

SGI Sustainable Governance
Indicators 2009

Security and Integration

Security report



Indicator External security

Question Do policies protect citizens against external security risks and safeguard the national interest?

30 OECD countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels:

- 10-9 = Policies protect citizens very effectively against external security risks.*
- 8-6 = Policies protect citizens more or less effectively against external security risks.*
- 5-3 = Policies do not effectively protect citizens against external security risks.*
- 2-1 = Policies exacerbate external security risks.*

New Zealand

value 10

New Zealand's geopolitical situation makes it a highly unlikely target for terrorist threats. The country's Defense Force consists of three parts: the Army, the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force. There is no compulsory military service. New Zealand's Army consists of approximately 4,500 regular personnel and 2,500 non-regulars and civilians. The Navy has a fleet of ten ships, only two of which are frigates with combat capabilities. The Air Force has only 53 aircraft, all unarmed, intended to support the Navy or the Army in executing transport and maritime patrol tasks.

This relatively low combat power today results in a correspondingly low expenditure share for defense. This fits the nation's needs, since significant combat power is unnecessary for a small country in relative isolation. Nevertheless, the government has invested in professionalizing its military, based on a long-term development plan.

New Zealand is an active partner in international strategic defense arrangements with Australia and NATO. Domestically, a "Combined Threat Assessment Group" has been established, which brings together various ministries, the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service, the New Zealand Police, the Government Communications Security Bureau, the New Zealand Defense Force, Maritime New Zealand, and the New Zealand Customs Service.

Together with Australia, the country works toward peaceful and successful development of the Pacific Islands region. New Zealand has been involved in nation-building and peacekeeping missions in the South Pacific (including in Fiji, Tonga, East Timor and Papua New Guinea) and currently in Afghanistan. As one example, in 2003 New Zealand made a substantial contribution to support the Solomon Islands in terms of security, sending military and police forces to the country.

Belgium

value 9

With low-key military ambitions, Belgium's external security policy is not a hot-button issue among politicians or the population. During the period under consideration, the army was reduced in size as its technologies were modernized. Belgium's navy is now also shared and jointly managed with that of the Netherlands. The country's secret service is clearly less well equipped than its British or U.S. counterparts and the country as a whole benefits from security efforts of the more powerful or ambitious members of NATO. Nevertheless, Belgium's military forces have increasingly been dispatched as peacekeepers, and have participated in many missions led by the United Nations or NATO.

Canada

value 9

Taking into account its status as a mid-sized power and its well-established, international reputation as a credible conflict mediator, Canada's external security policy is generally quite effective. A close partnership with the United States – at both the continental level and beyond – is the key to Canada's continued external security. At times, however, Canada's strong ties with the United States come into conflict with its national interests. Take, for example, the contested sovereignty claims over the Northwest Passages, which Canada considers part of its internal waters. Or, as another example, the current Harper government, which is generally more sympathetic to U.S. security policies than previous governments were, has been very assertive about the sovereignty of Canada's arctic territory.

In 2005, Canada's military expenditures represented only 1.1 percent of GDP, which is one of the OECD's lowest rates. The Conservatives made the Canadian military a top priority in their election campaign, and the Harper government accordingly made significant increases in military spending. This massive amount of defense spending includes new arctic ships, tanks, heavy-lift helicopters and airbases. Critics state that the amount of new equipment exceeds that needed by the current force of about 64,000 soldiers.

Canada's involvement in Afghanistan is its most important – and most challenging – contribution to current external security policy. Canada was the third-largest contributor to the NATO-led invasion of Afghanistan in the aftermath of 9/11 and still maintains a contingent of about 2,500 troops there, whose activities are currently concentrated in the extremely dangerous province of Kandahar. The mandate for the current military mission is scheduled to expire in 2009.

France

value 9

As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and as a nuclear power, France belongs to a group of important global players in terms of security. In addition, France's membership in NATO (France is not part of NATO's integrated armed forces) and the European Union (France is increasingly active in EU security policy) has prompted the country to adopt a more supranational point of view. All previous French governments and presidents – irrespective of their political leanings – have expressed a core interest in external security issues.

The parameters of international politics have undoubtedly changed since the end of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the new threat of international terrorism has resulted in France developing its own, independent security policy.

Luxembourg

value 9

Defense policy is formulated primarily with reference to Europe and NATO. Since 2003, Luxembourg's army has been a member of Eurocorps, serving under the operational command of a Belgian unit. National defense priorities include the safety of Luxembourg's own territory, cooperation at the international level, the prevention and resolution of wars, and the provision of humanitarian aid. Military expenditures have increased in recent years, from 0.91 percent of the national budget in 2004 to 1.29 percent in 2006, after the government agreed to participate in the NATO operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan, and to share in the costs of these operations. Over the same time, army enrollment nearly doubled from 500 to 1000 soldiers.

Since 2003, Luxembourg has pioneered a new policy allowing EU citizens residing in the country for more than 36 months to enroll in the national army. By the end of 2006, 66 soldiers of foreign nationality had enrolled. Although serving in part as a free rider on the military capacity of its European and transatlantic allies, Luxembourg effectively protects its citizens against external security risks.

Norway

value 9

Security policy is informed by a commitment to international cooperation, in particular in U.N. activities in all areas, in NATO and OSCE activity (but not EU membership), and by a determination to do good, to be liked and to be respected as broadly as possible. Norway is one of the world's largest providers of development aid, is a participant in a range of U.N. and NATO peacekeeping missions, including in Afghanistan, and has acted as an active honest broker in trouble spots such as Israel/Palestine, Columbia, Sri Lanka, Iraq and elsewhere. The country is recognized as having influence beyond its relatively small size in various international forums and activities, and seems to be rewarded with widespread respect. Internally, the

country's security is not seriously threatened by crime, social divisions or other social disruptions.

Sweden

value 9

Sweden is not a member of any military alliances and maintains a rather neutral role in wars, as has been a long-standing tradition in Swedish security policy. At the same time, however, Sweden has an elaborate and competitive military industry that produces and exports many technically advanced weapons (e.g., the JAS fighter aircraft). Moreover, Sweden relies more on its domestically produced high-tech military equipment for its defense than, for example, its neighbor Finland, which according to recent reports can mobilize an army more than twice the size of Sweden's in cases of national emergency (and at half the cost).

The Swedish armed forces are currently undergoing a process of comprehensive transformation aimed at creating smaller, more mission-focused defense forces. The political decision to undertake this reform results from the radically altered threat situation, the emerging common approach to European security and the rapid pace of developments in both technology and European society at large. Sweden also collaborates in international military operations with the European Union, the United Nations and in NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

Switzerland

value 9

Switzerland's external security policy has traditionally been based on the concept of armed neutrality. Although the national consensus on this strategy of preventing war through preparation for self-defense remains solid, the Swiss concept of security has in fact strayed more in the direction of international cooperation since the end of the Cold War. Today, Swiss security policy pursues three goals. Firstly, Switzerland attempts to contribute to world peace and security in terms of international cooperation. To this end, Switzerland is active in the OSCE and NATO (a relationship formally known as "Partnership for Peace") and is also involved in various peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, Switzerland continues to ensure that it is sufficiently equipped in order to react quickly to the threat of military attack from abroad. In such an event, the country would be supported by NATO. However, some commentators argue that the country's defense strategy is focused too heavily on traditional aggressors, and not sufficiently on new forms of threat. The third aim of the Swiss external security policy is the creation and maintenance of a civil protection system to be utilized in the event of natural disasters. The reform of the nation's security policy following the Cold War is still underway. Debate over the creation of a professional army, and questions concerning the role of the army in combating terrorist threats have each caused considerable political controversy.

Australia

value 8

External security is maintained through the Australian Defense Force (ADF), which since the abolition of conscription in 1972 has been an all-volunteer force broadly representative of Australian society. The ADF has been highly effective in a range of peacekeeping operations across the world, notably in East Timor in 1999 following the referendum vote to support independence. The ADF was also part of the coalition which invaded Afghanistan in 2001, and a member of the coalition in the Gulf War of 1990 – 1991 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The ADF also has a role in supporting the customs authorities to secure the borders of northern Australia, in supporting the civil authorities in the reconstruction of aboriginal communities, and in counterterrorism activities.

Since World War II, Australia has also relied for its external security on its alliance with the United States, formalized since 1951 in the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security (or ANZUS) Treaty. Military expenditure is not large in absolute terms, reflecting Australia's comparatively small population; however, the share of central government expenditure for defense is the fifth largest among OECD nations. It is generally regarded as adequate relative to perceived regional threats and to current demands made upon the defense force. Australia's military has continuously played a significant role in the South Pacific, having intervened in several conflicts and other destabilizing events in the region in recent years.

Austria

value 8

Since the end of the Cold War and Austria's accession to the European Union, Austria's security policy of permanent neutrality has lost some of its original reasons for existing. By participating in the European Union's Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) as well as in NATO's Partnership for Peace activities, Austria's neutrality has been somewhat eroded by pragmatic politics. However, Austria still adheres to its legal status as a neutral country, and it has not become a member of NATO. The main focus of Austrian security policy is on participating in UN peacekeeping and development-aid operations.

In accordance with its tradition of neutrality, Austria's security policy follows a soft-power approach. For example, Austria contributes to diplomatic mediations in international conflicts, peacekeeping missions and emergency-aid operations. This focus is consistent with the fact that Austria's military expenditures as a share of total federal expenditures are the lowest in the entire OECD.

Czech Republic

value 8

The common assumption on external security policy, as expressed in a 2003 government policy document formulated after cross-party discussions, has been that there is no major external threat to Central Europe. Moreover, if there is a threat from farther away, the assumption is that it can best be faced by integration into NATO and the European Union. This assumption is also driven by a vague pro-Western consensus, although there is some degree of skepticism about this. Support for NATO is tinged with some doubts, for example, which has led to political differences over the priority attached to military spending. There have been concerns that support for NATO has necessitated higher military spending, despite the fact that the end of the East-West confrontation was expected to decrease this spending. There is also some debate about participating in military activities abroad because the old Czechoslovak army was not trained to function beyond its own borders. There are also sharp divisions over a planned U.S. radar installation in the Czech Republic as part of the U.S. anti-missile shield. The ODS has been keen to accept this installation. Public opinion polls suggest that the majority opposes this plan, although it should be noted that the general level of knowledge about international security issues is low. Support is based primarily on arguments about the desirability of complying with U.S. wishes, with no reference being given to possible wider implications of the new weapons system on international security.

Denmark

value 8

Denmark's external security is principally based on its membership in NATO. Since the end of the Cold War, there have been no serious conventional threats to Danish territory. At the same time, though, terrorist attacks in the United States, Spain, the United Kingdom and other countries suggest that Denmark may also face the threat of an external terrorist attack.

In June 2004, a broad, six-party agreement defined the goals of Denmark's defense policy as: countering direct and indirect threats to the security of Denmark and allied countries; maintaining Danish sovereignty and the protection of Danish citizens; and working toward international peace and security in accordance with the principles of the U.N. charter, especially through conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peacemaking and humanitarian operations.

According to the agreement, the changed security situation requires Denmark to strengthen its capabilities when it comes to its internationally deployable military capacities and its ability to counter acts of terror and their consequences. The agreement adds that: "Danish security policy should primarily be aimed at countering the threats where they emerge, regardless of whether this is within or beyond Danish borders."

As a result of this agreement, Denmark's armed forces are being reorganized away from classic territorial defense toward having the capabilities required for

international peacekeeping and peacemaking activities. Denmark has a proud tradition of taking part in U.N. peacekeeping activities, and since the end of the Cold War, Denmark has also taken part in a number of NATO activities, such as those in the former Yugoslavia. Moreover, Danish forces are also actively involved in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Over the five-year period of the defense agreement's validity, Denmark's defense budget will remain unchanged, but reorganization and modified procurement policies should make the armed forces more efficient. Moreover, whereas Denmark currently has about 1,000 soldiers deployed abroad, it aims to be able to deploy up to 2,000 soldiers by 2009.

Despite these improvements, Denmark's defense policy has one major, persistent problem: its opt-out from EU defense policy. As a result of this opt-out, Denmark has not been able to take part in activities under the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) since they began in 2003. Many Danish politicians would like to abolish the defense opt-out, and according to a poll conducted in March 2005, 61 percent of the Danish population favors Denmark's participation in ESDP. Despite these numbers, however, the government has yet to muster the courage to call a referendum, considering the fact that in a similar referendum in 2000 the Danes refused the introduction of the euro.

Annotation:Ministry of Defense, "Danish Defence Agreement,"

<http://forsvaret.dk/FMN/eng/Defence+Agreement/2005-2009/> (accessed June 15, 2008)

Finland

value 8

Finland's security policy is based on a credible defense capability, founded on the principles of general conscription and full territorial defense. While today abjuring membership in any military alliances, Finland's policy is to maintain and develop its national defense and credible defense capabilities, to be fully engaged in the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy and crisis management operations, and to develop its Partnership for Peace (PfP) relationship with NATO, while retaining the possibility of ultimately applying for NATO membership. In recent years, Finland has indicated a readiness to participate in NATO-related activities, and the NATO option is one frequent theme in the country's foreign policy discussions. However, NATO membership has to date remained only an option. Possible security risks resulting from the neighboring Russia are attentively observed, but are rarely discussed openly in public. Finland supports endeavors to strengthen the European Union as an actor in the field of international policy and economy. The development of relations with the neighboring areas, including the Nordic countries, Russia and the Baltic states, is of prime importance. Policymakers try to enhance the status of the Baltic Sea region and the northern regions within the European Union. More broadly, Finland endeavors to strengthen multilateral cooperation and international law, and to increase global security by reducing inequality and social exclusion.

Germany

value 8

Germany's external security policy protects citizens against security risks. The country follows a multilateral policy approach, with its foreign and external security policy embedded in the framework of NATO, EU and U.N. cooperation. While NATO is still the primary focus for external security, both the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) have gained in importance. With regard to new security risks and challenges since the mid-1990s, Germany has contributed to various peacekeeping missions and to the fight against terrorism. In 2007, more than 7000 members of the German military forces participated in international missions.

However, public support for Germany's military engagement abroad is limited. Likewise, there is no consensus behind increased defense spending. Germany's military expenditures are relatively low as a share of GDP, and remain below NATO benchmarks. At the same time, the military is overdue for a comprehensive transformation toward a deployment-oriented structure. This reform process must accompany a debate about the need for a professional army.

Greece

value 8

Greece's defense spending levels are among the OECD countries' highest, and have been so for more than thirty years. In 2005 Greece devoted 4.3 percent of GDP to defense spending, even more than the United States' 4.06 percent. The justification for such high spending lies with perceived and real threats to Greece's external security and unresolved (but in fact low-tension) conflicts in the eastern Mediterranean, including the Greek-Turkish disputes, the Cyprus question and the tension over the name and symbols of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Greece's defense expenditures are relatively efficient, and the country balances its relations with neighbors satisfactorily. The country's external relations will likely improve and defense spending fall as more neighboring countries are gradually integrated into NATO and the European Union.

Tours of military service have been reduced, and additional potential acquired by enabling women to serve in the army, as well as by employing specialists and executive staff. Altogether the army is to be organized more productively and economically. The Deployable Corps-Greece (NDC-GRR), with its headquarters in Thessaloniki, has given Greece a large organization available to carry out peace and stabilization missions under NATO leadership. Greece, together with Italy, Spain and Portugal, has joined a common European Union Battlegroup to establish a "European Force."

Hungary

value 8

Given its geographical location and its membership in NATO and the European Union, Hungary's external security risks are low. The country intends to modernize its defense forces in order to achieve full integration with NATO. It is also involved in the implementation of the European Security and Defense Policy and in the establishment of an Italian-Slovenian-Hungarian joint military unit slated to be set up by the end of 2007.

Hungary's largest challenge regarding external security may be the problem of fulfilling NATO and EU requirements for the modernization of the Hungarian army without putting the nation's fiscal consolidation at risk. NATO has not been satisfied with the level of Hungary's defense spending, which has fallen drastically over the last year.

Iceland

value 8

A founding member of NATO, Iceland hosted a NATO military base manned by U.S. personnel from 1951 to 2005, contributing about 2 percent of the country's GDP for defense. However, the United States government unilaterally withdrew its forces in 2005, in spite of protests by Iceland's government, leaving the country with no military to defend the island.

Nevertheless, NATO membership was, and remains, the backbone of Iceland's external security policy, as an attack on one NATO member is viewed by NATO as an attack upon them all. Furthermore, in April 2007, Norway and Denmark signed memorandums of understanding with Iceland regarding surveillance, rescue and military operations in the North Atlantic. Debate continues as to whether Iceland should establish its own standing army.

Ireland

value 8

In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the biggest threat to the security of Irish citizens came from internal subversion in the form of privately organized terrorist armies, such as the Irish Republican Army (in its many manifestations) and its counterparts in the Loyalist community in Northern Ireland. Expenditure on "normal" national security does not reflect the resources that had to be diverted to dealing with these terrorist threats.

With regard to external security, it is fair to say that Ireland has been free riding on the defense expenditures of larger countries and neighbors, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, with both of whom it enjoys close relationships, if not formal military alliances. These relationships have allowed Ireland to enjoy protection from external threats while maintaining formal neutrality and minimizing

defense expenditure.

With the recent achievement of what will hopefully be a lasting peace settlement in Northern Ireland and the increasingly close cooperation between both parts of the island, the cost of fighting internal terrorism has shrunk, and national resources have been freed up to concentrate on more typical external security activities. In recent years, Ireland's armed forces have been active under UN auspices in peacekeeping and some peacemaking operations. In addition, although it is not a member of NATO, Ireland has participated in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program since November 1999.

Italy

value 8

Military expenditure is quite low, totaling 1.8 percent of GDP, based on the CIA World Factbook estimation for 2005. But with its membership in both NATO and the European Union, and its strong commitment in the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Italy is well protected and generally is a source of support for worldwide stability, democratic progress and peace.

There is a widespread consensus that its international agreements and the present level of military expenditures well ensure Italy's security needs. Direct conflict in neighboring regions over the last few years has calmed significantly. Serious threats to Italy's national security are no greater than those directed at other EU-member states.

The 9/11 attacks and following events had an impact on the country's efforts to modernize emergency response and internal security efforts. An alliance by the former Berlusconi government with the United States under President George W. Bush and the government's decision to send Italian troops to Iraq elevated the country's security risk.

Italy, which formally repudiates war in its constitution, was and is quite active in dispatching its armed forces for international peacekeeping operations and policing missions such as in the Balkans (the Italian navy and army were twice sent to Albania to help restore order, ensure the food supply and generally assist in rebuilding the nation). The Italian government tries to present a friendly and cooperative face to all sides in crisis areas such as in the Middle East or the Gulf States. The recent adaptation of the country's armed forces to a professional army model moves the country in the direction of providing a more effective instrument of national defense.

Netherlands

value 8

The Netherlands is a member of the European Union and NATO. As a small country, the Netherlands depends upon these affiliations, rather than its own military

capabilities, to guarantee the safety of its citizens against external security risks. At the same time, the Dutch government makes relatively large contributions in terms of manpower as well as equipment to international military operations.

In recent years, defense expenditures have remained nominally stable, which implies a relative decrease owing to inflation. In 2005, annual military expenditures stood at €7.5 billion, or 1.5 percent of GDP. The share of material investment stood at 19.9 percent of the total in 2005 and at 20 percent in 2006. There were plans in 2007 to enhance the military's abilities to deploy so as to improve its ability to effectively participate in responding to international crises. The country has a relatively large and well-equipped navy and air force.

Nevertheless, the Dutch generally feel that security risks and the protection of national interests cannot be left to its military forces alone. Digital paralysis, terrorist attacks, floods, ethnic and religious conflicts, and energy dependence are examples of problems that could threaten national security and interests. The main conclusion of a National Security Project report, composed with the participation of all relevant ministries in 2006, was that the Netherlands is not sufficiently prepared for major calamities.

Poland

value 8

Poland is protected against external security risks through its membership in NATO (since 1999) and the European Union (since 2004). Somewhat skeptical of multilateral security guarantees and EU policies toward Russia, political elites – from the right and left of the political spectrum – have also tried to forge a special relationship with the United States. Poland has supported U.S. policy in Iraq, despite generally weak and declining popular support for the war, and has agreed to install parts of the planned U.S. anti-missile shield system. Polish governments have also tried to strengthen the country's position vis-à-vis Russia by engaging in close cooperation with Ukraine. Active membership in NATO has required the modernization of the Polish army. While defense spending, relative to GDP, has been on a medium level within NATO, military equipment is partly outdated. The Polish army is in a transition period, shifting from an army based on compulsory military service to voluntary professional service. The army enjoys a good reputation in the country.

Portugal

value 8

Defense policy must be analyzed in the context of EU goals and policies and active involvement in NATO. Portugal's relationship with the United States, which is characterized by security assistance and a very close bilateral relationship, must also be viewed in terms of how it relates to security policy. Portuguese defense policy regarding likely security risks (e.g., organized crime and terrorism) is, in fact, a

Europe-wide defense policy, and it is viewed by the public as such. At the same time, it must be stressed that the Portuguese do not perceive their country as having internal security problems. According to the general public view, everyone is integrated, and if there are terrorist cells in the country, they will not attack targets within Portugal but only outside.

Portugal hedges its bets very consistently when it comes to its relationships within the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and with the United States, which is commonly referred to as the “Atlantic relationship.” In addition, Portugal is suffering from very serious economic problems and lacks the funds to purchase all the equipment it had been planning to. Moreover, beyond the financial, technological and NATO-related problems, it has been argued that the politico-diplomatic leadership’s mindset regarding the so-called “European project” has curtailed Portugal’s input to the development of the ESDP. For example, Portugal has always opposed a federalist model – or “federal bond” – as a corollary to the integration process. This opposition is made clear by the country’s rejection of the so-called “communitarization” of security and defense pillars. It also completely rejects the dilution of states’ sovereign rights to make independent decisions when it comes to defining and implementing their foreign, security and defense policies.

Slovakia

value 8

NATO and EU membership remained a controversial subject in Slovakia until the end of the 1990s. Since then, a broad consensus has emerged in which membership in both organizations is perceived as serving the national interest. The Dzurinda government, which made NATO and EU membership a top priority, achieved these goals in 2004. In its attempts to present the country as a reliable member of the western security alliance, it adjusted the Slovak security and defense policy in accordance with NATO’s transformation and the formation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The Slovak army has also been modernized through the acquisition of modern military equipment and the decision to move from a compulsory to a professional army. However, from 2005 to 2007, the number of soldiers dropped from 20,000 to 17,800 and stagnating spending has slowed modernization efforts. It is therefore possible that the Slovak army may not be able to meet some key commitments, including the pledge to provide its first certified military units for the NATO Response Force and EU Battle Groups.

South Korea

value 8

Since the Korean War, North Korea has represented a constant military threat. External security policy has thus been a top policy priority. Strong military ties with the United States have remained important. With the end of the Cold War, and growing signs of rapprochement with North Korea, demands for more efficient

military expenditures have increased. Uncertainties have been aggravated by the unstable political and economic situation in North Korea, and by U.S. foreign policies towards the North.

In this security environment, it is not a surprise that Korea has the second-highest share of military spending in the OECD, after Turkey. Korea has a universal draft system for male adults, with an active troop size of 690,000 individuals. The military is well trained and equipped with modern U.S.-designed weapons. It is supplemented by a U.S. force contingent of about 30,000 troops. Since its exclusion from politics, the military has enjoyed strong support by the population, but U.S. troop presence in South Korea faces increasing opposition from a minority of the public.

However, many of the pending issues have recently been resolved, including repositioning of U.S. bases, change of wartime operational command and a revision of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA).

Since 2000, the Korean government has been engaged in an attempt to resolve the cold war situation in Korea – similar to German Chancellor Willy Brandt's "Ostpolitik." However, Korean foreign policies are heavily restrained by strong anti-communist groups in the country and by U.S. foreign policies that have branded North Korea as part of the "axis of evil." During 2006, United States opposition to dialog with North Korea considerably weakened, which might give South Korean diplomacy more leeway.

United Kingdom

value 8

As one of NATO's founding members, Britain is firmly integrated into the security context of this military alliance, and has – for historical reasons, but also as a matter of political choice – maintained a very close foreign policy partnership with the United States. Britain's self-perception as a player on the global stage (both diplomatically and militarily) has led to its taking an active role in world politics. The United Kingdom also plays a leading role in developing a European security and defense policy. Expenditures for defense are clearly above the European average.

The general public has so far supported most of the country's military actions, although there have been some cases in which this has been limited, especially with regard to the deployment of troops to Northern Ireland (which ended in 2007). There has also been some protest voiced against Britain's possession of nuclear weapons, which is of symbolic importance given the country's role as one of the nuclear powers sitting on the U.N. Security Council. There has never been a national consensus on Britain's current engagement in the invasion of Iraq. Opinion polls show that the deployment of troops to Iraq is deeply unpopular and considered a risk to national security, also at home.

United States

value 8

The United States remains the world's premier military power, based on a level of defense expenditures that are higher than the expenditures of the next seven nations in the expenditure ranking combined. At a little more than 4 percent, military expenditures in the United States as a percentage of GDP are somewhat higher than they are in other OECD countries. At the same time, however, this amounts to 28 percent of all central-government expenditures, which is the highest share among all OECD countries and constitutes almost half of all military spending in the world. This puts the United States in a relatively comfortable external-security position.

Measures to protect American citizens against further terrorist attacks have been stepped up significantly. No terrorist incident has occurred on American soil since 9/11. Risks may persist (e.g., in container security), but any drastic measures would impede trade. However, newer, equally plausible threats have not been given the same degree of attention. According to experts, future efforts should focus on stopping catastrophic threats (e.g., attacks on chemical plants and other elements of private-sector infrastructure, large-scale attacks using biological pathogens, radiological or nuclear attacks, and – when the technology is ready – surface-to-air missile strikes), and the United States should emphasize early prevention over responses after the fact.

The United States has mounted a major project of promoting and supporting anti-terrorist activity by governments around the world, which has included using diplomatic pressure, technical assistance and collaboration. More than other countries, the United States habitually threatens so-called rogue states with the use of its mighty military machine so as to achieve goals that are considered to be in the national interest of the United States and its allies in Europe or East Asia. This is usually accompanied by diplomatic initiatives. This pincer approach recently saw success in securing North Korea's consent to renounce the further development of nuclear weapons.

Annotation:

James B. Steinberg et al., *Protecting the Homeland 2006/2007*, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 2006).

Japan

value 7

Japan's economy depends heavily on international trade, making the defense of sea lanes a big concern, for example. In part due to a strong alliance with the United States, Japan spends only about 2.5 percent of its central government budget on defense, one of the lowest rates among OECD countries. In recent years, Japan has attempted to pursue its own national interests as well as participate in the war on terror. The government's flexibility has been limited by the so-called Peace Constitution, with Article IX forbidding the country to maintain military forces.

Nevertheless, Japan has closely followed the course of the Bush administration in the United States, sometimes to the point of stretching constitutional limits, changing legal possibilities and deploying military support services. The government is frequently asked in public debate whether it has followed the U.S. lead too unquestioningly.

Regional relations with neighboring countries, particularly China, South Korea and North Korea, have presented another problem. Junichiro Koizumi's government was unable to improve relations with China or South Korea significantly, due to a political necessity to please the right-conservative voters on which his Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) relies. Koizumi's successor, Shinzo Abe, maintained his strong stance against North Korea after taking premiership in 2006, even as other countries, including the United States, took a more flexible approach to engagement. Although invited to high-level visits in China and South Korea, Abe was not able to reach substantial political agreements with either country, disappointing many.

On the institutional side, the Defense Agency was upgraded to ministry status in early 2007, a move possibly symbolizing government will to rewrite the constitution and normalize its external security activities. While this idea provokes opposition from those afraid of a swing to right-wing conservatism, it is reasonable that the constitution should be in line with the security necessities of the 21st century.

Mexico

value 7

Mexico does not currently face traditional external security threats. The country's Latin American and Caribbean neighbors are too small to pose risks to national security. Nor does its northern neighbor, the United States, pose a traditional security threat to Mexico, despite a sometimes difficult relationship. However, external security threats from transnational actors are considerable, mainly in the form of organized crime and drug cartels. The Mexican military is therefore used for internal purposes, dealing with the occasional subversive group and with the drugs trade. The military is on the whole positively regarded within Mexico. It has sufficient – some would say excessive – internal legitimacy to permit its operations. After 9/11, terrorism became a new concern due to Mexico's border with the United States, but no specific plans or programs on this matter have been announced, and no major terrorist event has occurred.

Spain

value 7

The government's external security policy designed and implemented from 2005 to 2007 guards citizens against security risks and protects the national interest reasonably well. At the time of writing Spain had no conflicts of interest with its neighbors and primarily focuses its security efforts to contributing to United Nations peacekeeping missions. However, the professional Spanish army has had difficulty

in recruiting soldiers. The annual increase in defense expenditure from 2004 has not been sufficient to bring Spain out of last place among OECD countries in resources devoted to defense.

To enhance the effectiveness of the Spanish armed forces, the current Socialist government is committed to completing the modernization programs established by the previous government and has as well introduced its own new measures, such as the “Spainsat” satellite which is intended to improve military communications. Yet military forces are underfunded and overstretched, and among experts strong criticism is voiced against military deployment in what is seen as too many international missions that have no clear relationship to Spanish national interests (such as in Haiti or Lebanon). A national defense directive was elaborated by the government in the months after taking office, which stipulated the major guidelines of defense policy. Accordingly, Spain, together with other European countries and the rest of the world, is facing new threats and, therefore, new challenges in defense strategy after the terrorist attacks in New York, London and Madrid.

Turkey

value 7

Turkey draws the attention of the entire world as a bridge between Asia and Europe, a byway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and geopolitical center point for Central Asian, Caucasian and Middle Eastern nations involved in natural energy resources. The region is politically unstable and will probably remain so for some time. Although security costs have been substantial for Turkey, it should be emphasized that Turkish security forces have been able on the whole to protect citizens against security risks and have effectively safeguarded the country's interests.

Turkey is also a founding member of NATO, and the Turkish armed forces have joined peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Somalia and Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), a multinational force under NATO. Despite these demanding conditions, the percentage of defense expenditures in the general consolidated budget in 2006 was below 10.

The Turkish military is regarded as the strongest military force in the region. It maintains the second-largest army in NATO and is praised for its collaboration with international allies in peacekeeping in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Lebanon. It has also managed to ensure that the Kurdish guerrillas of the PKK are no longer a major military threat to the country.

However, this performance is paid for dearly with an extraordinary burden of military expenditures and with the active and influential participation of the armed forces in Turkish politics. The country's “national interest” is defined in meetings of the National Security Council (NSC), in which the military until July 2003 exerted significant control over government representatives.

Even after reforms, enacted as part of the EU membership process, the Grand National Assembly is not involved during the consultation over or drafting of the National Security Policy Document (NSPD) or Red Book (Milli Güvenlik Siyaseti

Belgesi, or Kırmızı Kitap) that functions as the basis for political decisions and other governmental measures. To the contrary, the NSPD is held secret and is not divulged to members of parliament. Additionally, the very concept of national security in Turkey is somewhat authoritarian in its definition, concentrating not upon the security of society or its citizens but on the security of the state.

Indicator Internal security

Question Does internal security policy protect citizens against security risks?

30 OECD countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels:

- 10-9 = Internal security policies protect citizens very effectively.*
- 8-6 = Internal security policies protect citizens more or less effectively.*
- 5-3 = Internal security policies do not effectively protect citizens.*
- 2-1 = Internal security policies exacerbate security risks.*

Austria

value 9 Regarding its number of homicides, Austria can be characterized as being one of the safest countries in the world. In recent years, however, cuts in the police budget and a reduction in police personnel have been followed by an increased number of reported offences and a decreased detection rate. In order to respond to these problems, there has been an expansion in the police's investigative resources. For example, since 2006, police forces have been able to gather evidence using, for example, undercover investigations and video data collection. Internal security cooperation with other countries has been intensified, especially within the framework of EU police cooperation. Since 2005, foreign suspects of terrorism can be expelled more easily. However, there have yet to be any documented cases of individuals supporting terrorist groups.

Germany

value 9 German internal security policy protects citizens against security risks very effectively. Germany's homicide rate was lower than the EU average in 2001. The clear rise in violent crimes may be due to an increased willingness to report violent offences, while unreported criminality is declining. In the German federal political system, internal security jurisdiction is divided both horizontally and vertically. On the one hand, police jurisdiction is divided between the federal level and the state level. A sector-specific conference of interior ministers assures cooperation between individual federal states and vertical coordination with the federal level. On the other hand, jurisdiction is divided horizontally between police forces and special offices for the protection of the constitution at both the federal and the state level. German internal security policy is well integrated in the framework of EU police

cooperation, and Germany strongly promotes this cooperation. Here again, the sector-specific conference of interior ministers is of central importance for the coordination of security policy between the state and EU levels, with the federal Ministry of the Interior as intermediary.

However, Germany does face challenges to internal security. Right-wing extremist activities, and to a lesser extent activities by left-wing extremists, are seen as an increasing problem. The country is also threatened by terrorism. In July 2007, a plot to bomb trains failed when the explosive devices did not detonate. In September 2007, security forces arrested three people planning another bomb attack. These events have stirred up debate in the grand coalition and in public, with a focus on whether police forces should be strengthened, and on the need for broader federal security powers.

Japan

value 9

Japan has a very low crime rate, with the police and other security measures proving quite effective. Since the 1990s, public debate has focused on rising crime rates, but recent data appears to show a more positive trend. The existence of crime syndicates (“Yakuza”) is well known, but ordinary citizens are usually not molested. Indeed, some observers presume that an informal understanding between the police and the syndicates exists in some cases, which may even help to improve public security, for instance by keeping hard drugs out of the country.

Recent measures include new steps to fight major crimes. Legislation passed in 2006 will require visiting foreigners to provide biometric information, although permanent residents such as ethnic Koreans are excluded. This measure may make sense in the fight against terrorism. Japan still has the advantage of a rather homogeneous population, making it difficult for foreign criminals to move easily. However, the new measure reflects a general distrust of foreigners that is not borne out by statistical facts about the “true” crime rate among this population. This is an issue of human rights rather than of security.

Luxembourg

value 9

Given the rapid changes associated with a growing population, Luxembourg’s police services have undergone significant reforms to cope with new challenges. In 1999, two distinct corps, the gendarmerie and the police, were unified in the Police Grand-Ducale. From 2000 to 2007 this group’s budget increased by 70 percent. In 2004, the government announced plans to centralize most public safety services into a new facility, called Police City. However, this plan was postponed for budgetary reasons. Internal security policy currently focuses on a pair of goals. The government has sought to fight public feelings of insecurity by developing local and regional safety plans, and by integrating police more tightly into communities. The public security

services have also been tasked with fighting organized crime, especially money laundering and human trafficking. As there are often close links between tax evasion, money laundering, smuggling and organized criminality, tax authority experts have been assigned to the Criminal Investigation Department in order to accelerate investigations in that domain.

Norway

value 9

Norway is traditionally a very safe country. For example, the number of homicides per capita is the third lowest in the world, and incarceration rates are also small. Theft and petty crime are relatively infrequent, although there has been some concern over increasing levels of narcotics- and gang-related crimes. In recent years, various reforms have been made in order to increase cooperation between different police and intelligence units, both internally and with respect to cross-border cooperation.

Sweden

value 9

Sweden's police force has about 22,000 employees working at the national and local levels, which makes it one of the country's largest governmental services. The National Police Board (NPB) is the central administrative and supervisory authority of the police service. The National Security Service is responsible for counterespionage, anti-terrorist activities and protecting sensitive objects and the constitution. In the fight against threats to national security, regular police units handle investigations and operational field work, while the National Security Service provides intelligence, resources and know-how.

In 1995, Sweden's government decided to close the Swedish National Police Academy for five terms. This decision has led to a political debate about the size of the police force and the shortage of police officers. In 2003, two additional police academies were opened, but the debate is still ongoing. For many years, the Moderate Party (M) criticized the Social Democratic government for its internal security policy. Then, at the end of 2006, the newly elected center-right government appointed a commission of inquiry charged with coming up with suggestions on how to reform the current system of police education. The commission presented its final report in June 2007.

Furthermore, government policy on crime in Sweden emphasizes rehabilitation and societal reintegration more than punishment. As a result, in international comparison, prison sentences in Sweden are shorter and therefore serve as less of a deterrent than they might in other countries. At the same time, the crime rate has been increasing over the past several years, some of which is gang-related and some of which results from the growing number of criminals neither born or residing in Sweden.

Annotation: The score lies outside the range of scores given by the experts and is justified in relation to scores given for the other countries.

Switzerland

value 9

Swiss government policy effectively protects citizens from threats to internal security. Indeed, the Swiss population is rather sensitive to this issue. Cooperation between Swiss internal intelligence services, police forces and political authorities is effective and well-rehearsed. Furthermore, Switzerland has entered into two bilateral agreements with the EU focusing on the coordination of police forces and efforts to combat cross-border crime. Additional measures to help tackle money laundering have also been implemented.

Australia

value 8

Prior to the 9/11 attacks in the United States, there were few perceived internal security threats. The Bali bombings in October 2002, which killed 202 people, 88 of them Australian, dramatically changed this environment. Despite taking place outside Australia's borders, the bombings brought home the threat posed by terrorism in the post-9/11 world. In 2002 legislation was passed (and subsequently amended in 2003 and 2006) to enhance the Australian Security Intelligence Organization's (ASIO) capacity to combat terrorism, by authorizing it to question persons related to terrorism investigations, and providing the power to seize assets. ASIO officers do not have powers of arrest, and in operations they are assisted by the Australian Federal Police (AFP). Aside from the latter's activities, which are largely focused on cross-border crime, drug smuggling, money laundering, human trafficking and terrorism, internal security is largely the responsibility of the states. There is correspondingly some regional variation in policies and outcomes. However, in most states crime rates are relatively low. The proportion of households experiencing crime each year has fallen over the last decade, suggesting that public order and safety policy has been somewhat effective. Coordination between various policing, enforcement and intelligence-gathering authorities is generally satisfactory. In particular, state police forces have well-established and effective protocols for the exchange of information and the coordination of law enforcement activities across state and territory boundaries. The National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCTC) was established in 2002 to contribute to internal security by coordinating a nationwide cooperative framework to counter terrorism and its consequences. The committee meets twice a year and is comprised of representatives from the Australian federal government, states and territories. Terrorism still rates highly as a public concern and was the focus of a number of policy announcements during the period of this review. Several arrests of persons purportedly planning terrorist attacks or supporting terrorist groups have been made.

Canada

value 8

A review of internal security policy must take into account the fact that policing jurisdictions are divided between both tiers of government. Although the provinces also have significant influence in this policy area, cooperation between both governmental tiers has been quite successful. The 2007 federal budget outlines several short- and medium-term measures that indicate a stronger commitment on the part of the current Harper minority government to internal security than was the case under the Liberal predecessor governments. Some small successes – most notably, the arrest of 17 would-be terrorists in Toronto in June 2006 – may have resulted in part from the increased spending on internal security. Nevertheless, there have been a number of civil-liberty scandals, many of which are related to this heightened level of internal security, and increases in Canada's commitment to internal security have, in fact, come at the expense of civil liberties. While the level of community safety and security within Canada's largest cities (e.g., Montreal and Toronto) is undoubtedly higher compared to the situation in the United States, there has nevertheless been an increasing incidence of homicides, gang- and gun-related violence, and other crimes. In Canada as a whole, however, the rates of both violent and property crimes have fallen significantly between 1991 and 2006, with declines of 10 percent and 41 percent, respectively.

Denmark

value 8

Internal security in Denmark is based on both the defense forces and the work of the police, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. Cooperation between intelligence units of the police and defense forces has been increased since 9/11, as has international cooperation among Western allies. In 2005, the government decided to establish a Centre for Terror Analysis within the Danish Security Intelligence Service. The center will produce analyses of threats to Danish society in the broadest sense.

The European Union is also trying to upgrade all aspects of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) cooperation. On this issue, too, Denmark has another potential opt-out problem. Denmark cooperates in JHA activities as long as they are inter-governmental, as opposed to when the so-called "community method" of the European Union's first pillar are applied. After the Amsterdam treaty entered into force, many JHA activities migrated to the first pillar, whereas police and criminal justice activities remained under the third pillar. As a result, Denmark currently takes part in police cooperation activities, including EUROPOL, and the Schengen accord. The European Union's Constitutional Treaty would have made police and criminal justice activities communal. Denmark negotiated an opt-in solution attached to the treaty in protocols. Although that treaty failed to pass, a similar solution is expected

with the Reform Treaty now on the agenda.

In a March 2005 Gallup poll, Danes were asked whether they were in favor of Denmark's participation in EU justice and immigration policy activities: 47 percent were in favor of doing so, and 33 percent were against. Under these circumstances, a strong political coalition could possibly win a referendum to also abolish this Danish opt-out, but the government has not called a referendum.

Finland

value 8

While far from excellent, Finland's internal security achievements are satisfactory. Although the rate of violent crime, and homicides in particular, is relatively high, Finland is one of the safest countries in Europe. In fact, in opinion polls respondents often regard the police as society's most reliable institution. Expenditures on public order and safety are still fairly modest, but Finland has worked hard to identify problems and problem areas and take steps toward their elimination. The Internal Security Program (2004) is a comprehensive cross-sector development plan, which includes a large number of proposals for enhancing everyday security, and focuses on improving cooperation between public authorities. The plan identifies several key challenges, such as preventing social exclusion, counteracting the information society's increased vulnerability, strengthening border security and customs controls, and warding off the growing impact of crime led from abroad. The first Internal Security Program was modified and expanded in 2007.

Annotation: Finland Ministry of the Interior, "A Safer Community. Internal Security Program, Summary," (Helsinki: Ministry of the Interior, 2004).

Greece

value 8

Greece is not a high spender on public order and safety, and rates of homicides and incarceration are rather low. The last fifteen years has seen perceived increase in crime (mostly property crimes), serious crimes are comparatively rare and internal security is not an issue of primary importance. It rarely figures in the country's domestic political agenda.

However, the internal integration of domestic police and intelligence communities has not been achieved. Technical resources, funds and trained personnel which were employed for the 2004 Olympic Games were appropriately used at the time and the games took place in complete safety. However, this public safety legacy was not exploited in the period under analysis. By contrast, despite some problems appearing in the urban centers, the incumbent government chose to give priority to a new police body, the rural police, whose primary task is to police the countryside. Partisan appointments to the leadership of domestic intelligence and police organizations, including the fire brigade, have affected their efficiency of coordination and steering.

Iceland

value 8

Iceland is a rather safe place by comparison with other countries. Nonetheless, police forces are clearly understaffed, and in some cases not well prepared. As a matter of policy, police do not carry weapons. However, there is an armed special force which deals with matters which require the use of weapons. Iceland is also a member of the Schengen border-control agreement.

There are no appreciable levels of organized crime in Iceland. Thus, circumstances rather than police efficiency make Iceland safe. However, drug-smuggling has increased recently. Downtown Reykjavik can also be quite unsafe on weekends, with violent drunkards and worse roaming the streets beating up innocent bystanders, with police nowhere in sight. Although this does not rise to the level of serious crime, it can make going out inconvenient.

Ireland

value 8

Crime rates in Ireland are relatively low, and public order offenses are rare, though not unheard of. A particularly memorable incident in this regard that occurred during the period under review were the so-called “Dublin riots” of February 25, 2006, when clashes between protestors against a pro-Unionist parade in Dublin and the police resulted in 14 people – including police officers and a journalist – being hospitalized. Incidents of this nature, however, are highly unusual in Ireland.

With regard to crime, the period under review witnessed a worrying upturn in violent crime, especially gun crime. These kinds of violent crimes have often been concentrated in specific areas, of which Moyross, the largest housing estate in Limerick, is the most frequently cited example. These trends are made all the more worrying by the fact that the Irish police force is unarmed.

Another difficulty lies in the permeability of Ireland’s coastal waters to international drug smugglers. An illustrative case occurred in July 2007, when police made a huge seizure of cocaine being brought in from a ship off the Irish coast. The seizure was not, however, precipitated by active coastguard searches but by the ship’s sinking. This led many to believe that numerous similar shipments may be passing into Ireland unobserved.

Netherlands

value 8

Internally, the Netherlands must deal with a rise in international organized crime, especially those from Central and Eastern Europe. Particular problems involve human trafficking, money laundering, ram-raids and large-scale cigarette smuggling. Moreover, the murders of Theo van Gogh (2004) and Pim Fortuyn (2002) indicate

that there are home-grown problems that decrease the level of internal security.

A 2006 report of the National Security Project stated that one of the most important problems affecting the maintenance of internal security is the compartmentalization of responsibilities across several ministries and other organizations. Inter-organizational cooperation was found to be unsatisfactory owing to conflicts of interest and the general complexity of issues.

In order to address these new challenges to internal security, expenditures for public order between 2005 and 2006 were raised by 12 percent to €300 million billion. Police capacity has increased, and there are now performance agreements between the police and the Ministry of the Interior.

One result of these changes is that political parties and the public paid significantly less attention to security issues in the 2006 elections than they did in the 2002 elections. At the same time, the national security monitor indicates a decline in the number of citizens who feel unsafe from 31 percent in 2002 down to 24 percent in 2006.

New Zealand

value 8

New Zealand's internal security is maintained by its police force. The Secret Intelligence Service (NZSIS) and the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) provide advisory services. The NZSIS, as a civilian organization, has no police powers and no authority to enforce the law. Its role is advisory, involving collecting, assessing and analyzing intelligence, and advising the government accordingly. Legislation explicitly prevents the government from using the NZSIS to put any person in New Zealand under surveillance. The GCSB has a dual role. It collects foreign signals intelligence; and it provides advice and expertise aimed at ensuring the government's official information is protected.

Expenditures for public order and safety are substantial, since New Zealanders feel crime to be a salient issue. In the 2006 New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey, rather high numbers of people identified themselves as crime victims. These numbers differed sharply from offences actually reported to the police. The common feeling that crime rates in New Zealand are growing is not entirely borne out by statistics. The number of reported murders went down from 66 in 1997 to 49 in 2006, despite a population increase. The case-resolution rate in 2006 was even 95.9 percent.

On the other hand, property damage rates went up from 106.3 per 10,000 people to 117.9 in 2006, although this was accompanied by an increase in the case-resolution rate from 28.6 percent to 30.6 percent. Along with these trends, New Zealand has the fifth highest rate of imprisonment in the OECD.

In recent years, police forces' reputations have been substantially damaged. Investigations have found that a few police officers had used practices which were illegal, or at the least considered to be a misuse of power.

Portugal

value 8

Throughout the period under consideration, the primary concern in terms of security policy was the restructuring of the various security forces. An “Integrated System of Internal Security” capable of coordinating the functions and jurisdictions of the various security forces was created, and new legislation was passed that regulates the roles and organization of the Republican National Guard (GNR, with jurisdiction outside cities) and the Public Security Police (PSP, with jurisdiction within cities).

Nevertheless, this process is not complete. For example, although they acquired bulletproof vests and new weapons in 2006, the police forces are still clearly understaffed, underpaid and lacking in sufficient training when it comes to the use of their firearms and performing other duties. Budgetary concerns have also had an additional impact on the resources available to the police and particularly to the segment of the police forces combating violent and white-collar crime.

In general, most of the related measures envisaged by the government (e.g., the new model of coordination between the different security forces, the reform of police training, the renovation of police stations and the diffusion of special programs aimed at protecting women, children and the elderly throughout the country) are awaiting implementation in 2008. Nevertheless, delays in the implementation of these reforms have not engendered serious social and political problems because Portugal is a country with comparatively low levels of crime. At the same time, however, the public’s level of concern related to crime has a tendency to shift widely depending on current events and the media agenda of the day.

South Korea

value 8

Korea is a relatively safe country, with a homicide and incarceration rate close to the OECD average. The budgetary share of spending on internal security is one of the highest in the OECD, but this is mainly an effect of the below-average overall budget size. Illegal drug consumption rates are among the lowest in the OECD, and gun control is very strict, thus eliminating major reasons for organized and armed crime.

In the past, internal security institutions were overgrown, because of the military confrontation with North Korea and the fact that authoritarian leaders used them to control pro-democracy forces. After democratization, a main task of internal security policy was the reorganization of these institutions to adapt to a new political environment. Their efficiency and effectiveness were also considered. Because of this background the police force is efficiently organized throughout the country, and quite effective in combating organized crime. Korea has a centralized police organization that concentrates power at the national level.

However, the Roh administration acted to strengthen the police forces at the local government level, for tasks such as traffic and public safety. A new law on this issue was passed in November 2005, and is being tested in a number of local authorities.

The police established its own intelligence bureau when the Roh administration

moved some domestic intelligence responsibilities from the National Intelligence Service (NIS) to the police.

Even after these reforms, the NIS remains a universal spy agency, with domestic and foreign spying capabilities, although domestic spying is limited to alleged violations of the Military Secrecy Protection Law, the National Security Law, and the investigation of crimes related to the missions of NIS staff. Although the NIS has no police powers, and is not able to arrest people, it seems that the concentration of security services in just two centralized agencies is potentially dangerous.

United Kingdom

value 8

Shortly after having come to power, the Blair government announced a “tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime,” strategy and has since pursued a policy that has resulted in extended police powers and an increase in the number of prisoners to a record 81,000 in September 2007. There are, however, concerns about this growing number as prisons have reached full capacity and rehabilitation capacities are overstretched.

Policing in the United Kingdom is highly fragmented and marked by diversity in local security outcomes. The absence of a national police force means that information is not properly or adequately shared throughout the country. The Blair government attempted to reorganize policing by consolidating local police forces, but this had to be abandoned in the wake of strong local opposition.

The British Crime Survey shows that objective crime figures have dropped significantly from a peak in the mid-1990s, with particular reductions in burglary and car theft crimes. There has been debate, however, over whether this reduction reflects changing definitions rather than genuine “on the ground” change.

The threat from militant Islamic terrorism has resulted in substantial budget increases for Britain’s internal (MI5) and external (MI6) security services. It has also enhanced UK efforts at the European level to encourage other member states to tighten controls. As a result, security at UK airports is much tighter, and though irritating to many travelers, security is more rigorous than in other countries. Since the 2005 terrorist attacks, police forces have been granted new powers to retain suspects, and stop and search passers-by. There have also been a number of initiatives taken to stop militant Islamic groups, for example through the creation of mosque “watchdogs.”

The internal fight against terrorism has shown that although terrorist attacks could not be avoided altogether, the coordination of security forces has prevented some major acts of terrorism. Public confidence in the police’s ability to fight terrorism is thus higher than confidence in its ability to secure public order and safety.

Belgium

value 7

In the late 1990s, internal security policy became a more prominent issue on the political agenda following a series of scandals involving the country's police force. Security was an important issue of the electoral campaigns in 1995, 1999, 2003 and 2007. The winner of the 2007 elections, Yves Leterme, succeeded in announcing plans for security policy reform. Especially in Brussels, petty crime such as car break-ins or pick-pocketing is very high when compared to other western European countries. The country is still in the process of reforming the police force and judicial system. For citizens, the most visible part of this effort is the merger of the gendarmerie or Rijkswacht, the former army corps, with the police to create a new police force. This merger also involves a thorough reorganization of local police forces. Overcrowded prisons are a serious problem. Overcrowding has led to a policy where delinquents are easily set free or are not imprisoned at all simply because there is not enough space for them in jails.

As it is a transit country for international commodities, Belgium also appears to be a preferred transit route for international organized crime. The CIA Factbook mentions that Belgium is a growing producer of and transit point for synthetic drugs, and a trans-shipment point for cocaine, heroin, hashish and marijuana entering Western Europe. In addition, Belgium is a transit country for human trafficking in forced labor or prostitution.

Annotation: Federal Police, "Etats-Aperçu National 2006," http://www.polfed-fedpol.be/crim/crim_statistieken/2006/reports/fr/etats/nat/fr_etats_2006_nat.pdf (accessed February 18, 2008)

U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report," June 2007. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/82805.htm> (accessed February 18, 2008).

Czech Republic

value 7

While Czech society does not appear particularly dangerous, crime rates have been relatively high. Organized crime has attracted relatively little public attention. The police and intelligence services have not operated effectively. The police lack adequate equipment and training, and its organizational structure is inadequate. As regards the intelligence services, there have been problems of coordination and control. The new center-right government has announced a significant reform of internal security forces aimed at making the police and intelligence services more effective and expediting court proceedings.

France

value 7

The French policy of internal security has focused on areas of unrest within the suburbs of large cities. Social unrest among young people with immigrant backgrounds has drawn increased media coverage and attracted public attention to the policies of the former minister of the interior, as well as the president, Nicolas Sarkozy. There is a debate on whether problems can be better solved by social reform or through police repression. One particular feature of French internal security policy relates to the fact that France has two types of police: the regular police, which acts as a civil organization, and the gendarmerie, which is a military body. In summer 2002, a set of comprehensive legal guidelines on inner security (Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la sécurité intérieure, or LOPSI) came into force, which among other things increased the size of the security forces and reformed the competencies of the police and gendarmerie. Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, European cooperation in the field of internal security has taken on an increasingly important role.

Hungary

value 7

Internal security policy has only partly been effective. While the preparations for accession to the Schengen border control agreement and the related institutional integration of the police and the border guard have been largely successful, the riots that shattered the country in 2006 revealed a number of deficiencies in the provision of public security. The police did not succeed in dealing with public demonstrations, and the intelligence services, which have been reorganized several times in the past (but the operations of which are still rather nontransparent), failed to provide enough information about the extreme-right movements that were threatening the public order.

Poland

value 7

Crime rates are relatively high and have featured prominently as an issue on the political agenda. The preparation for Poland's accession to the Schengen zone has contributed to increased police cooperation with other EU members and a modernization of the Polish police force. Poland has also actively cooperated with other East-Central European Ministers of the Interior and in the working groups of the Council of the Baltic Sea States on organized crime and trafficking. The PiS government made the fight against crime, especially against corruption, a high-profile issue. It launched organizational changes and strengthened the penal code. According to Polish statistics, the number of homicides and thefts has fallen in the last two to three years.

Slovakia

value 7

Internal security has featured prominently on the political agenda. While violent and property crime have decreased, economic and organized crime, as well as drug production and trafficking, have increased. To make matters worse, there are several loopholes in the legislation on these issues, including witness protection. During its tenure, the Dzurinda government failed to pass a bill requiring that the origin of assets be demonstrated.

The police force, which was reorganized in 2004, has been modernized in preparation for Slovakia's accession to the Schengen Group, but its efficiency is undermined by underfunding, corruption and a low level of trust among the population. Cooperation between the police and the Slovak Intelligence Service (SIS) is weak and has not been treated as a priority. Control over the SIS is a highly politicized issue, not only between government and the opposition, but also within the governing coalitions.

Annotation: The score lies outside the range of the expert scores. Comparative considerations suggest a lower score.

Spain

value 7

The incumbent government has been active in designing and implementing an effective internal security policy. When compared to figures from other European countries, Spain claims comparatively lower rates of both general delinquency and murders committed. There has over recent years been an increase in the percentage of crimes solved, and successful results have come from recent efforts in fighting child pornography. Spending on agencies to ensure public order and internal security has significantly risen and is among the highest within the European Union. However, these statistics do not correspond with the public's perception of the security situation.

The government's internal security policy priorities are the fight against terrorism, the fight against organized crime and drug trafficking and the improvement of public security. As part of this policy, the government has established the Single Command of the Security Forces to increase the cooperation and coordination between the two main police forces in Spain: the National Police and the Civilian Guard. At the same time the government established the Anti-Terrorism National Center, which is integrated in the Single Command and is in charge of intelligence, information and coordination in everything related to the fight against terrorism. As part of the fight against organized crime, the government has created the Intelligence Center against Organized Crime.

Italy

value 6

Italy's actual internal security is generally better than the image that is often portrayed through the media – which focuses on a few extreme cases – and through public opinion surveys on security – which are in turn largely informed by such media reporting. Yet it should be pointed out that the same surveys often indicate a high level of trust within the population in the country's police forces. This suggests that there may be some ambiguity amid the perceptions of insecurity that the polls present.

As for other policy areas, the overall picture for the country is varied. Internal security situations range in areas of southern Italy (where different Mafia groups are active and individual and business security is more frequently at risk) and in the rest of Italy (where such problems are less systemically relevant). The police forces have been able over recent years to conduct successful campaigns against Mafia groups in the south and have captured some of the groups' leading figures.

If the most extreme internal security violations can be considered homicides and terrorist acts, Italy's security policies have been successful in keeping the occurrence of such crimes to low levels. Less effective, however, has been security policies dealing with lower-level violations, which are often more relevant in determining the perception of security for the average citizen. The expenditure in this field has been significantly increased by the fragmentation of police forces and by law enforcement redundancy that this has produced in some regions.

United States

value 6

The results of internal-security policy in the United States are rather poor. This is evidenced by the fact that the 2004 U.S. homicide rate, as a percentage of the total population, was the second-highest among all OECD countries, topped only by Mexico. The incarceration rate, moreover, is by far the highest among all OECD countries.

In 2005, the share of U.S. general government expenditure for public order and safety in terms of total general government expenditures (i.e., including federal, state and community governments) amounted to 5.7 percent. The United States has had a long history of having an insufficient degree of coordination of police actions across community and especially individual state borders, which criminals have exploited to their benefit. Despite the fact that the Homeland Security Act of 2002 integrated not only the operations of the federal intelligence services, but also led to better coordination between local, state and federal police forces, the degree of integration and coordination has not yet been increased to the point of optimal efficiency in fighting crime and protecting citizens from domestic security risks.

Mexico

value 4

Mexico is a dangerous place to live, with citizens facing threats of two main types. A small guerrilla insurgency operation is based in the poorest western and southern states, which has occasionally bombed oil and gas installations and other commercial operations. As far as can be observed, this group is too small and limited to be very effective, but it may benefit from weaknesses on the part of the Mexican state. The permanent danger is that social inequality and corruption associated with government services may trigger serious discontent, spilling over into violence.

A more immediate concern is crime, particularly related to drug trafficking. Mexico has become a major transit route for drugs coming from South America, mostly destined for the United States. This brings in literally billions of dollars that can be used for other criminal purposes, such as the recruitment and organization of paramilitary bodies to create areas of ungovernability, or to intimidate the security services to the point that these are no longer effective.

Poor police and military pay has notoriously driven many soldiers and police to defect to the main drug traders' gangs, where they can find better pay and often sophisticated weaponry imported from the United States. Detection is rare and punishment is rarer. The drug barons can use their financial power to ensure the release of members who are arrested by the state. Some say today that Mexico's old authoritarian state was in some ways better able to deal with drug crime, through the exercise of arbitrary powers, than is today's liberal democratic state. No senior politician has been arrested for involvement in the drug trade since 2000.

Turkey

value 4

Turkey is a country in transition, in terms of its social and economic structures, as well as a country that acts as a transit corridor for international goods and for people. The country's internal security is easily affected by all these factors. It is hard to say that Turkey's current security efforts are sufficient, but Turkey is considered to be a safe country by the consultancy groups iJet Intelligent Risk Systems and Control Risks. The relevant security authorities in Turkey have access to international groups such as Interpol. The responsibility of providing internal security lies with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The General Directorate of Security, the Gendarmerie General Command, the Coast Guard Command and the General Directorate of Civil Defense are the basic units of internal security in Turkey.

For years, the major problem concerning intelligence has been the fact that the gendarmerie has its own intelligence unit, in addition to the National Intelligence Organization which is affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office. The fields of duty for the police and the gendarmerie are clearly defined, but sometimes coordination conflicts or overlapping duties occur.

According to 2006 figures, the share of internal security expenditures, including the National Intelligence Organization, was about 4.9 percent of total expenditure. The

percentage of allocations to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to which the police and gendarmerie belong as the country's major security forces, to total government allocations is 0.006. However, it is still argued that Turkey is among one of the safest countries in Europe, according to a recent European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS). Nevertheless the police have been accused of not protecting its ranks against the infiltration of religious organizations, particularly the Fethulla Gülen movement, viewed as inimical to the republic by the military.

Closely linked to the armed forces and the General Staff by virtue of training, advancement, the use of conscripts and a common military mentality, the gendarmerie is caught between the civil and military authorities and forms in fact an instrument toward the limitation of power exercised by civil authorities. Some analysts claim that contrary to what the law says, the gendarmerie tends to oversee governors and not vice versa.

Indicator **New security policy**

Question **Do governments respond flexibly and cooperatively to new security threats?**

30 OECD countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels:

- 10-9 = Policies protecting against new security risks are highly effective and forward-looking.*
- 8-6 = Policies protecting against new security risks are sound.*
- 5-3 = Policies are contradictory, and do not effectively protect citizens.*
- 2-1 = Policies are contradictory, and exacerbate new security threats.*

Germany

value 9

Germany security policy has reacted to the new threat of terrorism. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in New York, the country's parliament quickly passed two packages of laws to fight terrorism and prevent further attacks. In December 2006, a new counterterrorist database was created to provide all federal and state security agencies with required information. German security agencies also contribute to international counterterrorist activities, working both within the framework of EU police cooperation and with the United States. Likewise, Germany has participated in the international fight against terrorism, sending military forces in Afghanistan and Africa.

Germany also contributes to international missions promoting neighborhood stability, both with NATO allies and with the country's EU partners, as in the case of the EU-led peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the country's military's air- and sealift capabilities show marked deficiencies, limiting Germany's ability to field rapid response forces.

Norway

value 9

Norway is not highly exposed to the threat of terrorism. This is at least the perception of the majority of public opinion. However, phenomena such as international organized crime, human trafficking and narcotics smuggling have been on the rise in recently, even if Norway's geographical location keeps it from being a central node.

Traditionally, the police presence and activism have each been relatively low. Prison sentences are relatively mild, and Norway has relied instead on long-term crime prevention policies, both internally and externally. Nonetheless, the rise in organized crime has to some extent challenged this policy. For example, between 2000 and

2004, Norway experienced a number of high-profile bank robberies. After a policeman was shot in a 2004 robbery, the government successfully applied considerable resources toward quelling this growing manifestation of organized crime, and since 2004, there have been no major bank robberies.

Foreign aid and contributions to world peace are regarded as pillars of the country's long-term security policy. Norway provides substantial contributions to internationally sanctioned peacekeeping efforts and forcible humanitarian interventions. Norway also gives a large amount of foreign aid as a share of its income, and government policies support investment by Norwegian companies in developing countries. However, Norway employs restrictive trade barriers at the expense of poor countries. Trade barriers are low with respect to textiles, but are very high on agricultural commodities.

Sweden

value 9

Sweden has quickly joined international efforts to fight terrorism, and its policy has generally succeeded in protecting its citizens. At the same time, however, Sweden is an open society and does not share continental Europe's security culture, in which bodyguards protect politicians and the movements of random citizens are monitored. The price for this more open policy was the public assassinations of Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1986 and Foreign Minister Anna Lindh in 2003.

Another developing security risk may stem from the country's open policy of reporting about political events and cultures, which seems to particularly be in conflict with Islamic culture. As a result, murder threats from Islamic fanatics against Swedish intellectuals and journalists may become a more common threat.

Moreover, Sweden has a long tradition of committing itself to development aid and international cooperation, and it is a member of the United Nations and the European Union. For example, Sweden's 2005 level of development aid amounted to 0.94 percent of GNI, which makes Sweden among the world's most generous donor nations. Furthermore, when it comes to the ratio of untied to tied official development assistance (ODA) given to least-developed countries (LDCs), Sweden rates among the top countries, with an untied ODA ratio of 0.98 percent in 2004.

Belgium

value 8

As the headquarters for NATO, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and the European Union are located in Belgium, the country faces more security risks than do neighboring countries. In addition, Belgium historically has been a transit hub for trafficking in people, drugs, weapons, forged goods, diamonds and gold.

Special units have been developed within the country's police forces and intelligence services. The work of these services is complicated by two issues: 1) The operations

of NATO, SHAPE and the European Union in the country require a high level of VIP security. 2) Belgian intelligence services are generally treated as minor players and their services are regularly bypassed in favor of other services operating inside Belgium, even in situations where cooperation might be useful.

In addition to its participation in peacekeeping missions, Belgium contributes rather extensively in development aid. This policy is targeted at selected key areas such as sub-Saharan Africa. The Belgian government set a spending target on development aid of 0.5 percent of GNP, which is above the EU-15 average of 0.39 percent.

Canada

value 8

As is the case with internal security policy, the Conservative minority government has announced a stronger commitment to developing a “new security” agenda. It can build, however, on several measures that were already implemented under the Liberal government of former Prime Minister Paul Martin. The core of the Martin government’s approach was the 2004 introduction of the National Security Policy, the first policy of its kind in Canada. The National Security Policy is comprehensive in that it conceives of security as being a three-dimensional issue comprising the personal, national and international aspects of security.

While providing for additional funding for these pre-established measures, the Conservative Harper government has put an even stronger emphasis on defense policy and border management as major tools for responding to new security threats. The core of this new plan is the so-called “Canada First” defense plan, which aims to strengthen Canada’s ability to independently defend its national sovereignty and security.

In terms of military alliances, Canada is a member of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), a binational (i.e., U.S. and Canadian) organization charged with providing aerospace warning and aerospace control for North America. It is also a member of NATO. Canada’s military forces often train with their U.S. counterparts and can integrate fairly well with the larger and stronger U.S. armed forces. Canada’s role in conflict prevention is less prominent today than it once was, but it still actively contributes to the UN-sponsored mission in Afghanistan, and it currently conducts operations in Haiti, Sudan and the Republic of Congo. In general, Canada is committed to multinational peacekeeping under the auspices of the United Nations.

In terms of aid and development policies, Canada does not live up to its goals. In 1969, Canada committed itself to increase foreign assistance spending to levels equal to 0.7 percent of GNI. In 2005, however, the amount of Canada’s official development assistance stood at only 0.34 percent of GNI, which was not only below its target but also much smaller than most of its European counterparts. Moreover, a large share of its funding was still tied. Finally, in 2006, Canada’s tariffs on clothing (17.0 percent) continued to rank among the highest in the 30 OECD countries.

Denmark

value 8

In 2004, the Danish Foreign Ministry stated officially that its “development assistance is an active foreign policy instrument” and that this applied “in particular to the objective of promoting stability, security and the fight against terrorism.” In effect, this statement meant a reprioritization of developmental assistance to those poor and fragile states in which the radicalization of young people fosters a recruitment base for global terrorism and in which political extremism and religious fundamentalism are on the rise. When it comes to official development aid (ODA), Denmark has long been at the top of its league, and the Danish government is committed to keeping assistance at a level of at least 0.8 percent of GDP in the coming years.

The Danish government has also realized the important link between development and trade policies. Since trade policy is an exclusive EU competence, Denmark cannot change its trade policy independently, but it can – and does – work from within the European Union to change its policies. For example, Denmark is championing more liberal policies as relates to both market access and subsidies. It has recognized, for instance, that developing countries have comparative advantages with sugar and cotton but face high EU protectionist barriers. In the context of the WTO’s Doha round, Denmark’s government has recognized that “influencing EU agricultural policies is the key” to helping these countries overcome such barriers. As a result, Denmark has tried to ally itself with other reform-minded EU states and called for the “soonest possible reduction in the use of trade-distorting subsidies, soonest possible phased reduction of all forms of export subsidies, [and] soonest possible abolition of production-enhancing subsidies to the cotton industry in industrialized countries.” Furthermore, Denmark has called for the reduction or elimination of the tariffs of developed countries and especially of tariff peaks and high rates.

Annotation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Principles Governing Danish Development Assistance for the Fight against New Terrorism,” February 2004.

<http://www.um.dk/en/menu/developmentpolicy/danishdevelopmentpolicy/fightagainsthewterrorism> (accessed June 15, 2008)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Globalisation – Progress through Partnership. Priorities of the Danish Government for Danish Development Assistance 2006–2010,” August 2005.

<http://www.um.dk/en/servicemenu/publications/developmentpolicy/globalisation+-+progress+through+partnership.htm> (accessed June 15, 2008).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Trade Growth and Development. Strategy for Danish Support for the Promotion of Trade, Growth and Development in the World’s Poorest Countries,” June 2005.

<http://www.um.dk/en/servicemenu/publications/developmentpolicy/trade+growth+and+development.htm> (accessed June 15, 2008)

France

value 8 France has adapted its security policy to new risks and challenges. In doing so, security authorities have above all increased international cooperation, especially within the European Union. Due in large part to its geographical location, France continues to face several challenges in this regard, such as illegal immigration.

Hungary

value 8 Hungary has dealt with new security risks largely within the framework of NATO and the European Union. Cooperation with international organizations and neighboring country authorities has functioned reasonably well, and the country has participated in various international military and peacekeeping actions (from Afghanistan to Iraq and Kosovo). Since the country's exposure to terrorism, international organized crime and trafficking has been relatively limited, and governments have been preoccupied with other challenges, a comprehensive new security policy has not yet taken shape. Such a policy might build on Hungary's tradition of an active neighborhood policy.

Italy

value 8 The Prodi II government pursued (and to some extent, strengthened) a policy of international cooperation in the prevention of new security risks. Italy's participation in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans, the Middle East and Afghanistan is active and shares broad domestic approval. Italian intelligence services cooperate effectively with other countries' agencies to prevent international criminal activity. Expenditures for international aid are on the contrary rather limited and are to a significant extent dependent on perceived national advantages. The Prodi government has tried to resist the demand for economic protectionism, which over the past years has arisen in response to increased competition from Asia (in particular with regard to the textile industry). Conscription was abolished in January 2005; yet since the 1980s the Italian armed forces have increased their strategic potential despite heavy financial constraints. Security and humanitarian challenges surrounding the Italian peninsula have always had an effect on Italian domestic policy, as irregular migrants attempt to enter the country or in some cases, perish in such attempts in the Mediterranean. This is why Italian armed forces have acted at times as an external police force, to protect homeland security and stability, or have pursued action in weak states such as neighboring Albania. Italy is threatened by human trafficking and drug trafficking, and has experience in dealing with instability and strife as a neighbor to the western

Balkans. It is also a participant in the most advanced EU initiatives geared to strengthen cooperation in domestic and judicial affairs.

Luxembourg

value 8

Luxembourg is not and cannot be a big player in the security domain. Due to its size it has to seek cooperation with other states. The country is part of Europe's Schengen border-control agreement, named after the small Luxembourg town where the accord was signed. Luxembourg was also one of the seven states that signed the Prüm Convention in 2005, a cooperative agreement aimed at combating terrorism, cross-border crime and illegal migration through the exchange of DNA and fingerprint data. Luxembourg often acts as a pioneer in international cooperative efforts, with the government actively promoting the drafting of European criminal, civil, and family codes.

Netherlands

value 8

When it comes to new security risks, the Dutch government pursues a highly effective and forward-looking set of policies to protect its citizens. Close cooperation between members of the European Union is used to respond to new security risks, including those arising from international terrorism, international organized crime and human trafficking. Furthermore, in September 2006, the position of a national anti-terror coordinator was established together with a national early-warning system, and new legislation on terrorism was passed that introduced more severe punishments in cases of terror-related activities. The Netherlands also made significant contributions to international, cooperative military activities. In 2004, for example, a special budget – known as the “Stability Fund” and amounting to €4.2 million – was created in order to provide swift aid to conflict regions in the developing world deemed to be of special importance to Dutch foreign policy (e.g., Africa, Afghanistan and the Balkans).

The Netherlands contributes personnel and material to the military capacity of the European Union and the United Nations. A total of 1,300 troops are made available to the NATO Response Force (NRF) and EU military forces.

Funding for non-military-related activities derive from the Homogeneous Budget for International Cooperation (HGIS). The HGIS is a separate budgetary construction in the annual federal budget that lists and briefly describes the most important areas of Dutch expenditure on international cooperation. These areas include: the strengthening of the international legal order and respect for human rights; the promotion of peace and security as well as conflict management; the reduction of poverty and the increase and more equal distribution of wealth; the promotion of human and social development; and the protection and improvement of the environment. In 2006, the HGIS had a budget of almost € billion. The projected

budget for 2008 is approximately €6.5 billion.

Annotation: Ministerie voor Buitenlands Zaken, “Homogeneous Budget for International Cooperation. The funding of foreign policy,”

http://www.minbuza.nl/en/ministry,policy_and_budget/homogeneous_budget_for_international_cooperation_xhgisx.html (accessed February 28, 2008).

New Zealand

value 8

New security policy in New Zealand was launched well before the September 11 attacks in the United States. Many people regarded French agents’ 1985 sinking of Greenpeace’s Rainbow Warrior vessel in Auckland Harbor as state-sponsored terrorism. In reaction, an International Terrorism (Emergency Powers) Act was enacted in 1987. The emergency powers under the Act have so far never been used. From 2001 onward a number of additional measures such as the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 have been passed. One major instrument now used is the designation of organizations as terrorist-related. In marked contrast to Australia, the only organizations to have been so designated thus far are those which have also been listed by the United Nations.

In general, New Zealand policy in this area is strongly influenced by United Nations conventions and policies on terrorism. Domestic policies are complemented by average levels of development aid, relatively low tariffs and participation in regional nation-building and peacekeeping missions. Following from New Zealand’s foreign policy principle to be a “good international citizen,” overseas development aid could well be increased to a Scandinavian level

Portugal

value 8

Despite its limited military capabilities (i.e., its small armed forces with restricted or non-existing autonomous capabilities), Portugal’s security policy framework has been updated and reformed so as to reflect new internal and external security risks. Moreover, the country is a long-standing and active member of several international, multilateral and regional organizations. Security and defense issues are viewed with the whole of Europe in mind, and coordination is made with European partners and NATO. The government has invested in, organized and trained special intervention units in its police and intelligence forces. In short, the government is pursuing a sound set of policies in the security area and one that is part and parcel of a wider European policy.

Slovakia

value 8

Slovakia has dealt with new security risks within the framework of NATO and the European Union. It has participated in crisis management missions carried out by NATO (e.g., in Kosovo and Afghanistan), the European Union (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and other international organizations (UN) and ad hoc coalitions (in Iraq). Having considered this participation a priority in Slovakia's security and defense policy, the Dzurinda government was quite active in the field of development aid and established the Slovak Agency for International Developmental Aid (Brocková 2007). Capitalizing on its own earlier experience as an aid recipient, Slovakia has also shown strong participation in development projects co-financed and co-managed by the Austrian government and the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA).

Annotation: Ingrid Brocková, "Slovakia's Foreign Development Aid," in Slovakia 2006. *A Global Report on the State and of Society*, ed. Martin Bútorá, Grigorij Mesežnikov, and Miroslav Kollár (Bratislava, Institute for Public Affairs, 2006), 311–326.

South Korea

value 8

In order to adapt to new security risks and a new security environment, Korean security forces have implemented defense reforms modernizing a land forces-centered strategy with more high-tech and state-of-art equipment. Korean forces are numerous, well trained, and equipped with modern U.S.-built weapons. The forces include units for special operations and anti-terrorist missions.

However, the country has neither the military capacity nor the political will for independent military action or power projection. Korea is part of the U.S.-led "coalition of the willing" and war on terror; it provided the third-largest contingent in the Iraq occupation forces, and a smaller contingent in Afghanistan which was withdrawn at the end of 2007.

To date, Korea has not experienced any terrorist attacks related to its close alliance with the United States, and there are few indications that terrorists are targeting Korea. However, 23 Korean citizens in Afghanistan were kidnapped in August 2007. There is little domestic threat from international criminal organizations, as the Korean peninsula is neither a major destination nor a transit country for drugs. In recent years, Korea has become a major destination for trafficking of women, mostly from Russia, Central Asia and Southeast Asia.

Korean foreign aid remains low at 0.1 percent of GDP in 2005 (up from 0.06 percent in 2004), which can be explained by Korea's relatively recent economic development. Though limited, South Korea has begun military exchanges with China, another measure aimed at adapting to the new security environment. The government actively participates in international efforts combating terrorism and

internationally organized crimes, and has sent peacekeeping troops to various U.N. missions.

Spain

value 8

Between 2005 and 2007, the Spanish government has helped effectively protect its citizens from new security risks with the development of a sound set of policies, including promoting stability in conflict zones, assisting in conflict prevention, offering assistance to failed states and increasing resources dedicated to development aid. One important contribution of the Spanish government in this direction has been the initiative, supported by the United Nations, to establish an Alliance of Civilizations. Through the initiative of the governments of Spain and Turkey, a U.N. High-level Group was formed in 2005 to explore the roots of polarization between societies and cultures and to recommend a practical action program to address this issue.

Another important contribution in this direction has been the dramatic increase in government spending on development aid. Between 2005 and 2006 development aid increased by 23.2 percent; between 2006 and 2007 by 38.5 percent (to 0.42 percent in 2007) with the main focus of assistance being on less advanced countries of sub-Saharan Africa. During the period under analysis, Spain has participated in 20 multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian missions: 11 are complete while nine are still active, among them missions in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Kosovo. A total of 5,983 troops are participating in these missions during this period.

At an international level, Spain actively participates as member of important international organizations such as NATO, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Council of Europe. The Socialist government supports strategies designed to enhance the strength and cohesiveness as well maintain a well-informed network, within European security and defense policy. Similarly the Spanish government has promoted instruments of bilateral cooperation with the countries of the Mediterranean region and leads multilateral initiatives such as the Barcelona Process and the Mediterranean Dialogue of the North Atlantic Council.

United Kingdom

value 8

The recent rise in the number of terrorist attacks internationally indirectly testifies to the need to understand security policy in more broad terms and to include, for example, new forms of international cooperation and development aid as well as innovative approaches to ensuring internal security. From this point of view, UK security policy is inadequate in terms of the country's level of spending on development aid, which is nonetheless combined with an open market policy and efficient global military capabilities.

Britain's worldwide military capabilities are not fully developed in all respects. Although it has a rapid-response force for crisis management anywhere in the world that allows the country to intervene on its own or together with her EU and NATO partners, autonomy of action is constrained by a lack of sealift capabilities and limited satellite support, which inhibits the use of all modern warfare techniques.

Measured in terms of its emphasis on military response to threats rather than the prevention of threats rooted in socioeconomic issues, Britain's overall security policy is unbalanced. However, its open market policy might be considered a step forward in raising wealth internationally by lowering barriers to economic interaction.

Internal threats posed by militant Islamic groups constitute another aspect of new security policy in Britain. Indeed, the United Kingdom is one of the first OECD countries to be facing the problem of "home-grown" terrorism. Participation in the political system's formal mechanisms is low among the country's large domestic Muslim community. Muslim immigrants in particular are poorly integrated, and the government is torn between emphasizing more integration and strengthening existing police and intelligence mechanisms. Measures in the latter area have included section 23 of the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, which permitted the detention of foreigners suspected of involvement in international terrorism for an indefinite period of time. In December 2004, the House of Lords heavily criticized this act, but 2005's Prevention of Terrorism Act enables the home secretary to request control orders on suspects, whether British or foreign. These orders can be used to prevent suspected terrorists from using the Internet and telephone or from leaving their homes.

United States

value 8

Triggered by the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. approaches to "new" security policies have been able to respond very effectively to new security risks, and they have done so in a forward-looking way. The United States invests extremely heavily and has pursued innovative strategies in its efforts to ensure security. The armed forces have been outfitted with the most modern high-tech and state-of-the-art equipment. In 2006, the U.S. rapid-response forces dwarfed those of any other OECD country, and the same holds true for air- and sea-lift capabilities. The United States is also the only OECD country with full capacity in all three areas of C4ISTAR (C4 = Command, Control, Communication, Computers; I = military intelligence; and STAR = Surveillance, Target Acquisition, Reconnaissance).

Furthermore, homeland-security policy has been modernized, and the U.S. government has created a new agency to assume transportation security responsibilities (primarily at airlines), and it is introducing new technological and organizational strategies. For example, at least with Canada, it is promoting joint efforts to ensure security of the North American coastlines. Nevertheless, the United States has been slow to implement some needed security practices. For example, airlines do not have access to government watch lists, the majority of shipping containers are not inspected, and it will apparently be years before radioactive cargo

can be reliably detected.

In addition, the U.S. government has announced a substantial increase in official development aid from its – in comparative terms – very low 2004 level of 0.17 percent of gross national income. Already in 2005, the ratio was almost 30-percent higher.

Australia

value 7

As a relatively small country with limited ability to fund military resources, Australia has historically sought engagement and cooperation with other countries as a strategy for pursuing its interests and maintaining security in its region. Development aid, while low (0.25 percent of gross national income), is targeted at countries in the region. Australia is also actively involved in promoting stable democratic governments in the small countries in its region as evinced by its significant police and/or military presence in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu, all of which have fragile democracies and tenuous holds on public order and safety.

The Australian government and its security agencies have also sought close engagement with other countries in the region to counter terrorism. The primary emphasis has been on relations with Indonesia, the closest, largest and predominately Muslim neighboring country. Several terrorist attacks have taken place in Indonesia in the last five years, some of which have targeted Australians. Assessments of the effectiveness of coordination with Indonesian authorities are difficult to make, but objective data on Indonesian arrests and convictions of perpetrators of the terrorist acts suggest a strong commitment on the part of the Indonesian government to combat terrorism.

Internally, Australia's government has been relatively responsive to the perception of new terrorism threats since 2001, which is unsurprising given the electoral benefits this strategy has reaped. Various new measures have been undertaken, including legislative changes and additional allocations of security and military resources.

Austria

value 7

The Austrian government pursues a set of policies aimed at protecting its citizens against new security risks. First, Austria cooperates with a number of other countries on security matters, particularly in the form of international law-enforcement organizations. Within the framework of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), Austria takes part in coordinating civil and military crisis management. It also participates in both EU and OSCE working groups aimed at fighting terrorism, organized crime, drugs, human trafficking and money laundering. Austria also contributes to the activities of NATO's Partnership for Peace.

Furthermore, Austria supports the European Union's efforts to establish a stable

environment beyond EU borders by means of implementing fair trade and development policies. Even though Austria's spending on development policy has tended to be comparatively low, public expenditures for development aid have recently been extended in accordance with EU decisions.

Finland

value 7

Police forces and intelligence activities have done quite good work against the rapidly growing levels of international organized crime. Nevertheless, signs of human trafficking have emerged, as Finland is located on the border between East and West, and Nordic countries are often used as a gateway from Asia to Europe. International organized crime has become a new challenge, where practically no such phenomenon previously existed.

Finland actively participates in regional and international cooperative efforts in different fields of crisis management and protection against new risks. One example addresses environmental catastrophe management, with the creation of a Baltic-wide capacity to respond to accidents at sea. Yet new risks should be included in the security policy agenda in a more explicit way, especially with regard to threats resulting from uneven development and gaps in living and production conditions in different parts of the world.

Ireland

value 7

Ireland has pursued a policy of military neutrality since the second world war, and this remains the case in the so-called "war on terror." Moreover, although Ireland is not a member of NATO, it has allowed U.S. military planes to stop and refuel at Shannon Airport.

As a small nation with low levels of central government spending on defense, Ireland does not possess the military capabilities to significantly alter the international security structure. Ireland's membership in the European Union is the principal determinant of its international collaboration on security. Toward the end of the period under review, the Ministry of Defense indicated its intention to enter into discussions about Ireland's possible participation in EU battlegroups, which would be deployed according to UN mandates. Some commentators have viewed this as representing the further erosion of Ireland's official neutral status.

To the extent that overseas development assistance (ODA) is considered part of a country's security policy, Ireland's record is good. ODA relative to GDP has risen from 0.27 percent in 1998 to over 0.5 percent in 2007. Ireland is committed to raising this figure over the medium term to the UN Millennium Development Goal target of 0.7 percent. Almost all Irish aid is untied and unconditional. Since its inception in 1974, the Department of Foreign Affairs' Irish Aid program has had a strong geographic focus on sub-Saharan Africa.

Japan

value 7

Among new security issues for Japan, ensuring a future supply of raw materials, energy and food imports ranks high, while global warming and regional instability are perceived to be additional security threats. Due to the country's geographic location and specific characteristics of Japanese society, transnational terrorism is not regarded as a major security concern. The country has had brushes with domestic terrorism, including the Japanese Red Army in the 1970s and 1980s and the notorious Aum Shinrikyo cult in the mid-1990s. However, Japanese citizens are typically less worried about Islamist fundamentalism than about the role of North Korea or regional leadership competition between China and Japan. The government's primary response to these new security threats has been to continue reliance on the U.S. alliance. In mid-2006, leaders from both countries signed "The Japan-U.S. Alliance of the New Century," updating a 2001 agreement.

In its relations with neighboring countries, Japan has been less successful than hoped in recent years. The government frequently stresses the need for better regional relations, but has implemented few substantive measures. Regional cooperation is actively promoted in various forums, but true success stories are hard to find. Japan has hesitated in making clear concessions, for instance in distancing itself from its war and imperial history, or with respect to agricultural imports. Separately, Japan has long used official development assistance (ODA) to pursue its own narrowly defined economic interest. Nowadays, it closely follows a "good governance" agenda as promoted by the United States and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank. However, it is doubtful whether Japan has earned itself a reputation as an autonomous, benign actor through these ODA policies. It thus has little with which counter China's current approach of lending money to developing countries, making itself appear particularly attractive as a partner.

Poland

value 7

Poland in 2002 passed a national security strategy plan to account for new security risks arising from terrorism and organized crime. It has cooperated with other countries to address cross-border problems and issues beyond its borders that fall within the jurisdiction of NATO, the European Union and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. Poland is engaged in 10 out of 15 ongoing international peacekeeping operations, but manages only medium-sized rapid response forces which are not able to engage autonomously. The protection of the country's critical infrastructure has improved, but still suffers from some weaknesses. The establishment of a preventive security policy through development aid and fair trade policies has not featured very prominently on the government agenda. Expenses for development aid are the lowest in the OECD, and Poland does not even have an aid and development agency.

Switzerland

value 7

In order to combat new forms of security risk, Switzerland has increased cooperation with other nations' police and intelligence forces. This has led to long-term collaboration in the fight against terrorism, cross-border crime and human trafficking, particularly with other EU countries after ratification of the Schengen treaty (relating to border control) and the Dublin treaty (relating to asylum procedures). This policy has also resulted in increased cooperation in the context of specific events, such as international conferences or the 2008 UEFA European Football Championship. In addition, Switzerland uses its neutral position to mediate in conflict situations, such as providing diplomatic service for the United States in Iran.

Czech Republic

value 6

Czech government documents indicate broad acceptance of the assumption that security depends on addressing problems around the world. However, the country provides little aid to developing countries, follows EU policy on tariffs, and seeks to maintain only a limited capability to deploy military forces abroad. Moreover, the country always follows NATO and U.S. security policies and recently also the EU plan to create a rapid reaction force, to which the Czech Republic and Slovakia will jointly contribute. Alternatives to more active involvement are given little consideration.

There is, however, some interest in activities related to human rights in communist and formerly communist countries. For example, Czech politicians have frequently been active in drawing attention to abuses in Cuba, and there has been government support for projects in Belarus and Ukraine. These activities have been based on the assumption that the world would become safer, if these countries moved much closer to the European Union and away from Russian influence. A number of other issues have not been adequately addressed. Parliament has not yet passed a counter-terrorist law that would give the police and intelligence service the instruments they need to fight terrorism, and no integrated rescue system exists to respond to emergencies.

Greece

value 6

The government's policy for protecting the population against new security risks is relatively sound. Greece cooperates with international and EU partners, is a member of NATO and the European Union, is a part of the Shengen border-control treaty, and has obtained useful high-technology equipment. However, the various Greek security agencies face serious problems of coordination and cooperation. Some

government officials and public employees have had difficulty in adapting to new concepts of security, and the related way of thinking. Security is often perceived in a traditional way, and policies shaped accordingly.

For example, Greece has commando, special operation and marine brigades which are well trained; but Greek armed and security forces have limited sealift capabilities, and their C4ISTAR and other capabilities leave much to be desired. Greece's development aid is minimal, amounting to just 0.16 percent of national income in 2004. This makes Greece a small donor compared to other members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, whose average level of aid is 0.26 percent of income. Finally, while some progress has been made in "exporting" stability in southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean through diplomatic and economic means, much remains to be done to counter new security risks in the region as a whole.

Iceland

value 5

Iceland's security policy is still in limbo following the unilateral withdrawal of American forces and the effective closure of the NATO military base at Keflavik in 2005. This outcome could not have been wholly unexpected, as the United States government had previously indicated plans to revise its defense agreement with Iceland; but even so, Iceland's government did not offer a clear alternative plan.

Until a new, durable defense arrangement has been put in place, Iceland's security policy cannot be said to protect the citizens of Iceland effectively against new security risks. Rather, due to the lack of preparation for the foreseeable withdrawal of NATO forces, the country's security policy and military defenses seem to need a thorough overhaul.

This work apparently has just begun, with a provisional agreement with the government of Norway, and cannot be said to rank high on the political agenda. It was, for example, hardly mentioned in the election campaign in the spring of 2007. However, Iceland faces relatively low risk from new security problems such as terrorism.

Mexico

value 5

Mexico's most important new security problems have to do with problems in other parts of the world. For example, purely Mexican consumption of illegal drugs would not create the kind of criminal fortunes that are made by exporting them to the United States. Moreover, the United States government has expressed concern (so far without supporting evidence) that potential terrorists might try to cross Mexico's northern border, taking advantage of the routes followed by illegal economic migrants. To date, no such case has been identified.

Mexico and the United States cooperate closely in anti-drug operations. This

includes a Mexican willingness to extradite Mexican citizens wanted by American authorities on drug-related charges. National sovereignty considerations do impose some limits on this cooperation, but the general impression is that these concerns are weakening and that cooperation with the United States is strengthening. Felipe Calderon's administration has taken a strong stand against crime, and has for the first time pursued significant collaboration with the United States. New police forces have been created, and more preparation and technology have been deployed in combating organized crime. Nonetheless, there is still a long way to go. Police forces are highly decentralized, thus making many local police forces easy targets for corruption. The new forces are still under construction, and the new technology is not as yet in use. Above all, the justice system is in such disarray that it probably represents the weakest part of these efforts.

Turkey

value 3

With 0.17 percent official development assistance in relation to gross national income, Turkey is well below the average of OECD states (0.38 percent) but exceeds the levels of Korea, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In tariffs and duties on textiles and clothing, Turkey matches the OECD average. Regarding Turkey's disposal of rapid response forces, the country is in a dead heat with the larger countries of Europe (and also Greece) as well as South Korea, and the same is more or less true for the country's air and sea capabilities; its military command competencies seem to mirror the average of other more developed European countries. At the same time, the willingness of Turkey to cooperate with western countries to reduce security risks, such as terrorism, organized crime and human trafficking, is beyond question.

However, to conclude that Turkey has arrived at a new security understanding would be misleading. Turkey's military performance and cooperation internationally is still motivated by a classic approach and the goal of establishing itself as regional power. To understand this strategy one does not need to analyze Turkey's policy toward failed states that could harbor or sponsor terrorists but look at Turkey's relationship with its own underdeveloped regions in the southeastern part of the country.

Turkey has done very little to address the socioeconomic, educational and political reasons for PKK terrorism but has relied almost exclusively on military measures, which often give additional life to organized crime and drugs and weapons trafficking. The institution of Temporary Village Guards (TVG) is a striking example. In 1983, approximately 58,000 guards had been deployed initially in 22 provinces, and then later in 35 of Turkey's 81 provinces, to assist in fighting the PKK. The TVG are based on semi-feudal tribal structures, a system that is still influential among Kurdish groups, and these structures, at the end of the day, decide an individuals' loyalty. It came to pass that the introduction of TVG enhanced the traditional hostilities between different Kurdish tribes and clans.

This report is part of the Sustainable Governance Indicators 2009 project, which assesses and compares the reform capacities of the OECD member states.

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Contact

Andrea Kuhn, Dr. Leonard Novy, Daniel Schraad-Tischler

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256

33311 Gütersloh

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de