

**Olena Kviatkovska**

## **THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN THE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGIES 2002-2010**

The article investigates the evolution of development assistance security goals from being an element of foreign policy to being an integral part along with diplomacy and defense in three U. S. National Security Strategies of the early XXI century. There are defined the main donor imperatives of development assistance and its major tasks to create a safer world. The institutional changes for making development assistance more efficient are analyzed. The author discovers security mechanisms for implementing development assistance, based on the values of democracy and human rights. The needs to intensify international partnerships, its hierarchical categories and the U. S. role in this process.

Statement of the problem. In the twenty-first century security threats have transboundary nature, which makes it impossible to solve them by one country or a group of countries. The century's international order requires effective global cooperation. The USA being a leading actor of international relations, define and implement state relevant activities to overcome and prevent the threats to international security, which directly threaten the national security of the United States. Since the key to U. S. national security are prosperous, free and secure partner countries that are able to form a system of international security, the U. S. provides a comprehensive foreign assistance to developing countries. Foreign assistance is regarded the same as U. S. development assistance in the article. The security interests of the United States made the development assistance a public policy's forwarder, setting it integral role in the U. S. National Security Strategy. This doctrine is a fundamental and consistent document that describes the basic principles of the legislative and executive branches. Thus, it is necessary to examine the evolution of the security goals of foreign assistance in the National Security Strategy of the United States.

Analysis of recent researches and publications. Various aspects of interconnection between U. S. development assistance and international security in their researches analyzed the following foreign scientists: A. McGrew, C. Tarnoff, J. Essex, B. Cracknell and domestic: L. Kapitza, V. Vybornov, E. Degtarev, A. Romanovych. Scientists reveal characteristic goals, directions and principles of foreign assistance, including the security goals.

Unsolved aspects of the problem. While showing up development assistance's security, scholars don't focus on its evolution process in the XXI century, the time when development assistance has become an integral part of the U. S. National Security Strategy together with diplomacy and defense.

The article goals are to identify the motivational component of foreign assistance the National Security Strategy of the United States 2002-2010, to investigate the impact of development assistance to the security policy of the United States, compare the main foreign assistance objectives and instruments in the National Security Strategy of the United States 2002-2010.

The main body of the research. In the early XXI century terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 became imperative to strengthen international security system, and intensifying U. S. development assistance as a part of this system. The National Security Strategy 2002 states that to maintain peace, the U. S. will fight terrorism and tyranny, supporting free open to the dialogue societies on every continent to create democratic countries, free markets, trade and development around the world<sup>1</sup>. Since the events of September 11 have shown that weak states, like Afghanistan, can generate a large threat to the national interests of powerful states. Poverty, as a state of society, does not create terrorism and murders within the poor, but it weakens the public and state institutions absorbed by corruption that makes them vulnerable to terrorist networks or drug trafficking within the country. To create a safer world and poverty reduction, the United States created an extra institution of development assistance Millennium Challenge Corporation. The newly created agency should allocate more funds for countries that have shown real policy changes. This way, the United States declares the evaluation necessary donor's assistance.

The Strategy 2002 devotes a separate issue to the development assistance: «Expanding the circle of development by opening societies and building a democratic infrastructure» which aims doubling the size poorest economies within a decade using the following methods. First, it will provide assistance to countries implementing reforms as well it is proposed to increase by 50% development assistance through the UN, continuing the previous program of humanitarian assistance and other projects for countries with just government that invests in the well-being of its citizens. The next step should be to consider the need for the creation

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<sup>1</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002. *U.S. Department of State*. <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>> (2014, January, 12)

of free markets and trade for economic progress as well as reduce the threat of disease. More resources should be devoted to training and education, which are fundamental to democracy and development. The document identifies the need for the presence of American military abroad as a symbol of its commitments to allies and friendly countries<sup>1</sup>. The main function of the U. S. Armed Forces is to ensure peace and security. One of the primary tools for fighting against terrorism and other threats from hostile states is also the intelligence. It should be emphasized that the 2002 document significantly emphasizes the role of diplomacy in the creation of the negotiation process, addressing issues of civil wars and other humanitarian disasters, rather than development assistance, the significance of which will evolve in the next U. S. National Security Strategies up to the level of diplomacy and defense. Although, U.S. diplomatic institutions must adapt in order to achieve understanding of others and develop a comprehensive approach to inform the world community to help people around the world to better understand America. In this way, government intends to gain international support, manage and take responsibility over security in the strategic regions.

«Fighting the enemies abroad, instead of waiting for them at home» declared the tenor of development assistance in the National Security Strategy 2006<sup>2</sup>. While being at the state of war, the United States recognize that development enhances diplomacy and defense, reducing long-term threats to U. S. national security, building a stable, prosperous and peaceful society. In particular, C. Tarnoff in his research determines that «national security has been the predominant theme of U. S. assistance programs»<sup>3</sup>. The motivation of Strategy 2006 shows that the need to help the poor people derives from the American national interests and moral values to integrate the world and the least developed countries into the global economic, social and political community. National Security Strategy 2006 is based on two main approaches. The first of which is humanitarian, promoting freedom, justice, human dignity and the implementation of effective democracy. As peace and international stability is most reliably to build on the principles of freedom. The second

<sup>1</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002. *U.S. Department of State*. <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>> (2014, January, 12)

<sup>2</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. March 2006. *Commonwealth Institute*. <<http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf>> (2014, January, 10)

<sup>3</sup> Tarnoff, C., Lawson, M. Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy. *Federation of American Scientists*. <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40213.pdf>> (2014, January, 15)

approach originates from the principals of the first and supports the fight against contemporary challenges by guiding the growing number of democratic community. Shared democratic values are the engine of development assistance.

Compared to the previous document, which mentioned objectives and areas for development assistance, the new strategy is not only declarative, but has the results' component and demonstrates achievements in 2002-2006. The recipient governments were given the opportunity to implement reforms and development programs, which were funded through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which provided \$ 1.5 billion to eight countries. The most powerful for that period were the achievements in the fight against infectious diseases for which were spent \$ 15 billion within five years. 2 million infected people and 10 million orphans with AIDS diagnosis in Africa have got the treatment along with reduction of malaria mortality by 50% in 15 countries reduced. Together with Great Britain, the United States initiated 100% debt relief for the countries with high debt bargain on a multilateral level. To improve the management of U. S. foreign assistance, the document raises the following objectives: challenges' diversification and assuming appropriate tools for each stage of development; unchanged from the previous Strategy remains the position of the state to support intensively countries with efficient governments implementing reforms to attract private sector and civil society in addressing development challenges and creating trade opportunities for the involvement of the poorest countries in global trade relations. Instead, the new approach used in Strategy 2006 is the promotion of transition from economic dependence to complete self-sufficiency of the recipient. The new Strategy 2006 proposed to establish transformational diplomacy, which represents the cooperation with many international partners to build and maintain democratic, well-regulated states responsible to treat their citizens and become a reliable actor in the international cooperation<sup>1</sup>. Thus, more power is transmitted to the recipients. The U. S. would pursue a kind of coordination policy, creating various foreign policy initiatives for governments to carry out reforms independently that will not impact permanent donor dependence. After the proclamation establishing the Millennium Challenge Corporation in prior doctrine, Strategy 2006 continues a series of institutional support for greater development assistance effectiveness establishing a new post at the State Department – Director of Foreign Assistance.

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<sup>1</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. March 2006. *Commonwealth Institute*. <<http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf>> (2014, January, 10)

This position manages external assistance of the State Department and USAID. Unification is aimed to improve coordination of the activities between agencies, increasing the effectiveness of development programs for recipients and demonstrate the effective use of the U. S. tax payers' money. Director takes authority for development a foreign assistance strategy, coordination and direction of the relevant government entities to implement this strategy. However, during 2006-2010, the United States being the world's largest donor by aid allocations, have not established a single state development strategy, although the need for the formulation of Global strategy of the United States, which must be approved by the president every four years, was described during the Obama Administration in the statement from the White House in September 22, 2010<sup>1</sup>. In 2009, the American Institute «Center for American Progress» has developed a National Strategy for Global Development as policy guidance to develop write the U. S. Development Strategy, which will be a logical continuation of the National Security Strategy, in the way of National Military Strategy is. This analytical paper focuses on how development assistance will be used in the implementation of the objectives of U. S. foreign policy<sup>2</sup>. However, the United States continues using a number of program strategies and the main principals and approaches to the development assistance are included in the National Security Strategy as a fundamental document that brings together all the political direction of the state.

In the National Security Strategy of the United States 2010, President Barack Obama stressed that development assistance is the major strategic, economic and moral challenge of the Administration. That focuses on helping developing countries to address security threats, settle economic cooperation and establish democratic institutions that meet basic human needs. As noted by J. Essex that a combination of development, diplomacy and defense becomes the traditional approach in dealing with the challenges of globalization, national security and the progress of development<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fact Sheet: U.S. Global Development Policy. September 22, 2010. *The White House*. <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/09/22/fact-sheet-us-global-development-policy>> (2014, February, 7)

<sup>2</sup> Brigety, R., Dewan, S. A National Strategy for Global Development. *Center for American Progress*. <[http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/05/pdf/brigety\\_dewan\\_security.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/05/pdf/brigety_dewan_security.pdf)> (2014, January, 12)

<sup>3</sup> Essex, J. (2013). *Development, Security, and Aid: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics at the U.S. Agency for International Development*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 12.

The security mechanism of the development assistance includes the concept of a long term strengthening regional partners, which makes it possible to carry out the mission of the U. S. to address global challenges. The introduction refers to the privilege of American people to lead global processes, as «... no nation should be better positioned to lead in an era of globalization than America – the Nation that helped bring globalization about, whose institutions are designed to prepare individuals to succeed in a competitive world, and whose people trace their roots to every country on the face of the Earth»<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, multiculturalism of the American people created a platform of moral imperative and functional understanding of the implementation of foreign assistance, which indicates the ability of the U. S. to guarantee global security through cooperation with international partners and institutions. The Strategy states that the Armed Forces will always remain the cornerstone of security the same as emphasized in the Strategy 2002, however, their activities should be expanded by the work of diplomats, law enforcement bodies, intelligence agencies and the work of experts in the field of development.

The document reveals a hierarchical link of international cooperation, in which the base is considered to strengthen ties with its permanent allies in Europe, North America and Asia, contributing to collective security. The next category of countries important for cooperation in the framework of the National Security Strategy, are the centers of influence in the XXI century, like Asia, Russia and new centers of influence that arise. The last category includes the Middle East, within the support of strong partnerships with Israel, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia and the development of security partnerships with those countries, and contribution to the efficient work of the joint military and defense systems. Providing social and economic needs and political rights of the people in the region defined of U. S. strategic interests. Along with these areas, are increasingly expanding cooperation with developing countries, especially those which can serve as the core for regional stability in Africa and South East<sup>2</sup>. Dominant to determine cooperation with such countries is that U. S. national interests are closely intertwined with the interests of developing world. However, the Strategy 2010 identifies the dependence of global security from a strong and responsible American leadership, emphasizing the dependence of international security on

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<sup>1</sup> National Security Strategy. May 2010. *The White House*. <[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)> (2014, January, 25)

<sup>2</sup> National Security Strategy. May 2010. *The White House*. <[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)> (2014, January, 25)

the leading role of the United States. To maintain its influence, the United States promote the universal values of democracy, which will help countries prosperity and supporting a just peace, which will protect fundamental human rights. This mechanism was effective for American society. Support democracy as a universal human value, is a distinctive part of U. S. development assistance that distinguishes it from potential rivals for influence in the international arena, thus helping more intensive association of international actors and managing international security system. Thus, long-term U. S. security depends on the continued support of universal values. Supporting democracy is strengthened by intergovernmental cooperation, non-governmental organizations and other international institutions. United States willingly support the newly established democracies, which play a more active role in promoting democratic values in the region. Among the objectives of U. S. security is the support of strong partners. Whereas governments' inability to meet basic needs of its citizens and to fulfill its obligations by promoting safety in their country has a global impact and can directly threaten the American people. To avoid this, the U. S. should cooperate with local authorities to work out the economic and political problems that break the stability and threaten security. In conflict and post-conflict period, the building the security system, economic growth and good government management – is an essential way to ensure lasting peace and security. U.S. must strengthen security to conflict vulnerable states, for this great effort imposed on the reorganization of the activities of experts in the field of development assistance. National Security Strategy of 2010 identifies the following tasks: implementation of development assistance in health and education, food security, humanitarian assistance and economic growth promotion<sup>1</sup>. So appealing to the importance of development assistance in security policy.

The complementarity of international security system focuses U. S. on strengthening international institutions that serve common interest and multilateral development assistance. As all countries are taking responsibilities for keeping the balance of power in the international arena. Strategy 2002 focused on counter-terrorism activities and thus determines that the category of developed democratic countries should make efforts to combat terrorism. Countries that depend on international stability must contribute to the prevention of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Meanwhile, countries that depend on international

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<sup>1</sup> National Security Strategy. May 2010. *The White House*. <[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)> (2014, January, 25)

assistance should have a competent government for effective foreign assistance implementation<sup>1</sup>. U.S. commitments in this list are positioning their state as a leading manager in addressing global challenges, confirming its leadership in international development assistance.

The policy of isolationism never was successful for the United States, because issues of international development require the intensification of cooperation with other donors who share common interests. Promotion of common security interests is delivered through cooperation at the multilateral level with NATO, Forum for the Future, or other regional dialogues. If necessary, the United States used the training program for strengthening regional peacekeeping capabilities. The Strategy 2010 states that conflict prevention and maintaining global peace should include global, regional and national priorities. U.S. empowering regional organizations in forming a strategic approach to global security contribution. In particular, the Strategy 2010 defines the ongoing cooperation on global initiatives the OSCE, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, African Union, ASEAN, Cooperation Council of Arab Gulf States and NATO that have potential to affect the efficiency of global security.

Conclusions and recommendations for further research. Thus, foreign assistance serves one of the main parts of the U. S. National Security Strategy along with diplomacy and defense as the U. S. can not remain in a state of peace, security and prosperity separated from global processes. U.S. basic security doctrine during 2002-2010 observes the range of tasks associated with different types of foreign assistance: humanitarian, economic, technical and military certifying the fundamental importance of aid in the security policy of the state. To improve development assistance effectiveness, the Strategies 2002-2006, implement institutional reforms, indicating a key role of the development assistance and its mechanism for the implementation of the U. S. national security. Promotion of democracy as a universal value stands for dominant among mechanisms programs and aims to create a coalition of international partners to address the global challenges of the international security system. According to this concern, the Strategy 2006 emphasizes on the recipient's transition from aid dependence to self-sufficiency imposing foreign governments to be responsible for the development of their country. In further studies, the policy of the United States, as a factor in the transformation of the system of international security should be analyzed.

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<sup>1</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002. *U.S. Department of State*. <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>> (2014, January, 12)