aims to augment political, economic and military potential through the development of centralized and purposeful management. The SDR once again underlines the RA's willingness for the development of comprehensive democratic supervision and improvement of defense planning procedure, including long term planning and arrangements for adequate defense management.

Due to Armenia's both bilateral and multilateral military cooperation it is involved in the combat of international terrorism and organized crime. Due to its membership to CSTO, Armenia took the responsibility to coordinate and harmonize efforts with other member states in combating international terrorism and extremism, organized transnational crime, and other threats to the security of the member states. This implies that member states should work in close cooperation and under the auspices of the United Nations²⁰. Of course this is not the only area where Armenia is involved in the fight against terrorism and organized crime. Within the frames of Armenia's bilateral cooperation with United States, it provides unconditional support to the latter in its efforts against the international terrorism. From the very first day of U.S. led military actions in Afghanistan, Armenia has provided its airspace, refueling and landing for U.S. aircraft and other solid assistance. Besides this, Armenia expressed its commitment to support United States for combating this evil²¹. Through Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism Armenia

²⁰ Article 8 of the Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, 2002

²¹ Remarks by Minister of Defense, Secretary of the National Security Council of the Republic of Armenia Serge Sargsyan at the Defense Ministers Forum of the Black Sea Security Program

seeks to enhance its capabilities in the fight against terrorism and via legislative changes and practical measures it intends to combat organized crime and improve protection of critical communications and information systems against cyber-attacks²².

For the purpose of fulfillment of Armenia's obligations in front of the international community SDR assigns a task to AAF to support authorities in countering terrorism as it is regulated by law. Taking into account the RA's security environment, constant threats besides international terrorism force this country to have high state of readiness in the AAF²³.

Like any other country in this world the Republic of Armenia holds international cooperation for ensuring its national security. One of the major military cooperation directions for Armenia is Russia, which has military base in Armenia targeted to ensure Armenia's security from possible external threats. The military presence of Russia in Armenia brings benefits to both countries taking into account the geopolitical situation in the region.

As the collapse of the Soviet Union created security concerns for the former member states, some of them filled it in with the establishment of Commonwealth of Independent States. Besides this body, Collective Security Treaty Organization comprises another pillar of Armenia's security, where Armenia is one of the founders. The main provision that comes from this cooperation is that any act of aggression against one of the member states is perceived as an aggression act against all the members to this international organization.

delivered by the ambassador to the United States, Dr. Arman Kirakossian, 2002, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government. Retrieved November 27, 2011, from <http://www.armeniaemb.org/DiplomaticMission/Ambassador/RemarksandStatements/Remarks/SHarvard.htm>

²² Individual Partnership Action Plan: Armenia 2009 – 2010

²³ Strategic Defense Review 2011-2015: Public Release, Ministry of Defense, 2011

Armenia directs its efforts to more involvement in Euro-Atlantic structures. It is already engaged in close relations with NATO and seeks to expand its cooperation with individual states member to NATO for developing serious cooperation in security and defense matters. The military cooperation with NATO member state Greece comes as a second to Russia in terms of content. Through the cooperation with Greece Armenian officers are provided with important educational and training opportunities²⁴.

Armenia's membership to OSCE dates back to 1991. The OSCE office in Yerevan is mostly concentrated on the role of the armed forces in a democratic society, combating terrorism, works on the parliamentary supervision of the security sector, as well as on the implementation of OSCE and other international military and security related documents (Fluri and Cibotaru 2008).

The Strategic Defense Review comes to prove Armenia's compliance with the obligations that it undertook through multidimensional cooperation. By ensuring democratic control Armenia will develop its combat readiness, work on the modernization of equipment.

To ensure this, the Defense Policy of the RA will target reforms for the purpose of establishing more flexible and modern Armed Forces reinforcing fundamental principles of democratic and civilian control. Armenia aims to continue its contribution to peace-keeping operations, besides it seeks to build its capacity for other peace-support operations.

²⁴ Remarks by Minister of Defense, Secretary of the National Security Council of the Republic of Armenia Serge Sargsyan at the Defense Ministers Forum of the Black Sea Security Program delivered by the ambassador to the United States, Dr. Arman Kirakossian, 2002, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government. Retrieved November 27, 2011, from <http://www.armeniaemb.org/DiplomaticMission/Ambassador/RemarksandStatements/Remarks/SHarvard.htm>

Through the Strategic Defense Review Armenia confirms that it will keep its role as a stable supporter of international security. This is and will be implemented through Armenia's bilateral and multilateral cooperation and increasing development of peacekeeping brigades in line with the strategic assumptions which will be able to deploy any time. The Republic of Armenia aspires to peaceful resolution over the Nagorno Karabakh conflict through the mediation of OSCE Minsk Group. Additionally, Russian military base will continue its functioning in Armenia for the sake of the national security of Armenia.

In 2010 the Russian President Dmitri Medvedev and Armenian President Serzh Sarkisian have signed a pact by which they extended the presence of Russian military base on Armenian-Turkish border for the next 24 years until 2044. This pact committed Russia to update Armenia's military hardware and ensure border security together with Armenian armed forces (Kornilov 2010). The spokesman of the Republican Party, Eduard Sharmazanov, mentioned that through this pact not only the borders of Armenia will be protected, but also this will exclude the possibility that Azerbaijan will be eager to solve Nagorno Karabakh issue by force (O'Rourke 2010).

The central role in Armenian Armed Forces plays the army, which comprises about 75 percent active military personnel and equipment. Due to the fact that external security of Armenia is threatened on the border with Azerbaijan besides the threat from Turkish side, the army's assets are heavily placed on the eastern border of the country. The army is comprised of recruited soldiers, as well as of contract soldiers for the provision of technical services and a not big, but a growing number of NCO corps (Cornell et al 2004).

Currently border security of Armenia is ensured both by the Armenian Armed Forces and through Russian military base in Gyumri. The SDR implies that for enhancing border security,

Armenia intends to review its current border security practice. The review will define the equipment needs necessary for the improvements. The international military cooperation of Armenia entails the implementation of defense reforms and capacity building of Armed Forces, thus this provision of SDR can be successfully implemented through continuous engagement of Armenia in the activities targeted to enhance border security.

As a differentiated and individualized format for cooperation with NATO, Armenia attaches great importance to the holding of political meetings in 26+1 format²⁵. In the IPAP it is stated that Armenia should hold constant political consultations with its counterparts on security and foreign policy issues mostly related to regional issues and 28+1 format as a part of IPAP process should be used. For regional stability and security, Armenia needs to work on the peaceful resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in the framework of the OSCE Minsk Groups and keep partnering countries on this issue informed about the developments. Moreover, Armenia has to seek constructive dialogue with Turkey for the establishment of diplomatic relations. Taking into account these obligations that arise from the RA's international military cooperation SDR comes to restate that Armenia will work on the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict under the auspices of OSCE Minsk Group. Additionally it will continue its collaboration with regional powers and will pursue the normalization of relations with Turkey without preconditions.

For improving the efficiency of the defense planning and budgeting system, for the development of affordable, transparent and sustainable defense plans, moreover, for the

²⁵ It should be noted that due to the NATO enlargement the format is 28+1 now - "Edward Nalbandian, Seyran Ohanyan to attend NATO 28+1 session in Brussels". Retrieved November 21 2011, from <http://www.panarmenian.net/eng/news/74934/>

improvements in the area of command and control, equipment and logistics, Armenia has developed its expertise in this field. The developed capability is also vital for designing documents which have pivotal importance for Defense Policy, for example Strategic Defense Review. Due to this document it becomes possible to reveal difficulties, threats and challenges for the Defense Policy and put into practice National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine. Strategic Defense Review has been done with inert-agency consultations, the representatives of different ministries and other stakeholder bodies were involved in its development process, which makes it more comprehensive and provides all covering approach to the defense and security issues and reforms. Despite the fact that the implementation of the Strategic Defense Review was planned within the frames of Individual Partnership Action Plan, it includes provisions of Armenia's international military cooperation and targets issues of national security importance. Nevertheless, the security environment around Armenia is not foreseeable, therefore the actions that Armenia is going to undertake for the realization of the provisions of SDR, will be cautious and cannot be abrupt. Armenia has its local capacity for the implementation of SDR, but it will need assistance from international partners. Here we should mention that previously the IPAP was targeted to the development of SDR, whereas the new program of the IPAP is mainly targeted to the implementation of the SDR provisions²⁶.

The study of the international military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia in the context of defense reforms has shown that the cooperation with one of the key allies, the Russian Federation, is not concentrated on the implementation of the reforms, basically it provides favorable conditions for buying military hardware. The substantial part of the reforms is being

²⁶ The Interview of the First Deputy Defense Minister Davit Tonoyan to Mediamax News Agency. Retrieved November 28 2011, from <http://www.mil.am/1312925716/page/18>

done through the cooperation with NATO. The Ministry of Defense makes steps to become more open for the public. It has engaged in a discussion with the civil society around the problems that exist in the Armed Forces. Due to these actions for becoming more transparent in its work the Armenian society has been able to witness that the need for changes is huge, but at the same time actions are also undertaken and the country uses all the possible sources and ways for making them. Special attention is paid to the establishment of civilian oversight over the military which still goes through the reforms and has not achieved its final stage. For the democratization of the Armed Forces there is also a need for a new, open-minded and dynamic generation. Despite the cooperation with Greece and other allies, the pace of providing high quality education to the ones who are working in the system is quite slow. Change is taking place by overcoming conservative and tough resistance from within.

Along with internalization of the constructive Soviet Union standards, Armenian Armed Forces have also adopted approaches that are considered to be non-democratic by their nature. Through the cooperation and consultancy with international allies the government takes actions for changes but there is lack of resources and capacity for the widespread and speedy implementation. The participation of Armenia to the NATO trainings, international peacekeeping operations teaches the military servicemen to communication and organizational skills, to the thinking out of box. The participation in peace support actions brings benefits from two perspectives. First, Armenia proves that besides being concerned with its own security, it also cares about international peace and stability. Second, the Armed Forces engage in activities with highly professional military servicemen who teach wide range of skills and knowledge.

The Republic of Armenia uses all the possible opportunities for enlarging international military cooperation and contributing to the reforms in the military security sector, as ally

relations with other countries is built for learning from their experience, to get acquainted with the path that they went through in introducing the changes in command and control.

Despite, the fact that due to geopolitical circumstances the choices are limited, the Republic of Armenia has a unique and well-established cooperation both with the Western military structures and with Russia along with CSTO. All these represent the bodies from where Armenia learns in terms of upgrading the system. It gives experience to the Armed Forces, which is invaluable in case of a threat to the national security.

The country realizes the importance of the reforms, gives high value to it, which is reflected in the Strategic Defense Review, as a product of Armenia-NATO cooperation and driving force and guiding document for further developments and improvements.

Chapter 3

International military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia as a response to the threats of the security environment.

In this master essay we will focus on the issues of the defense of the territorial integrity and state borders, including physical safety of the population against external threats and internal vulnerabilities within the framework of national security.

The states that have complex security environment need to have dynamic national security strategy. Hence, the concept of national security and its defense need to be responsive to the changes. The Republic of Armenia as a newly independent state has to attach great importance to national security in forming its internal and external policy (Giragosian 2005). According to National Security Strategy (2007) the Republic of Armenia seeks to be on track with international development and be capable to address their positive and negative aspects. For this purpose Armenia promotes its national interests through international integration and engagement, and builds policy on multilateral, multi-layer and bilateral formats.

The capacity building of the military sector and development of international military cooperation is targeted to the creation and maintenance of the state capacity to respond to the threats to national security. First and foremost, national security issue for the Republic of Armenia is Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Besides this, the other unresolved ethnic and armed conflicts in the region also represent a threat. The clash of interests of main powers in the region represents another aspect of threats to the national security. The external threats draw from risk of use of force from the side of the Republic of Azerbaijan which threatens the security of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh. Moreover, according to the stance

of the Republic of Armenia strategic security structures, where it is a party member, must not adopt any action that might violate the national security interests of the other members, thus CSTO should clarify its position with regards to its involvement in the case of military aggression against a member state. In addition to all these Armenia considers international terrorism in all its forms a direct threat to it²⁷.

The three-stage military cooperation with NATO started from the development of strategic documents of National Security and Military Doctrine. Logically those documents have to reflect the goals of other stages of cooperation as well taking into account the strategic meaning that they bear. Thus, the National Security Strategy has a goal to create a military capability to defend and resist any aggression or incursion, to guarantee the physical safety, sovereignty and independence of the people of the Republic of Armenia, and to safeguard the territorial integrity of the state. The National Security Strategy represents a guiding document for the Republic of Armenia which provides clear understanding about the external and internal threats to the country and the vision that the country has to adopt for combating its security challenges. The National Security Strategy lucidly depicts the significance of maintaining modern and professional armed forces and an efficient security and law-enforcement structure, engage in the global effort to combat transnational threats such as international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their related components, etc.

The Military Doctrine (2007) which is the second strategic document developed due to an undertaken reform within the frames of cooperation with NATO is defensive in its nature. This document is targeted to the protection of the fundamental values of the national security system of the Republic of Armenia, moreover aiming to strengthen peace and stability in the region.

²⁷ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia, 2007

Similarly to National Security Strategy the Military Doctrine has objectives set for the international military and military-technical cooperation, such as maintaining military and military-technical balance in the region, use of international experience in the modernization of the Armed Forces and for the improvement of the capabilities of the military personnel, as well as for the development and restructuring the military industrial complex²⁸.

Military Doctrine as a document for the protection of the values of national security of Armenia states that within the frames of international relations the external security of the country is ensured through international military-political and balanced cooperation with allies and partners. In order to be able to face the current threats and be able to give appropriate response, the Republic of Armenia has adopted the policy of international integration and active involvement for the protection of the values of the national security. This implies effective participation in international activities, as well as implementation of multidimensional and multilayer policy. Armenia actively participates in projects which have worldwide importance, particularly, fight against international terrorism and is a member to international organizations. Armenia participates in Euro integration procedures, is engaged with Euro Atlantic and post-soviet cooperation structures, develops its relations with worldwide power centers and with countries which are involved in regional procedures, makes efforts for the integration in world economics²⁹.

The primary objective of Armenia's foreign relations is to ensure sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, guarantees for the fortification of the stability and security of the country. There is a necessity to create conditions which will contribute to the continuous

²⁸ Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia, 2007

²⁹ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia, 2007

development of the country, economic prosperity, to the implementation of democratic reforms and increasing the standards of living of the population, peaceful and just resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict, development of Euro integration procedure. There is a need to regulate relations with neighboring countries, create favorable conditions for interoperation and regional cooperation. Armenia is willing to contribute to the spread of democratic values and peaceful resolution of regional confrontations. The above mentioned principles contribute to the promotion of Armenia's national interests in the international level. The Armenia's participation in the fight against terrorism and peacekeeping operations, as well as in international arms control regime, engagement in international organizations, development of relation with global centers of power and countries with the interests in the regions, as well as involvement in European integration initiatives along with engagement in post-Soviet structures depicts the external security policy of the country³⁰.

The government of the Republic of Armenia has realistic approach toward its place and role in the current geopolitical situation, as well as toward the opportunities and limitations that political, economic and military potential of the country and the countering interests and aspirations of global powers provide. This framework and limitations should not restrict the Republic of Armenia to run active regional policy. The external security strategy run by the country hinges on the several basic principles. Armenia heads its external security strategy guided by the essential principles of complementarity and integration. The complementarity implies that in international arena the country constructs its relations not by competing or confronting with major powers, but by establishing cooperation and balanced affairs. The principle of complementarity has the aim to maintain regional stability, to resist the attempts of

³⁰ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia, 2007

transforming South Caucasus into a field of polarized geopolitical interests and contradictions. This state is involved in the regional and world integration processes and considers itself as a full participant of the regional and international processes and as an integral part of forming international system. This integration considers participation at those international developments with which the goals, internal and external policy of Armenia is in compliance. The adoption of European path of development, military relations with Russia, mutually beneficial relations with USA and Iran, participation at the NATO initiatives, and membership to CIS and CSTO enlarges the opportunities of Armenia to run the policy of complementarity and integration, gain favorable position in the relations with regional and world powers for solving the problems reared in front of the country and to escape from polarization around its interests (Kirakosyan 2007).

According to the National Security Strategy and the actual implemented policy by the government the military-political components of the external security of the country comprise of the following components 1. bilateral cooperation with the Russian Federation in the spheres of defense and military-technical, 2. membership to Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), 3. Bilateral cooperation with USA and Greece, full participation of Armenia to NATO's "Partnership for Peace" program, including Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process, Individual Partnership Action Plan and other initiatives, which make highly effective Armenia's cooperation with North Atlantic Treaty. Moreover, Armenia collaborates with international security organizations, particularly with the bodies of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe for the implementation of transparent and open arms control (Kirakosyan 2007)³¹.

³¹ For details see chapter 1 and chapter 2

The membership to CSTO is a perspective component of Armenia's external security, which is directed to enlarging bilateral cooperation with member states. The NATO experience has been reflected in the creation of Rapid Reaction Forces in case of an act of aggression against the member states to the CSTO. In the long-run Armenia's priority is to participate at the development of military-political and military components of the CSTO, which are directed to the creation of effective means against the aggression toward CSTO member state and international threats (Kotanjian 2009). Interestingly enough Armenia solves strategic issues with its membership to CSTO and through other bilateral or multilateral cooperation it takes part in international peacekeeping operations and contributes to defense reforms through the study of international experience (Mashurian 2011).

Armenia is dynamically involved in the activities organized by the UN and cooperates with set of the structures and supplementary bodies of this organization. The country is keen on to continue to provide support in the fight against terrorism and peacekeeping activities of the UN (Kirakosyan 2007).

The other aspect of multidimensional military cooperation of the Republic of Armenia represents its collaboration with United States of America, which has an essential impact on the democratization process of the country. Moreover, it must be mentioned that as a Co-Chair in OSCE Minsk Group USA is involved in the mediation process over Nagorno Karabakh conflict and has its own contribution to the process. American and Armenian security cooperation can be referred under the politically correct term bilateral intergovernmental "Security Dialog" since 1998. American-Armenian cooperation is not only in the sphere of NATO/PfP but it is also a bilateral cooperation. With the assistance of Pentagona and Armenian Diaspora there was established the Armenian Humanitarian Demining Center. A new chapter of Armenia and

American defense cooperation was opened when Armenia participated in coalition forces operating in Iraq (Kotanjian 2008).

The foreign policy posture of the Republic of Armenia regarding the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict is in accordance with its National Security Strategy which emphasizes the just and peaceful resolution of the issue. The Republic of Armenia as a main guarantor of the security of the Nagorno Karabakh supports the mediation efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group and advocates a peaceful and compromise-based solution, appreciates the high level of expertise of those involved in the negotiation process, and does not consider it necessary to accept declarations made by other international organizations or their possible involvement³².

The Republic of Armenia does not question the legal aspects for the foundation of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic and any final solution or final document should be approved by the Karabakh side and Armenia is ready to agree to only a resolution which would affirm the irreversible reality of the existence of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic.

Along with above mentioned statement the National Security Strategy highlights the fact of having a geographical link with Armenia. The aggressive policy of Azerbaijan and its readiness to give a military solution to the problem represents a direct threat to the security of Armenia. This circumstances force Armenia to have an army with increased defense capacity in order to ensure its security. The priority of the highly capable army is to guarantee the immunity of the borders of the Republic of Armenia and ensure physical safety of the peoples of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh. It is acknowledged by the National Security Strategy of RA that the Republic of Azerbaijan continues to pursue militant position in the resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict which is threatening the Republic of Armenia and

³² National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia 2007

Nagorno Karabakh Republic and in this circumstances the Republic of Armenia proclaims its readiness to give appropriate reaction and take appropriate steps to any aggressive action from the side of the Republic of Azerbaijan against the security of the people of Nagorno Karabakh (Kirakosyan 2007).

In August, 2010 the visit of RF President Medvedev to Yerevan set a ground for series of discussions. As a result of it the treaty on Russian basis in Armenia was prolonged till 2044. Due to this Armenia-Russia bilateral cooperation received relatively new content according to which it will ensure national security of Armenia as well. Along with positive opinions, one can come across negative opinions, according to which this treaty does not correspond to national security interests and limits self-governance of Armenia.

In the debates around 102 military base in Armenia it is mentioned that it limits sovereignty of Armenia, serves interests of the Russian Federation. But it is important to mention that the existence of a military base in one country supposes mutually beneficial interests. It is worth to mention that multidimensional foreign policy of Armenia is quite high ranking (Noravank Foundation 2010). According to “The Fund for Peace” 2011 ranking of the Failed States the dependence of RA on “intervention of external actors” is lower in comparison to the neighboring states. For Armenia the score is 5.8, for Azerbaijan 7.5, and the highest score is for the Georgia 8.5. Thus, we can conclude that existence of a military base and sovereignty of a state have nothing to do with each other (The Failed State Index 2011)³³.

³³The Failed States Index is an annual ranking of 177 countries across 12 indicators that is prepared by Fund for Peace and published by Foreign Policy magazine. Fund for Peace promotes sustainable security through research, training and education, engagement of civil society, building bridges across diverse sectors, and developing innovative technologies and tools for policy makers.

Richard Giragosian mentioned that in military security perspective there is little that Armenia can benefit from this change, which represents the “colonial approach” that Russian Federation has in the region. Hence, he suggests that there is an imperative to transform Armenia-Russia relations to more equal one, but he does not see any sign from Armenian side to demand more from Russia. According to Hovhannes Nikoghosian, a research fellow at the Yerevan-based Public Policy Institute, it is important to mention that when Armenia prolonged its cooperation with Russia the situation in the region was tense, as Turkey and Azerbaijan signed a strategic partnership agreement, which by the statement of the Foreign Ministry of Azerbaijan has a military component and in this state of affairs de facto forced Armenian government to made that political choice (Yekmanian 2010).

The advantage of Armenia-Russia cooperation is that the former has the opportunity to obtain and produce weapons that will provide Armenia with possibility to combat enemy. There is an agreement of establishing Armenia-Russia joint defense industry. This landlocked country receives Russian weaponry at low prices or for free. It was widely discussed that after the prolongation when Russia provided S-300 to Armenia, it did the same to Azerbaijan. This political act is considered to be an obvious step by Russia to keep Armenia dependent on it and to prevent the latter from seeking closer relations with Western security structures (Danielyan 2010).

Within the frames of RA-RF relations it is often discussed that the military presence of Russia in Armenia does not ensure the security of Nagorno Karabakh. From the legal perspective we can insist that Russia cannot interfere in Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan war, but we need to take into account that Republic of Armenia which is main guarantor of Nagorno Karabakh security along with Nagorno Karabakh military capability is able to give appropriate reaction to

Azerbaijan. Moreover, as the Russian Federation is the main guarantor of national security of Armenia, in case of a war Armenia can concentrate its forces on the protection of Nagorno Karabakh because there is no need for the protection of RA-Turkey border, as well as RA-Azerbaijan border. Which is more important RA-RF treaty has a political meaning and it decreases the possibility of a war against Nagorno Karabakh (Noravank Foundation 2010). Nevertheless, till now by its political behavior the Russian Federation has not showed a readiness to intervene in the conflict over this issue and it can be concluded that the maintenance of status quo is in Russia's interest. The policy of Russia in this regard is twofold. First it tries to affect the work of the Minsk Group, on the other hand it strengthens its bilateral relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan (Kornilov 2010).

It is the combination of external and internal factors that led Armenia to consider Russia as a reliable "Big brother" in the region. The constant threat from Turkish and Azerbaijani side leaves little room for Armenia to maneuver and flexibility and makes the position of Russia overarching. This kind of dependence on the "big brother" represents the possibility of attitude change from Russian side toward Armenia and its interests and here Armenia has to be more careful in its relations in order not to become de facto part of Russia despite the fact that the benefits of the alliance with Russia are greater than the costs. For a country like Armenia all the aspects are secondary to the security issues and mutual interdependence creates the sense of interrelationship and consolidation but with a centralized decision-making within the alliance (Melikyan 2010).

The increasing good relations of Russian Federation with Turkey and Azerbaijan served as a cause of concern for Armenia and undermined the role of the Russian Federation as a reliable ally. This state of affairs can be considered as a reasonable cause for Armenia to seek

other partners. Armenia proclaims that has no aspiration of membership to NATO. This has its rational reasons as this country due to its geographic location depends on Russia for energy and transportation, as well as by such factors as economic problems, as Armenia's economy is not developed enough, malfunction that exist in the political system, as well as the need for major reforms in Armenian Armed Forces. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons is the issue of Nagorno Karabakh (Dufourcq and Ponsard 2004). Another series of objective limitations in cooperation with NATO are directly linked to Armenia's membership and cooperation with other security structures (Yedigaryan 2008). The government of the Republic of Armenia has declared several times that the reforms in the Armenian Armed Forces will be fully conducted by 2015³⁴. The next stage of the reforms will be the transition from the nowadays Soviet model of the army to the modern one. Whether or not Armenia will enter into a new stage of relations with NATO after the implementation of the reforms depends on the developments in the South Caucasus region providing Armenia with more flexibility in "complementarity" maneuver (Iskandaryan 2009).

Quite often there can be seen criticism toward Armenia for deepening its cooperation with NATO or with Russia, to which the answer is that Russia establishes cooperation with NATO more intensively than Armenia. Besides this, the dialogue between two major powers Russia and US over security issues can be beneficial for the whole region of South Caucasus, and specifically for Armenia. In this paradigm of foreign policy and security cooperation, Armenia seeks to help to synergize Armenia – America, Armenia – Russia, Armenia – CSTO, Armenia – NATO security and defense cooperation (Kotanjian 2008).

³⁴ Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia 2007

Concluding this chapter it can be stated that first step of international military cooperation was implemented during the Nagorno Karabakh conflict when through the mediation of the Russian Federation a ceasefire was established between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1994.

The international military cooperation in the meaning that it is represented in the international relations has been established since 1994. The main international military cooperation direction is Armenian-Russian, which is overwhelming, compared to every other cooperation dimension that Armenia has. In comparison to the other partnerships that Armenia has been able to establish so far, it is more military rather than institutional, which implies implementation of joint military trainings, purchase of weapons and armaments. Moreover, through the Russian military base in Gyumri Armenia has security guarantees in case of an attack. The Russian-Armenian alliance is complemented by their membership to CSTO, thus comprising main security cooperation course. Armenia's engagement in NATO programs is beneficial in terms of institutional capacity building, which provides wider opportunities for enhancing the role of the Armenian Armed Forces in the protection of national security of the country through institutional reforms, establishment of civilian control in the armed forces and implementation of legislation changes targeted to the more purposeful control of the defense and security sectors. Thus, the military-technical and institutional capacity building cooperation targets complement each other representing military security dimension. The geo-political situation around the Republic of Armenia does not provide Armenia wide-ranging opportunities in comparison what Armenia's alliance with Russia ensures. The interests of the Russian Federation have ensured this state's involvement in the regional issues, from which Armenia benefits, but the recent extension of the presence of Russian military base in Armenia before the

expiration of the date of the agreement brings complications in terms of limiting Armenia's flexibility in its choices to enlarge cooperation with other regional stakeholders such as EU and NATO, and in the sense of bilateral cooperation with United States. From the international relations perspective this can be viewed as a message from the leadership of the Republic of Armenia to the rest of the world that it has made its choice.

When speaking about the international military cooperation in the sense of national security protection it must be stated that even the process of the development of the strategic documents National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine involved tense cooperation with international partners from Russia and NATO ally states. Although the process of developing the documents was proactive, the interviewed experts mentioned that taking into account the security environment of the Republic of Armenia as well as changing needs within the country these documents must be dynamic and responsive to the transformations taking place, for instance each president coming to power has to review the National Security Strategy and accommodate to the existing state of affairs. This necessity is obvious taking into account the fact that the National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine were developed and adopted by the time of Kocharyan presidency. The war between Georgia and Russia in August, 2008 has changed the security environment to which the guiding documents for the national security were not adopted and modified. By the time the documents were adopted the stance of the leader of the Republic of Azerbaijan was different, now it became more flamboyant. The accents that Armenia has in its international military cooperation have changed through the years. Thus, it's logical that the paper has to be accommodated to the real politic and this is the action that is still missing in the undertakings of the government, especially in the military-political situation when it is difficult

to have long-term planning. The vision can be there, but it can rapidly change due to some circumstances.

Returning to the statement that the prolongation of Armenian-Russian military pact has increased Armenia's dependence on Russia and does not provide security guarantees in the resolution of Nagorno Karabakh issue it must be stated that the Republic of Armenia needs extra security assurances, and also if there is one instance of mishandling the crisis within the frames of CSTO it will lead to restructuring of this security organization. In this conditions Armenia is constantly working on receiving extra guarantees from CSTO.

Despite the criticism regarding Armenia's dependence on the Russian factor, it is important to mention that it is also the only country in the region that holds membership to CSTO along with strong cooperation with NATO on the same level as its neighboring countries Georgia and Azerbaijan. The diverse components of the international military cooperation are building blocks of the national security policy, as the contemporary international security does not allow Armenia to confine by only one military block, it needs to find a common ground for the dominant powers and create common approach toward the region.

The Armenian Armed Forces are capable to withstand possible aggression from Azerbaijan and give appropriate reaction taking into account the limited economic, defense resources and small population. At the current stage Armenian Armed Forces are capable to give relevant respond in case of any aggression, but still it needs to develop the capacity of its forces, self-sufficiency, strength of its own forces, in order to decrease the dependence on Russian support for border and air defense. Armenia has to work on putting its relations with Russia on a more equal level as Armenia is the only country where Russia has military base but does not pay

for it. Besides this Armenia has to prevent the possibility of becoming a Russian province in the region especially when at the current situation Armenia is the closest ally of Russia.

The international security architecture is becoming more and more complicated and the principles of complementarity and engagement lead Armenia to be involved in larger developments and contribute to international security, not to be focused only on its own security concerns. This is a twofold beneficial process. On one hand Armenia contributes to international peace and stability, on the other hand Armenian military servicemen learn from the international experience and from their foreign colleagues. The enlargement of Armenia's international military cooperation hinges on its resources. At the current stage Armenia works on the enlargement of the peacekeeping forces for which the deadline is 2015.

Despite the fact that the term complementarity was used by the time of the presidency of Robert Kocharyan and during the period when the foreign policy was run by Vartan Oskanian, the concept is preserved during the time of the presidency of Serzh Sargsyan under the auspice of Edward Nalbandian. Nowadays, the term complementarity is not being used in the foreign policy of Armenia, but the essence is not changed. This type of policy has justified itself till now, although it is natural to have worries about it.

Conclusion

From the analysis that was conducted throughout this master's essay we can come up with a conclusion that the circumstances existing in Armenia and in its security environment formed the context of the defense and security policy. The interests and priorities of this country for ensuring its military security are built around several important aspects. On one hand Armenia is focused on the development of military capacity of the Armed Forces, and on the other hand through the establishment of comprehensive and multidimensional international military cooperation the Republic of Armenia seeks to strengthen its place and role in international security system via participating at peacekeeping operations within NATO forces and fighting against global terrorism. It is hard to differentiate which aspect comprises more importance as it is essential to have strong military preparedness, armaments and weapons, as well as trustworthy international partners which are security guarantors and the reliable partners in case of an attack by the enemy countries surrounding Armenia.

No country in the current world seeks to have one-dimensional military cooperation as the current track of the foreign policy has put the condition of active engagement. Thereby, considering the military-political situation around Armenia, this country just cannot allow to focus on only one dimension. This is the place where it gets a lot of criticism regarding its bilateral relations with Russian Federation. From the study that has been conducted it can be stated that Armenia seeks to maintain its sovereignty and does not consider the Russia's interest in the region as a factor contradicting to its security interests. On the other hand Armenia views the engagement of Russian Federation in the region as a means for protecting its interests from the neighbors. It's not in a geo-political situation to isolate itself from the major regional power. Along with this it can be stated that economic engagement, as well as Russia's ownership of

such strategic areas as energy and transportation in Armenia, makes the latter dependent on the will of Russian Federation and limits the flexibility of Armenia's foreign policy in deepening its relations with other powers having interests in the region.

The partnership and alliances built with various countries increase military power of the Republic of Armenia, contribute to the establishment of civilian oversight in the Armed Forces, overall democratization of it, improvement of military capacity. The constraints of rapid implementation of the reforms and capacity building of the AAF effuse from the limited resources which country possesses. There is a political willingness from the side of the government to conduct all the ascribed reforms, but a conservative resistance of the military servicemen from within represents another obstacle for the modifications. The lack of resources does not allow the leadership to make radical changes in the staff as well, besides that the experience that the military servicemen have must not be undermined.

Nevertheless the capacity building is not the only aspect that must be focused on within the frames of international military cooperation, as the latter is important from the perspective of politics as well. The more security guarantees Armenia receives from its international partners and allies the less is the possibility of an outbreak of a war. It's a known fact that Armenia seeks peaceful and negotiated resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict, but the aggressive rhetoric of Azerbaijan and violent statements of the leadership depict the possibility of a war which can even start all of a sudden, thus the powerfulness of Armenia in terms of protecting its national security values will prevent Azerbaijan from non-conscious actions.

In the post-September 11th period Armenia opened its air-space to the U.S. military in the fight against terrorism, and has engaged in the trainings of the local forces in the anti-terrorism fight conducted by U.S. troops. The strengthening Armenia-U.S. relations have not

created challenges for Armenia-Russia relations and close political, economic and military relations have remained on their place. Armenia's involvement in the anti-terrorism activities is pivotal for the capacity building of the Armed Forces. Both these activities, and the ones targeted to defense reforms, have the aim to reinforce the capacity of the Armed Forces and make it more profound in the protection of national security of the Republic of Armenia. Through the cooperation with Euro-Atlantic structures and post-Soviet allies Armenia aims to create a common ground for both sides in their policy toward the region as it is in Armenia's interests. Here the country strongly uses the principles of complementarity and engagement of its foreign policy. Having the same level of cooperation with NATO as Georgia and Azerbaijan, which have obvious intentions for membership, Armenia holds its membership to post-Soviet security systems.

The wide-ranging protection of national security requires not only multidimensional approach toward relation building with other countries, but also reactivity in the internal policy as well. Thereby, the leadership of the country has to review the key documents for national security preservation and adopt them to the constant changes in the region and to the threats that are reared in front of the country.

Engagement and complementarity are rooted in the defense and security policy of the country, but their success depends on the improvements in other areas, such as economy of the country, democratization, rule of law, etc. The developments in these areas will give an opportunity to the above mentioned cornerstone principles be fully utilized and thus ensure Armenia's strong stance in international security system, hence strong national security.

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