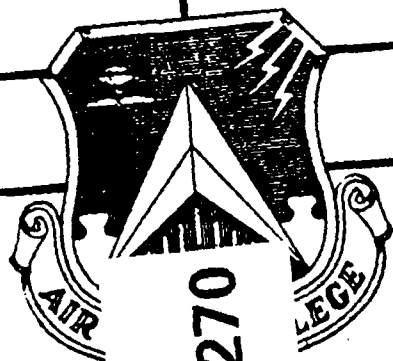


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RESEARCH REPORT

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE SMALL NATIONS

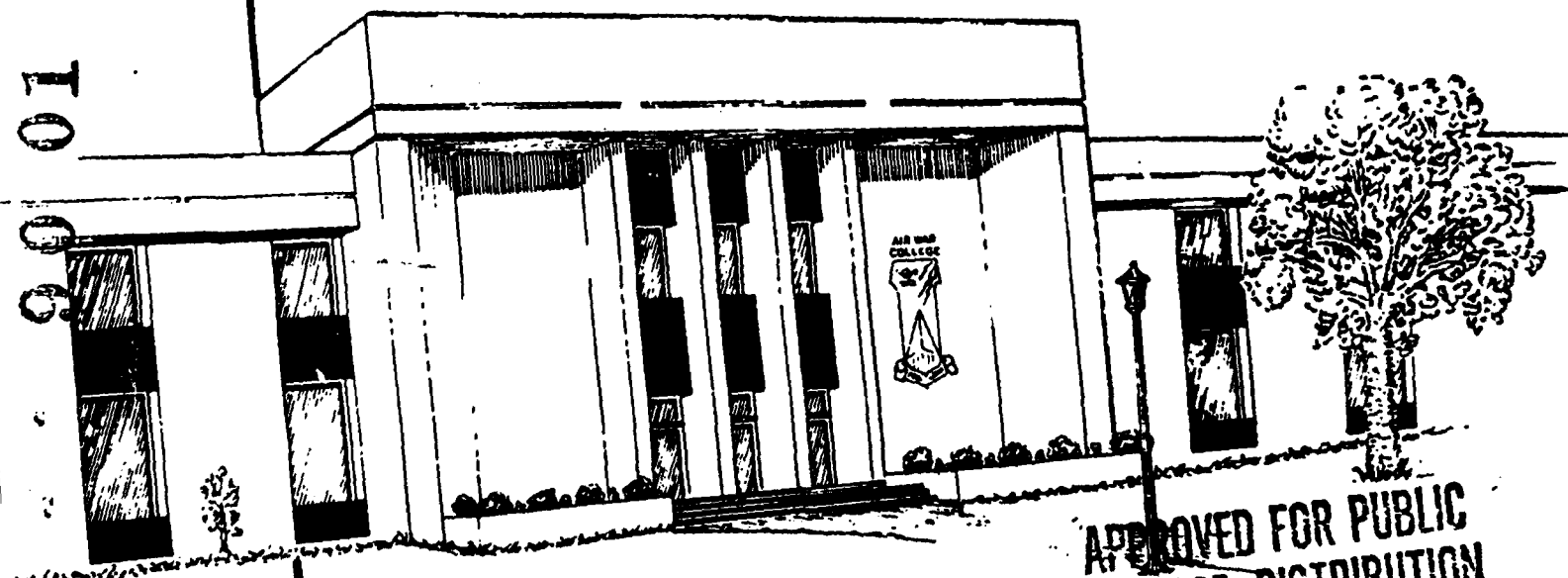
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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES AIR FORCE

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DEFENSE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE SMALL NATIONS

by

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Lieutenant Colonel, U.A.E. Air Force

A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN
FULFILLMENT OF THE RESEARCH
REQUIREMENT

Research Advisor: Dr. Barton J. Michelson

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

May, 1989

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TITLE: Defense Alternatives for the Small Nations.

AUTHOR: Ahmed Khamis Al-Hameli, Lieutenant Colonel, UAEAF

→ What ever the size and the strength of any nation, her foremost worry is the national security. In the present time there are around 159 independent nations. Few of these nations are superpowers, some are big nations, but the majority are small nations.

In response to their security needs, many of the small nations raise armies for the defense against foreign threat. But, in many cases, such armies become a burden and render operationally ineffective. Mainly, such ineffectivness is related to a weakness in any of the main elements of the national power, which is not catered for in defense planning.

Through an assessment of the elements of national power, this research provide guidelines for the defense planning of the small nations. Defense alternatives for different categories of the small nations are also suggested. These alternatives are based on the strengths and weaknesses of the main elements of national power.



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lieutenant Colonel Ahmed Khamis Al-Hameli is a fighter pilot from the United Arab Emirates Air Force. The United Arab Emirates is a small nation, located on the southern shore of the Arabian Gulf. Al-Hameli has been always interested in finding the best solution for the defense of his small nation. In his air force, he held the command of a fighter squadron and later a fighter wing. Since 1984, he is the director of operations and training in the headquarters of his air force. Al-Hameli is a graduate of the United States Air Force Air Command and Staff College and the Air War College, class of 1989.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I am one of about 700,000 people, the total indigenous population of my country: the United Arab Emirates.(1) How best can this small nation maintain her national security and by what means? This question is the concern of many other small nations in the world. Therefore, I have decided to focus my research paper on the answer to this question.

Through close examination of the elements of national power, I will produce guidelines on which small nations shall base their defense planning.

My assessment of the defense needs and means will provide those nations with the best possible solution to their national security concerns. The solution will take the shape of an alternative which is designed specifically to fulfill the defense needs of any given small nation.

The design of such alternative will be based on the national strengths and weaknesses of the concerned nation. For this reason, the small nations will be categorized in different categories. This will be done in the following paragraphs, which will also include the origin and the definition of the small nations.

ORIGIN OF THE SMALL NATIONS

Today, the United Nations consists of 159 independent nations.(2) These nations vary in geographical territory, population size, and economical strength.

Two are super nations: the United States and the Soviet Union; some are big nations: China, India, France, United Kingdom, Japan and others; but, the majority of the members of the United Nations are the small nations. These nations are small in population, territory, economy or in a combination of the three elements.

The evolution of these nations came as an aftermath of the colonial period. Before that period they were parts of greater nations. Their acceptance in the United Nations was based on the national will of their inhabitants.

DEFINITION OF THE SMALL NATION

The small nation is that nation which can't wage a total war in defense of her sovereignty. Some of the small nations can't even wage a limited war. This deficiency is related to a weakness in any of the elements of national power.(3)

CATEGORIES OF THE SMALL NATIONS

The national power consists of three main elements: geographical territories, population and economy.(4) Any weakness in one or more of these elements impact negatively on the national security of the nation.

As previously mentioned, the small nation is small because of a weakness in her elements of national power. The magnitude of weakness differs from nation to nation. Therefore, I decided to sort them into different categories, based on the weaknesses and strengths of their elements of national power. This categorization will help in designing a suitable defense alternative for each of the categories of the small nations.

CATEGORY	GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY	POPULATION SIZE	ECONOMICAL STRENGTH
1	small	small	weak
2	small	small	strong
3	small	big	weak
4	small	big	strong
5	large	small	weak
6	large	small	strong
7	large	big	weak

Table 1. Categories of the small nations.

For the purpose of my research -- because I did not find a specific criteria by which the small nations can be differentiated from other nations -- the following rule will apply to the small nations:

1. Any nation with a geographical territory of less than 10,000 sq. miles.

2. Any nation with population of less than five millions.
3. Any nation with a per capita income of less than five hundred U.S. Dollars, except for those nations with large land and population.

Table 1. shows seven different categories of the small nations. Each category is based on the importance of each of the elements of national power to the defense of the nation. Small geographical territory does not allow maneuver of military forces and allows very little time for threat warning. Small population size restricts the number of available persons for military service. And, a weak economy prohibits the purchase of the necessary weapons for defense. These main inherent difficulties of the small nations and other secondary ones, leaves them in a constant fear of danger to their existence. The next chapter will discuss these difficulties in more detail.

meteorological importance and may present some unique defense problems.

POPULATION SIZE

This is another element of national power which may present serious difficulty for the defense requirements. Military manpower shortage is a main problem for nations with a small population. For this reason, wealthy, small nations use the service of foreigners from friendly countries to fill the gap in their manpower requirement. This proved to be an unsuccessful method due to security, national and cultural reasons.

ECONOMICAL WEAKNES

Economy is an important element of the national power. Therefore, weakness of this element impacts negatively on the nation as a whole and especially on its defense requirements. In small nations with a weak economy, spending on defense is a very critical choice. This choice becomes more difficult in nations with a big population to feed. Due to national security necessities, some nations are forced to either borrow money and face debt problems or get military assistance from a greater nation, which may in some cases injure their sovereignty.

FOREIGN POLICY

The political weight of a nation is a support tool for her national security. And, as a major part of this political tool, the foreign policy is an important

CHAPTER II

DEFENSE DIFFICULTIES FACING THE SMALL NATIONS

The main defense difficulties facing the small nations are related to a weakness in any of their elements of national power. In addition, there are some other difficulties of secondary importance. These difficulties may be encountered in foreign policy, education of the masses, military force structure, or in the search of reliable sources for defense equipment. Each of the difficulties will be addressed separately in the following assessment.

GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORIES

A nation with a small territory faces great difficulties due to the limitation in space for the maneuver of her military forces. Another problem of small territory is the little time available for threat warning, especially in the case of an air threat. Large territory presents a different problem for those nations with a small population. In this case availability of enough manpower to guard the boundaries is a serious difficulty. A nation with large territory and weak economy faces the problem of providing the necessary defense equipment for the defense of her boundaries. In defense planning, other factors must be considered under this element of national power. These factors are of topographical and

heavily on imports for their defense weapons. In most cases, the reliability of the sources of the imported weapons is in question. Depending on political interests such source may enforce arms embargo. Also, due to security measures, latest modern weapons are normally not on the list of sale to the small nations. And, purchases of arms from the superpowers are normally linked with their political and military interests.

MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE

Small nations, when structuring their military forces, tend to copy other greater nations. This tendency is the result of four main reasons. First, the basic elements of the small nations' forces were established before their independence from the imperialist nations. Second, some of the small nations still depend on the advice of foreign experts in structuring their armed forces. Third, The source of professional military education remains as a foreign source. Fourth, small nations rely totally on foreign sources for their weapons needs. For all these reasons, the military forces of many small nations are not suitably structured to meet their defense needs.

diplomatic method. A successful foreign policy decreases the vulnerability of a nation to foreign aggression. This can be attained by: developing friendship with other nations; effective participation in international organizations; and settling political differences with neighboring countries. Unfortunately, small nations have less effective foreign policy, when compared with greater nations, the matter through which (in some cases) the rights of the small nations are deprived.

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

The progress of any nation is measured by the educational standard of her population. All nations, including the small ones, recognize this fact and dedicate a big share of their economical resources to this purpose. But, small nations, and especially the poor ones, are lagging behind, notably in the technical field. Therefore, modern weapons requirements for high technical skills are a difficult accomplishment by the majority of the small nations.

SOURCES OF WEAPONS

A reliable weapons source is a basic defense requirement. Small nations with their very limited industrial base can't afford the total manufacture of their defense equipments. Some of these nations are not even capable of establishing a small ammunition factory. Therefore, the majority of the small nations depends

CHAPTER III

NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE TOOLS

National security is a fundamental requirement for the survival of any nation. For this reason, nations direct a great political and economical effort towards achieving their defense needs.

Political efforts are necessary to achieve peaceful solutions for problems facing the national security. These problems may be of local, regional or international nature. Depending on the sensitivity of the negotiated subject, the solutions to such problems may require a direct or indirect political approach. The time and tempo of the negotiation may vary with the complexity of the subject and the willingness of the parties involved in seeking a solution to the problem.

On the other hand, economical efforts are mainly directed toward military defense spending. Other spending is also made on different security matters and varies from nation to nation. Such matters may include internal police, intelligence, border police and coastal guards.

With their limited political and economical strengths, the national security of the small nations is more vulnerable to foreign threat than that of the greater nations. The degree of such vulnerability differs from nation to nation according to the category they fit into (table-1). The vulnerability becomes greater if a suitable defense tool is not utilized or misutilized in respect to

the defense needs and in accordance to the strengths and weaknesses of the national power. But, what are the defense tools?

NATIONAL DEFENSE TOOLS

National defense tools are those means with which a nation can best maintain her national security. There are three types of national defense tools: military force; internal security; and foreign policy.(5) The effectiveness of any of these tools varies in accordance to the strength and weakness of the elements of national power. Military force is more effective for a nation with a strong economy and big population. Internal security is best suited for a nation with a big population and weak economy; whereas foreign policy works best for a nation with strong economy and small population. This does not mean a nation can solely depend on one defense tool. Instead, this means a nation should prioritize the use of her national defense tools according to their effectiveness for the defense of her security. The concept of national defense tools will be clarified with the following detailed description.

THE MILITARY FORCE

Military force is a defense tool necessary to physically repel any foreign military aggression against the nation. This tool consists of land, air, and sea

elements. Four basic requirements are necessary for a military force to be effective.

First, is an adequate manpower resource. A percentage of the national population is required to join the military service in order to fulfill this requirement (World average is around one percent of the total population in peacetime).(6) This service may be of voluntary or conscription nature. The voluntary service has proven to be more productive.

Second, comes the financial requirement. An acceptable portion of the national income has to be appropriated to military spending. This appropriation varies from nation to nation, but the world average in peacetime is around six percent of the Gross National Product(GNP).(7)

A reliable weapon source is the third requirement. The best solution to this requirement is a national arms industry. But, many nations can't afford this solution due to financial, technological and manpower constraints, or deficiencies. Therefore, for such nations, a foreign source is the only solution for this requirement. The reliability on such foreign source is an important factor for the military force effectiveness.

Last comes the requirement for maneuvering space for the military forces. Deployment of military forces requires adequate land, sea, and air space to effectively employ operational capabilities. Therefore, military forces of nations with small geographical territories face

a serious operational problem. The only solution to this problem lies in the appropriate structuring of the military forces. For example, selection of long-range weapons and long-range warning equipments can overcome a problem of small geographical area.

INTERNAL SECURITY

Internal security plays an important role in the overall security of the nation. The prosperity of any nation depends on having a stable government whose foremost objective is to provide the basic needs for her people. Such needs may include education, health care, social care...etc. But the most important of all is the internal security. Internal security has four different elements: Police, border and coast guards, intelligence and civil defense. Generally, such organizations are found in any government worldwide, but only a few of them are prepared to function effectively in both war and peace. For example, civil defense has a big task in wartime but many nations do not prepare such organization to function in such a way. Also, we find that the tasks of the internal security force in wartime are not clearly defined and practiced in peacetime. A clarification of war/peace functions would greatly enhance the role of the internal security forces in the defense of the nation.

FOREIGN POLICY

This is the most important defense tool of all. Foreign policy, if properly implemented, will greatly enhance the defense of the nation. Mutual relations between nations carries a special importance in the international political system of our time, a political system which is highly dominated by the political interests of the two super powers: the United States and the Soviet Union.

For the small nations, the defense tool of foreign policy can function in three different but interrelated directions. These will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

First is the international relations. Political ties with other nations of the world are of great importance to any nation seeking a presence in today's international political system. Diplomatic relations with other nations are necessary for the exchange of economical, educational, technological, cultural and social benefits. But, what is more important in such relations, is the exchange of political understanding. The understanding of mutual political interests between nations has an important effect on their national security. Such understanding may help the nation in solving her national security problems peacefully, through international organizations such as the United Nations, by securing the majority of votes of the member nations. The resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations

are very effective in this regard, especially if backed by its permanent members.

Alliance is the second direction in which foreign policy can function well. But alliance is not always successful. Many alliance attempts have been made in the past, but only a few of them has seen success. Those successful were the ones created and supported by the two superpowers in the post World War II era (NATO and Warsaw Pact). Alliance is always related to the western or eastern blocs. It involves a strong political, economical and military cooperation. Outside NATO and Warsaw Pact, few other countries are allied to these blocs. Examples are: Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel are strong allies of the United States. Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, Syria, Ethiopia and South Yemen are aligned with the Soviet Union. It is important to mention that alliance with other than the two superpowers is of no big value. It's also important to mention that a nonalignment movement led by nations such as India, Egypt and Yugoslavia, was started in the Fifties and is still active, but this movement had little to offer to the national security of its member states except in political terms.

Third comes the regional cooperation. Nations of the same region share many things in common. They may share borders, culture, ideology, language or even a common threat. For this reason cooperation between such nations can enhance their collective national security.

This cooperation may take place in areas of politics, economy, culture and military. In recent years several regional cooperation organizations were established. Successful examples are: European Community (E.C.) in Western Europe and the Gulf Cooperation Council of the Arab States (G.C.C.) in the Arabian Gulf region. Others, but less successful, are the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI) of Latin America. Success of any regional cooperation depends on a shared vision by the member nations for a common cause. Such cause may be of political, economical or security nature. In any case, any kind of regional cooperation will impact positively on the national security of the member nations.

Now that the defense difficulties of the small nations are clarified and the defense tools are identified, I will move my discussion to another area of this research. The coming chapter will deal with the assessment aspect of national security.

CHAPTER IV

ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Assessment of national security should be the first concern of defense planning. It is very important for the highest defense authorities of a nation to fully understand the threats facing the national security and the means available to deter them. Such assessment will provide the basis on which the national defense should be structured.

THREAT ASSESSMENT

Threat assessment is necessary to analyze friends and foes and evaluate their potential effects on the national security. This assessment should include each and every nation in the world. It must start with the two superpowers and end with close neighbors. The assessment of the superpowers will help in determining alliance preference, assessment of other nations will determine course of international policy, and regional cooperation will depend on the assessment of neighboring nations. The result of the threat assessment will provide two lists--one listing the friendly nations, and the other, potential enemies. Guidelines for the assessment procedures are listed and described in Appendix-A. After finishing the threat assessment, it will be necessary to look at the three elements of national power.

ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL POWER

The assessment of the elements of national power will produce a clear understanding of the available defense capabilities. A thorough analysis of the geographical territories, the total population, and the grand economy will provide an estimate of the national power available for the physical repulsion of threat (Appendix-B provides a guideline for the assessment of the elements of national power). Based on this result, the national defense authority will decide the direction of the national defense policy. The prioritizing of the defense tools by their effectiveness will follow this assessment.

Eventually, the assessment of the national security will place the nation in one of the categories listed on page 3, along with a list of potential threats. At this point the implementation phase of the defense policy should take place. According to her category, the nation should design a defense policy taking into consideration the effectiveness of each of the defense tools versus the threat envisaged (see Appendix-C).

CHAPTER V

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE SMALL NATIONS

Based on the assessment made in the preceding chapters, I have developed different defense alternatives for the small nations. Each alternative is tailored specifically to meet the defense needs of one of the categories of the small nations.

Based on the strengths and weaknesses of the elements of national power, each category is unique in its defense capabilities. Therefore, the degree of implementation of each of the defense tools will vary from one category to another. For example, some nations can't afford the establishment of armed forces, therefore they must rely on the other defense tools for their national security needs.

The following pages will contain seven defense alternatives developed to meet the defense needs of each of the seven categories of the small nations listed on page 3.

Each alternative will include a table containing the small nations to which such defense alternative applies. The table will highlight the area size of each nation in square mile, the total population in millions, soldiers per one thousand people, gross national product (GNP) in million of U.S. Dollars, per capita of the gross national product in U.S. Dollars and the military expenditure of the gross national product (ME/GNP).

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-1

NATION CATEGORY: 1

GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Small

POPULATION SIZE: Small

ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Weak

DESCRIPTION: This category of the small nations are the weakest of all. Geographical territory does not allow effective military force employment. The population is small, therefore there is a restricted recruitment for military service. And, because of economical weakness, spending on military forces is prohibitive.

Nation	Area sq.mile	Population			Economy		
		Total M	year	soldiers 1000	GNP M \$	Per Capita	M E GNP
Antigua & Barbuda	171	0.1	1989	-	150	-	-
Belize	8867	0.2	1989	-	193	1000	-
Camoros	838	0.5	1989	-	114	339	-
Cape Verde	1557	0.3	1985	18.3	137	406	12.0
Djibouti	8494	0.3	1989	-	344	400	-
Dominica	290	0.1	1989	-	102	-	-
The Gambia	4361	0.7	1985	1.4	151	202	1.2
Grenada	133	0.9	1989	-	103	500	-
Jamica	4232	2.4	1985	0.8	1940	792	0.9
Maldives	115	0.2	1989	0.9	50	470	-
St. Christopher Nevis	101	0.04	1989	-	66	-	-
Saint Lucia	238	0.1	1989	-	146	1120	-
Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	150	0.1	1989	-	103	920	-
Sao Tome and principe	372	0.1	1985	18.6	32	288	2.5
Swaziland	6706	0.7	1985	4.4	534	766	1.5

Source: 1. World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers.

2. World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1989.

(See Bibliography)

M=Million, \$=U.S Dollar, GNP=Gross National Product.

M.E=Military Expenditure.

Table 2. Nations of Category-1 (see note 8)

DEFENSE SOLUTION: For such a weak nation the defense tool of military force is not recommended. Instead, defense efforts should be invested in internal security and foreign policy. Internally, focus is to be made on education and social welfare. Small but well-organized and well-equipped border and coastsal guard units will be sufficient security force. Foreign policy must be directed toward regional cooperation. The peaceful existence of such a nation depends heavily on her friendly relations with her neighbors. If strategically located, alliance with one of the superpowers will definitely enhance her national security, but this may invite the presence of the superpower military forces on the soil of the small nation.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-2

NATION CATEGORY: 2

GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Small

POPULATION SIZE: Small

ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Strong

DESCRIPTION: This category of the small nations, with their small geographical territories and population, enjoys a strong economy. Given this favorable economical situation, these nations are in an excellent position for internal development. This in return strengthens their internal security. Nevertheless, the economical strength of these nations falsely prompts them for the unrealistic buildup of military forces. They tend to purchase vast quantities of armament in spite of a limited geographical area and a severe shortage in national manpower. To cover up for the later shortcoming, they turn to foreign manpower sources. Due to cultural differences, military background, social status and national entity, such a solution is generally counterproductive, and no doubt may present a danger to national defence security.(9)

Nation	Area sq.mile	Population			Economy		
		Total M	year	soldier 1000	GNP M \$	Per Capita	M E GNP
Bahrain	259	0.4	1985	6.9	3718	8342	4.0
Barbados	166	0.3	1985	3.3	1162	3724	0.8
The Bahamas	5380	0.3	1985	-	2100	7598	-
Brunei							
Darussalam	2226	0.3	1985	-	3400	20000	-
Cyprus	3572	0.7	1985	19.5	2372	3451	1.3
Fiji	7056	0.7	1985	5.8	1151	1606	-

Israel...continued on next page

Israel	7847	4.1	1985	47.8	26550	6314	13.9
Kuwait	6880	1.7	1985	9.3	24100	13640	6.3
Lebanon	4015	3.3	1983	6.1	5238	1648	20.0
Luxembourg	998	0.4	1985	2.7	4755	12590	0.8
Malta	122	0.4	1985	2.8	1100	3055	1.0
Mauritius	790	1.0	1985	1.0	1098	1019	0.2
Qatar	4247	0.3	1985	20.6	4925	16390	46.9
Singapore	224	2.6	1985	23.1	19280	7307	6.2
Trinidad & Tobago	1980	1.2	1985	1.7	7356	5978	2.7

Table 3. Nations of Category-2 (Source: As for table 2)

DEFENSE SOLUTION: Since the finance for the military force is available, the utilization of this important tool for the national defense can't be dismissed. At the same time it is important to recognize the weakness in the other two elements of power. The size of force should not exceed the limits imposed by population size and geographical space. A small, but well-equipped and highly mobile force is better suited for such nations. Swift and decisive reaction is the best answer to aggressive foreign military action. Such characteristics can be found in modern air force and air defence weapons, fast naval missile boats and small mission-oriented land forces. Alongside the military tool, the other two defense tools can play an important role in the overall national security.

First, because of their strong economy, strengthening of the internal security is an easy task for such nations. This can be achieved through adequate spending on education, social welfare, health care and security police. In addition to its peacetime duties, the police should be organized and trained to function effectively in wartime as well. In this regard, attention

should be given to the border and coastal guard units as well as the civil defense element.

Second, foreign policy is the most effective tool of defense for this category of nations. In this regard, priority should be given to regional cooperation. Peaceful solutions to outstanding regional conflicts will enhance regional stability, and hence the security of the member nations. Political, economical, cultural and military cooperation will strengthen the mutual interests and therefore lead to collective regional reaction to foreign threat on any of the member nations. If such cooperation is not possible due to extravagant difference of interests, the only solution remaining is military alliance with one of the big nations or the superpowers in exchange for services to the other side's interests.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-3

NATION CATEGORY: 3
GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Small
POPULATION SIZE: Big
ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Weak

DESCRIPTION: Few nations are members of this category. Unless strategically important, such nations are of little interest to the rest of the world. They face serious internal problems due to their very low per capita income and small geographical area. They are highly dependent on foreign aid from friendly nations and international organizations. They are also a source of cheap labor for other nations.

At the present time, there is only one nation which fall under this category, and that is El Salvador. But with international trends in population increase and economical problems, other small nations may fall under this category in the future. El Salvador has an area of 8260 sq. miles, a population of 5.5 million in 1989, a GNP of four billion dollars and a per capita around 700 U.S. dollars.

DEFENSE SOLUTION: The availability of manpower resource permits the establishment of military force as a defense tool. However, the establishment of such force is limited by the weakness of the other two elements of national power. For this reason, a militia force structure is best suited for this category of the small nations. The size of

such force must be based on the result of careful threat assessment. The smaller the size, the better the chance to spend on the more serious internal problems.

Internally, priority should be given to health care, social welfare and education. A small police force will be necessary for internal security. It should include elements for coastal and border guards as well as a civil defense element. In any case, unless an imminent threat is perceived, spending on the military and police forces should not be allowed to adversely affect the social programs.

Externally, as a defense tool, foreign policy should be directed to specific areas. Regionally, efforts should be made to develop special friendship relations with neighboring nations, especially with those in requirement of labor manpower. This will spur the increase of national income and therefore facilitate some of the defense spending. The international organizations such as the United Nations are a good source for economical and social aid, therefore relations with such organizations should be given special attention. Finally, if sought by one of the superpowers, alliance can be a beneficial undertaking.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-4

NATION CATEGORY: 4

GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Small

POPULATION SIZE: Big

ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Strong

DESCRIPTION: The nations of this category are rarely found in today's world. In relation to most of the other small nations, they possess much better potential for successful defense. Their strong economy and big population permit the establishment of a strong military force. Also, due to their strong economy, such nations should not have internal security problems and have the necessary qualifications to implement an effective foreign policy. The only problem facing these nations is a small geographical territory. This limitation degrades military operations, such as troop maneuver and threat warning.

Presently, none of the small nations fit this category. In the future, those nations with an already strong economy and which experience a rapid growth in population may fall into this category.

DEFENSE SOLUTION. For the defense of such nations, priority should be given to the military forces. These forces should be structured keeping geographical limitations in mind. Priority should be given to the air forces with the deterrence concept in mind. The army should consist of light units with effective firepower weapons, such as antitank, light artillery and rocket

launchers. The navy (if required) should depend on fast missile boats and armed helicopters. Such military force composition is necessary for quick reaction to threat, and versatile mobility. Alongside the military tool, the implementation of the other two defense tools will further enhance the national security.

Internally, such nations should appropriate most of their gross national income for the strengthening of their internal security. In addition to spending on education, social welfare and health care, a strong police force should be established. This force should include border and coast guard units, trained and organized to be used in wartime, as well as an effective civil defense establishment.

Externally, this category of nations has the potential to implement an effective foreign policy. In the first place, such policy should be directed towards regional cooperation with the neighboring nations. On the international level, these nations can play an important role in the international organizations such as the United Nations. Unless very necessary for the national security, alliance should be the last resort for such nations.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-5

NATION CATEGORY: 5
 GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Large
 POPULATION SIZE: Small
 ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Weak

DESCRIPTION: This is another very weak nation. Her three elements of national power do not support each other. While the geographical territory is large, the population is small and the economy is weak, therefore she faces great difficulties in defending her borders. She also faces problems in financing basic infrastructures such as roads, ports and land reform due to her weak economy.

Nation	Area sq.mile	Population		Soldier 1000	Economy		
		Total M	year		GNP M \$	Per Capita	M E GNP
Albania	11100	3.0	1985	14.2	2700	883	5.3
Benin	43483	4.0	1985	1.5	1014	243	2.5
Botswana	231804	1.1	1985	2.8	922	834	2.7
Burundi	10759	4.7	1985	1.5	1039	213	3.2
C. Africa	240534	2.5	1985	2.0	642	245	2.0
Chad	495755	4.4	1985	3.6	636	139	1.9
Eq. Guinea	10832	0.3	1985	9.1	45	250	4.6
G. Bissau	13948	0.9	1985	12.4	144	153	4.3
Guyana	83000	0.8	1985	9.1	378	480	8.9
Honduras	43277	4.5	1985	4.7	3157	679	3.8
Laos	91428	3.5	1984	12.8	525	148	10.5
Lesotho	11716	1.5	1985	1.0	728	468	6.5
Liberia	38250	2.2	1985	2.7	1049	455	2.7
Mauritania	397954	1.8	1985	11.4	707	389	6.6
Mongolia	604247	1.9	1985	20.0	-	-	-
P.N. Guinea	176280	3.4	1985	0.9	2454	700	1.5
S. Leone	27925	3.7	1985	1.1	1103	290	0.9
Togo	21622	3.0	1985	2.3	674	216	2.9
S. Yemen	128559	2.2	1985	12.2	1095	480	17.6
Bhutan	18147	1.5	1989	-	135	120	-
Solomon Is.	10640	0.3	1989	-	137	628	-

Table 4. Nations of Category-5 (Source: As for table 2)

DEFENSE SOLUTION: The establishment of military forces is not recommended for such a weak nation. Instead, her national security should depend heavily on internal security and foreign policy.

Internally, efforts should be focused on the provision of the basic needs of the people. Health care, social welfare and education are areas for such efforts. For the development of the economy, investment should be made in basic infrastructure. Security of the border should be tasked to the police force. For this purpose, the elements of border and coastal guards should be organized in semi-military structure, so they can be used against limited foreign aggression.

But, for this category of nations, the best defense tool against foreign threat is foreign policy. Efforts in this field should be directed towards strengthening friendly relations with neighboring nations. This may lead to regional cooperation, which will improve the overall security of the member nations. International organizations should be the second target of foreign policy. Through organizations such as the United Nations, assistance can be obtained for the development of the local economy and national security concerns may be addressed for peaceful solutions. Alliance will depend on the interests of the superpowers and if acceptable will improve the security of such nations.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-6

NATION CATEGORY: 6
 GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Large
 POPULATION SIZE: Small
 ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Strong

DESCRIPTION: The power of this category of nations lies in their strong economy. Because of this fact and their small population, the per capita income is normally high. They should face no serious internal problems except for the control on a large geographical territory. This problem is imposed by the small size of population. To make up for such shortcomings, these nations have the tendency to employ foreign manpower in their armed forces. Such undertaking is counterproductive and may be harmful to defense security.

Nation	Area sq.mile	Population		Economy			
		Total M	year	Soldier 1000	GNP M \$	Per Capita	M E GNP
Congo	132046	1.9	1985	7.7	2058	1025	3.4
Costa Rica	19595	2.7	1985	3.0	3380	1233	1.0
Finland	130119	4.9	1985	8.2	52890	10460	1.5
Gabon	103346	1.0	1985	6.9	3601	3452	2.0
Iceland	39769	0.2	1985	0.0	2557	10270	0.0
Ireland	27137	3.5	1985	4.0	16500	4521	1.9
Jordan	37737	2.6	1985	31.6	4131	1564	17.4
Libya	679359	3.6	1985	24.8	29310	8084	40.0
New Zealand	103736	3.3	1985	4.0	22490	6698	2.0
Nicaragua	50193	3.2	1985	23.4	4176	1279	16.8
Norway	125181	4.2	1985	9.9	58630	13680	3.2
Oman	82030	1.2	1985	21.7	8852	7441	24.4
Panama	29208	2.2	1985	5.5	4615	2052	2.2
Paraguay	157047	4.0	1985	3.5	5698	1384	1.1
Suriname	63037	0.4	1985	5.3	1011	2602	2.5
U.A.E.	32000	1.6	1985	28.0	24490	15120	5.7
Uruguay	68037	2.9	1985	10.2	4987	1643	2.7

Table 4. Nations of Category 6 (Source: As for table 2)

DEFENSE SOLUTION. For these economically strong nations, it is unrealistic to totally dismiss the use of military force for the national defense. But, the size of military forces should be within the limits imposed by the elements of national power. Therefore, the force structure should be tailored while keeping in mind the small size of population and the large area of geographical territory. For such nations a small and well-equipped military force is better than a large one that is dependent on foreign manpower. In response to a foreign threat, this force should have the capability to move quickly and swiftly, and produce a decisive firepower against the intruders. Special attention should be given to the air force and highly mobile land force. If navy is required, it should consist of fast attack missile boats and armed helicopters.

Internally, development of the basic needs of the people will enhance national security. The police force should include elements for border and coast guard, and civil defense. Other than their peacetime role, these units should be organized and trained to participate in wartime periods in cooperation with the armed forces.

Externally, these nations should follow the same foreign policy suggested for Category-2 nations.

DEFENSE ALTERNATIVE-7

NATION CATEGORY: 7
 GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORY: Large
 POPULATION SIZE: Big
 ECONOMICAL STRENGTH: Weak

DESCRIPTION: This category comprises the majority of the small nations. The major problem facing these nations is a weak economy. Because of this fact, they are generally underdeveloped nations and suffer from an increase in international debt. They have the potential of becoming big nations provided the economy is made stronger. These nations tend to raise big armies despite their economical weakness. Such armies are generally ill-equipped and therefore have low operational effectiveness in today's modern wars.

Nation	Area Sq.mile	Population			Economy		
		Total M	year	Soldier 1000	GNP M \$	Per Capita	M E GNP
Bangladesh	55598	101.4	1985	0.9	15000	143	1.7
B. Faso	105869	7.7	1984	1.2	996	129	2.7
Burma	261789	37.2	1985	5.6	6863	179	3.0
Cambodia	69898	5.8	1981	3.5	600	119	-
Ethiopia	471776	47.7	1985	5.5	4532	101	2.1
Guinea	94964	6.2	1985	4.4	1995	303	3.2
Haiti	10714	6.0	1985	1.0	1880	305	6.0
Kenya	224960	23.7	1989	-	6700	322	4.8
Malawi	45747	7.0	1985	0.9	1189	165	1.7
Madagascar	226657	10.1	1985	2.7	2339	255	2.4
Mali	478764	8.0	1985	1.4	1081	131	2.5
Mozambique	309494	13.8	1985	2.5	2216	156	7.4
Nepal	56136	17.0	1985	1.5	2664	152	1.2
Niger	489189	6.6	1985	1.2	1520	225	0.8
Rwanda	10169	6.3	1985	0.8	1767	270	1.7
Senegal	75750	6.7	1985	2.7	2346	342	2.8
Siri Lanka	25332	16.0	1985	1.3	6267	380	2.7

Somalia ...continued on next page.

Somalia	246300	7.3	1984	5.9	3240	444	2.8
Sudan	966757	22.4	1985	2.9	7319	317	2.0
Tanzania	364886	22.0	1985	2.0	5672	250	3.4
Uganda	93354	14.2	1984	1.1	4998	352	1.1
Zaire	905563	30.2	1985	2.0	4723	150	1.7
Zambia	290586	6.8	1985	2.4	2630	377	6.6

Table 5. Nations of Category-7 (Source: As for table 2)

DEFENSE SOLUTION: For two main reasons, raising a big army is not the best solution for the security of these nations. First, because it will be ill-equipped and therefore rendered ineffective in front of a maybe-small, but well-equipped adversary. Second, because the finance of a big army will deplete the national budget and therefore adversely affect the national security, especially in peacetime periods. Therefore, it is better for such nations to maintain a reasonably numbered armed force, equipped with modern weapons and have a reserve force to maintain the older weapons in serviceable condition. By doing this, a big savings can be made in the national budget and hence improve the internal security.

Such improvement can be made in the basic requirements of the people and the development of the basic infrastructure to permit land reform and a base for industrialization. This will help strengthen the economy in the long run and thus bring these nations to the status of the big nations.

To further enhance the national security, foreign policy has an important role to play for such nations. National security concerns can be resolved mutually with neighboring nations which will permit future regional

cooperation. If not possible, the United Nations is the right forum for the peaceful solution of political differences. If politically accepted by both sides, alliance with one of the superpowers will greatly enhance the national security. For this will reduce the nation's need for big and expensive armed forces and thereby improve the national economy.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The small nations will exist for the foreseeable future. They are approaching the end of their fear period. I can predict a peaceful existence for all nations through the coming century. My prediction is based on a few world facts.

First is the increase of cooperation initiatives between different regional nations. Examples are: The European Community, The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Association of South East Asian Nations. Other cooperation attempts are presently taking place in different regions of the world.

Second is the end of the Cold War period between the two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union). The present period is revealing peaceful initiatives from both sides. Such initiatives include reduction of arms and mutual understanding on regional issues.

Third is the peaceful termination of many regional wars through diplomatic efforts made by the United Nations, the two superpowers, some regional organizations, and some peace-loving nations. Examples include: Iraq-Iran War, Afghanistan Conflict, Namibian Problem and Chadian Conflict. Other conflicts are on their way to peaceful solutions such as: The Western Sahara Problem, Cambodian Conflict and the Middle East Problem. The latter may require more time due to its severe complexity but

eventually a peaceful solution seems to be the only answer, given that the present balance of international power prevails.

Given this optimistic view of the future, the small nations have a great chance for peaceful existence. But, this highly depends on their future behavior within the regional and international political systems. They should seek political solutions to their national security external threat concerns, rather than military solutions. The latter should be applied in extreme circumstances only.

History is full of many lessons of previous wars' destructive results. The last was the Iraq-Iran War, which resulted in severe harm to the national security of both nations, without any noticeable gain to either of the two sides.

Nevertheless, the total dismissal of the tool of military force from the list of the defense means will degrade the overall security maintenance. In peacetime, this tool will work for the deterrence of the adversary. While in critical need for self defense, it will become the primary tool against foreign military aggression.

But, military forces are very expensive to raise and maintain, and therefore should be structured while taking into account the weakness and strengths of the elements of the national power. Spending on the military forces should not adversely affect the national economy, which will in turn limit spending on the basic needs of

the people, and therefore harm the overall national security from another aspect. An army should not be raised beyond the limits imposed by the population element of the national power. Also, the armed forces should be organized and armed while visualizing the limitations imposed by the geographical element of the national power.

Because of these inherent limitations in the elements of national power of the small nations, they should not depend heavily on the tool of the armed forces for their defense needs. Instead, they should seek political solutions through a shrewd foreign policy, even if this may cost them some national concessions. This will always be better than the involvement in a war which may lead to severe damage to the national security, unless such war is unavoidable. The famous American General Douglas MacArthur once said:

I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting. I have long advocated its complete abolition, as its very destructiveness on both friend and foe has rendered it useless as a means of settling international disputes.... But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision.

APPENDIX-A
ASSESSMENT OF THREAT

1. GENERAL INFORMATION.

NATION: The name of the nation under assessment.

POPULATION: Include total population, population density, Ethenic groups, Languages, and Religions.

GEOGRAPHY: Area size, Location, Neighboring Nations. Topography and Major Cities.

GOVERNMENT: Type of Government, Head of State, Local divisions.

ECONOMY: Gross National Product, Per Capita Income, Major Resourses, Industry, Currency. Financial status and any other important information.

2. POLICY.

INTERNAL: A statement covering the internal policy of this nation and the status of internal security.

EXTERNAL: General statement on the foreign policy of this nation towards other nations.

MUTUAL: A detailed assessment of mutual relations between this nation and ours. It should include political, economical, cultural and military ties between the two nations.

3. DEFENSE.

ARMED FORCES: Total military and paramilitary forces.
Service type, Defense Budget as % of
Gross National Product, and total armed
forces as % of population.

ARMY: Personnel and Equipment.

NAVY: Personnel and Equipment.

AIR FORCE: Personnel and Equipment.

PARAMILITARY: Personnel and Equipment.

HISTORY: Historical note on previous wars and
results.

4. THREAT ASSESSMENT.

TYPE: What type of threat this nation poses?

REASON: Why this threat?

TIME: When this threat is anticipated?

LOCATION: Where will the threat be?

MEANS: How will the threat take place and with
what means?

APPENDIX-B

ASSESSMENT OF THE NATIONAL POWER

1. GEOGRAPHY: Description of the national territories which should include the total area, topography and meteorology. Emphasis should be made on the limitations imposed by this element of the national power.
2. POPULATION: This should include total population, Indigenous population, growth rate, age distribution, population density, literacy rate, ethnic groups, languages and religions. Number of people available for military service (it should not exceed 2% of the total indigenous population as regular peacetime service).
3. ECONOMY: Gross National Product, Per Capita Income, National economical resources, National Budget, Manufacturing capacity and national debt. Available military expenditure (This should equal to 5-10% of the Gross National Product). in peacetime.

APPENDIX-C
NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY

1. THE AIM.

Under this headline, outline the overall aim of the national defense policy. Example: (The aim of the defense policy is to preserve the sovereignty of the nation through diplomatic and military means against any foreign threat, and by providing the necessary requirements of the people for the enhancement of internal security).

2. THE OBJECTIVES.

What are the objectives of the national defense policy? This should include short-term and long-term objectives. Example: (The short-term objective is to concentrate on the establishment of the basic infrastructure to enhance the national economy and provide the basic needs of the people and therefore strengthen the internal security. The long-term objective is to settle border problems with an " x " nation through diplomatic means, and strengthen the armed forces by adding two more fighter squadrons in the coming ten years). You may add as many objectives as required.

3. THE THREAT.

Based on the threat assessment in Appendix-A, prioritize all threats according to the danger

they pose to the national security. Also, identify the friends of your enemy and your own friendly nations. This will help in implementing the correct defense tool which will be discussed under the next step.

4. THE TOOLS.

Based on the results of the assessment of the elements of national power and the threat assessment, weigh the national defense tools against the threats. You may find that the implementation of the military force is not possible and therefore choose to depend heavily on the foreign policy tool. In such case you may seek solutions through the United Nations or find it favorable to counter the threat through regional cooperation or even establish alliance with one of the superpowers. In another case you may find the threat can be neutralized or eliminated by strengthening the internal security. In any case the implementation of the defense tools should always depend on the strengths and weaknesses of the elements of national power. For the small nations it is always favorable to seek peaceful solutions to their national security concerns and reserve the military tool as a last solution.

NOTES

1. According to The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1989, the total population of the United Arab Emirates in 1989 is 1,455,000 but more than half of this number are foreign employees and their families.
2. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1989, p. 744.
3. No exact definition of the small nation was found in any previous reference work. The Encyclobidya of The United Nations define "Nation" as 'An international term having no international definition'. My definition of the small nation is based on her capability to wage a war.
4. The International Relations Dictionary, fourth Edition, 1988, pp. 9-10, define the Elements of National Power as: 'The factors that collectively constitute the power-in-being and the power potentiality of a state. Some elements of national power are natural factors not ordinarily subject to human control or alteration, while others are variables that depend on human impules, organiztion, and capacities'. Under this definition, the reference lists 11 different elements out of which I thought three are the main ones which are not subject to human control or alteration. My work is therefore based on this conclusion.
5. I did not include economy as a defense tool because I consider it as a main element of the national power, which have an influence on the defense tools of military force, foreign policy and internal security.
6. Refer to World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1987, pp. 43-84.
7. Ibid.,
8. Ibid., for more details and explanation. pp. 29-84.
9. Foreign employees are vulnerable to the release of important defense information. They only work for financial benefits and reserve little sencerity for the national interests of the host nation. Their participation in the event of war is highly questionable.

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