

Naval Postgraduate School  
Monterey, California 93943-5138

NPS-09-02-015



***SUMMARY  
OF  
RESEARCH  
2001***



**Department of National Security Affairs  
School of International Graduate Studies**

**James Wirtz  
Chair**

**Peter R. Lavoy  
Associate Chair for Research**

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Prepared for: Naval Postgraduate School  
Monterey, CA 93943-5000

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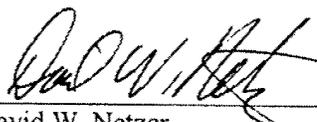
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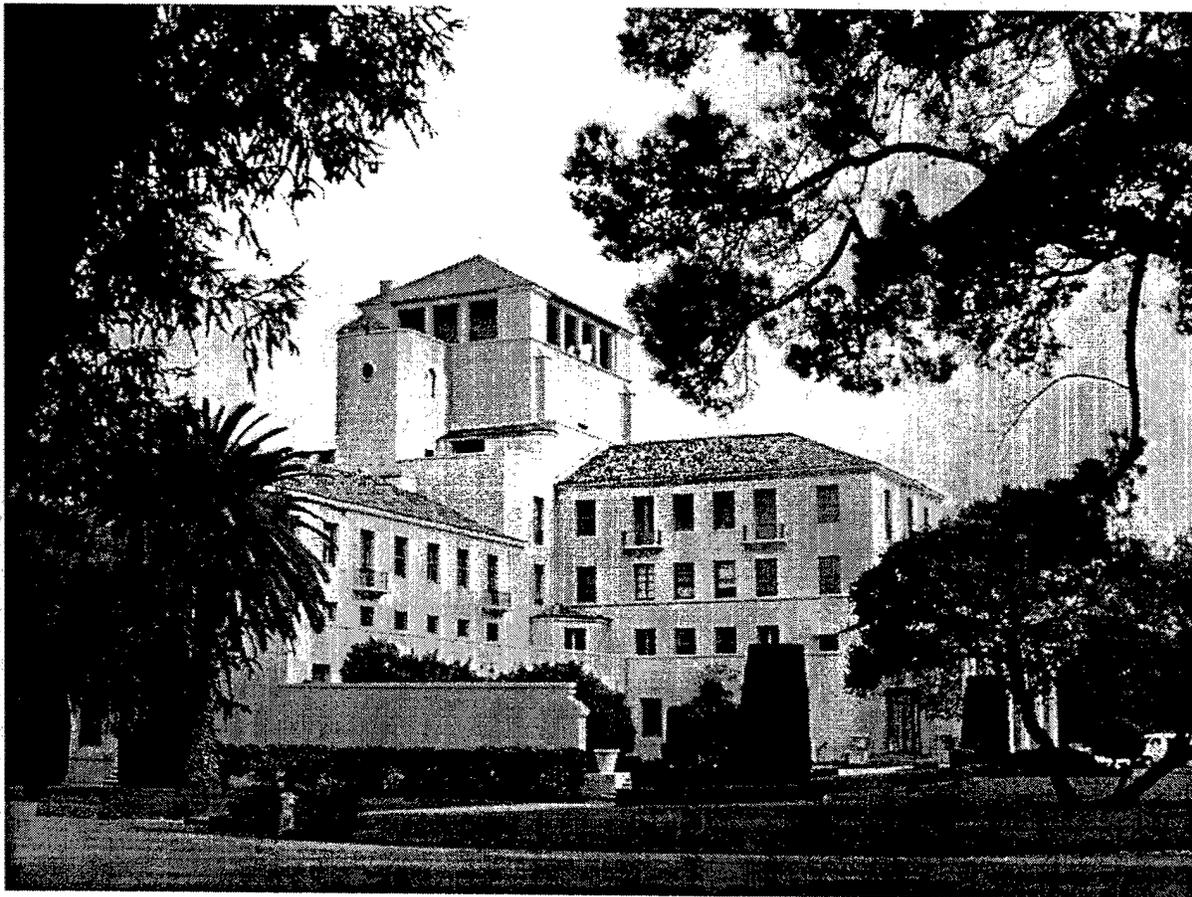
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## THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MISSION

Increase the combat effectiveness of the U.S. and allied forces and enhance the security of the U.S.A. through advanced education and research programs focused on the technical, analytical, and managerial tools needed to confront defense related challenges of the future.



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## PREFACE

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Research at the Naval Postgraduate School is carried out by faculty in the four graduate schools (School of International Graduate Studies, Graduate School of Operations and Information Sciences, Graduate School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and Graduate School of Business and Public Policy) and three Research Institutes (The Modeling, Virtual Environments, and Simulation (MOVES) Institute, Institute for Information Superiority and Innovation (I2SI), and Institute for Defense System Engineering and Analysis (IDSEA). This volume contains research summaries for the projects undertaken by faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs during 2001. The summary also contains thesis abstracts for those students advised by National Security Affairs faculty during 2001.

Questions about particular projects may be directed to the faculty Principal Investigator listed, the Department Chair, or the Department Associate Chair for Research. Questions may also be directed to the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean of Research. General questions about the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program should be directed to the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean of Research at (831) 656-2099 (voice) or [research@nps.navy.mil](mailto:research@nps.navy.mil) (e-mail). Additional information is also available at the RESEARCH AT NPS website, <http://web.nps.navy.mil/~code09/>

Additional published information on the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program can be found in:

- *Compilation of Theses Abstracts*: A quarterly publication containing the abstracts of all unclassified theses by Naval Postgraduate School students.
- *Naval Postgraduate School Research*: A tri-annual (February, June, October) newsletter highlighting Naval Postgraduate School faculty and student research.
- *Summary of Research*: An annual publication containing research summaries for projects undertaken by the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School.

This publication and those mentioned above can be found on-line at:  
<http://web.nps.navy.mil/~code09/publications.html>.

# INTRODUCTION

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The research program at the Naval Postgraduate School exists to support the graduate education of our students. It does so by providing military relevant thesis topics that address issues from the current needs of the Fleet and Joint Forces to the science and technology that is required to sustain the long-term superiority of the Navy/DoD. It keeps our faculty current on Navy/DoD issues, and maintains the content of the upper division courses at the cutting edge of their disciplines. At the same time, the students and faculty together provide a very unique capability within the DoD for addressing warfighting problems. Our officers must be able to think innovatively and have the knowledge and skills that will let them apply technologies that are being rapidly developed in both the commercial and military sectors. Their unique knowledge of the operational Navy, when combined with a challenging thesis project that requires them to apply their focused graduate education, is one of the most effective methods for both solving Fleet problems and instilling the life-long capability for applying basic principles to the creative solution of complex problems.

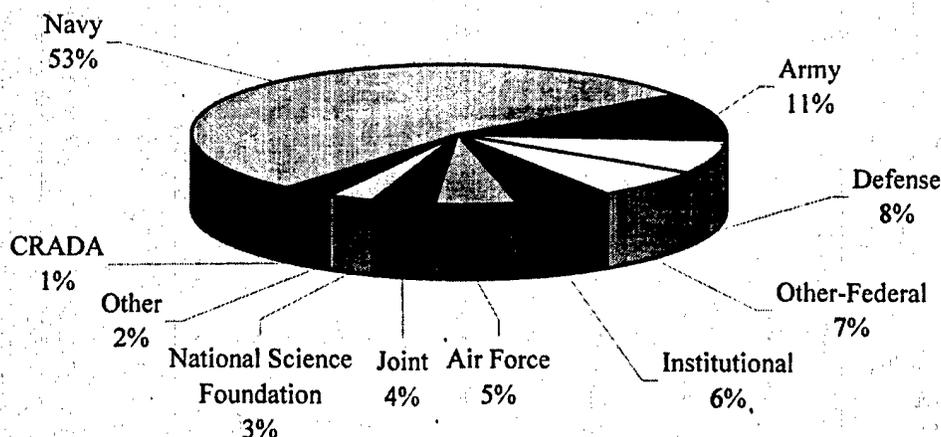
The research program at the Naval Postgraduate School consists of both reimbursable (sponsored) and institutionally funded research. The research varies from very fundamental to very applied, from unclassified to all levels of classification.

- **Reimbursable (Sponsored) Program:** This program includes those projects externally funded on the basis of proposals submitted to outside sponsors by the School's faculty. These funds allow the faculty to interact closely with RDT&E program managers and high-level policymakers throughout the Navy, DoD, and other government agencies as well as with the private sector in defense-related technologies. The sponsored program utilizes Cooperative Research and Development Agreements (CRADAs) with private industry, participates in consortia with government laboratories and universities, provides off-campus courses either on-site at the recipient command, by VTC, or web-based, and provides short courses for technology updates.
- **Naval Postgraduate School Institutionally Funded Research (NIFR) Program:** The institutionally funded research program has several purposes: (1) to provide the initial support required for new faculty to establish a Navy/DoD relevant research area, (2) to provide support for major new initiatives that address near-term Fleet and OPNAV needs, (3) to enhance productive research that is reimbursably sponsored, and (4) to cost-share the support of a strong post-doctoral program.

In 2001, the level of research effort overall at the Naval Postgraduate School was 148 faculty work years and exceeded \$48 million. The reimbursable program has grown steadily to provide the faculty and staff support that is required to sustain a strong and viable graduate school in times of reduced budgets. In FY2001, over 93% of the research program was externally supported. A profile of the sponsorship of the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program in FY2001 is provided in Figure 1.

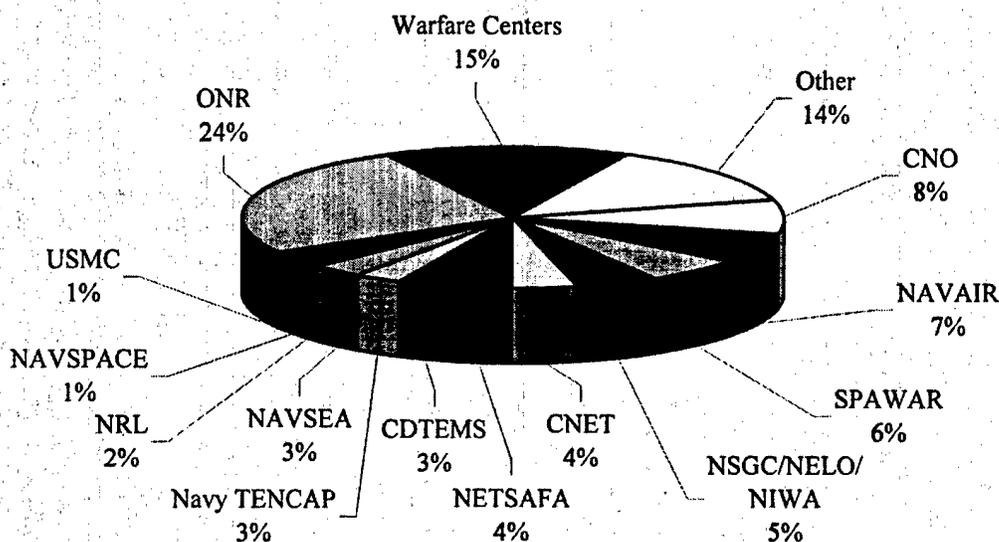
## INTRODUCTION

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**Figure 1. Profile of NPS Research and Sponsored Programs (\$52M)**

The Office of Naval Research is the largest Navy external sponsor. The Naval Postgraduate School also supports the Systems Commands, Warfare Centers, Navy Labs and other Navy agencies. A profile of external Navy sponsorship for FY2001 is provided in Figure 2.



**Figure 2. Navy External Sponsors of NPS Research and Sponsored Programs (\$29M)**

These are both challenging and exciting times at the Naval Postgraduate School and the research program exists to help ensure that we remain unique in our ability to provide education for the warfighter.

DAVID W. NETZER  
Associate Provost and Dean of Research

September 2002

**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**JAMES WIRTZ  
CHAIR**

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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## OVERVIEW:

The world around continues to evolve at an ever-increasing pace. The tempo of global events demands military officers who can analyze complex issues and think originally. The Department of National Security Affairs (NSA) is uniquely capable of providing an education that encourages these qualities in the officers who study here. The NSA Department bring together distinguished faculty and a highly motivated student body who share a focus on U. S. foreign and defense policies. The Department also tailors its programs to meet sponsor needs through a variety of means, including close ties to Service sponsors, access to classified information, and an intensive program of quality instruction and research.

## CURRICULA SERVED:

- Strategic Studies
- Regional Security Studies
- Resource Planning
- Management for International Defense
- Civil-Military Relations and International Security

## DEGREE GRANTED:

- Master of Arts in National Security Affairs

## RESEARCH THRUSTS:

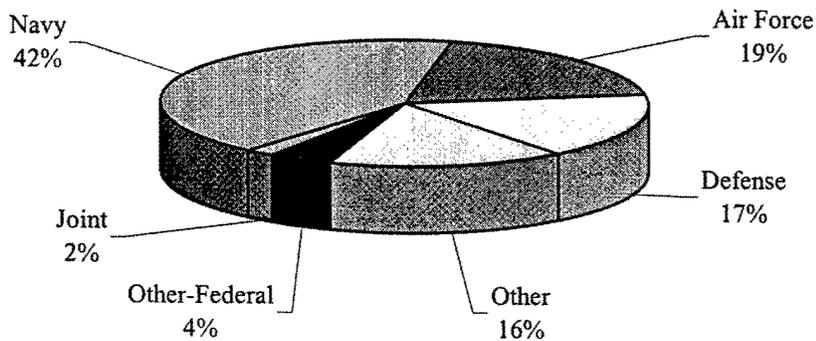
- Strategic Studies
- Joint Intelligence
- Regional Security Studies
- Civil-Military Relations and International Security
- Resource Planning and Management for International Defense (RePMID)

## RESEARCH CENTERS:

- Center for Contemporary Conflict

## RESEARCH PROGRAM (Research and Academic)-FY2001:

The Naval Postgraduate School's sponsored program exceeded \$49 million in FY2001. Sponsored programs included both research and educational activities funded from an external source. A profile of the sponsored program for the Department of National Security Affairs is provided below:



Size of Program: \$1357K

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### ASYMMETRIC WARFARE IN SOUTH ASIA

**Peter R. Lavoy, Assistant Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office**

**OBJECTIVE:** The goal of the project is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the 1999 India-Pakistan conflict in Kargil.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Asymmetric Warfare)

**KEYWORDS:** India, Pakistan, Weapons of Mass Destruction

### DEFENSE GROUP ON PROLIFERATION SEMINAR ON BIO-DEFENSE

**Peter R. Lavoy, Assistant Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Office of the Secretary of Defense**

**OBJECTIVE:** The goal of this research is to organize and host a conference of bio-defense for the U.S. co-chair of the NATO senior Defense Group on Proliferation (DGP) and to provide additional research support as required.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Bio-Defense)

**KEYWORDS:** Biological weapons, Bio-defense, NATO

### NATO AND BIO-DEFENSE

**Peter R. Lavoy, Assistant Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Defense Threat Reduction Agency**

**OBJECTIVE:** The goal of this project is to host a NATO seminar on Bio-defense in Monterey, CA, 27-29 June 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Bio-Defense)

**KEYWORDS:** Biological Weapons, NATO

### REGIONAL SECURITY EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR CARL VINSON BATTLE GROUP

**Peter R. Lavoy, Assistant Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Commander, Pacific Fleet**

**OBJECTIVE:** The goal of this project is to provide educational briefings to the Carl Vincent Battle Group to enhance regional situational awareness of deploying Naval forces.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Manpower, Personnel and Training

**KEYWORDS:** Regional Security

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### GLOBAL CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS

**Maria Rasmussen, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: National Democratic Institute**

**OBJECTIVE:** The Naval Postgraduate School's Center for Civil-Military Relations (NPS-CCMR) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) have agreed to form the Partnership for Democratic Civil-Military Relations (DCMR). Over a period of three years, the Partnership will launch a series of initiatives intended to facilitate education and dialogue on civil-military relations in new democracies. The objectives of this Partnership are: (i) The Partnership will develop a global information clearinghouse of documents and other civil-military documents. (ii) NPS-CCMR will produce and translate a series of publications combining practical experience with theoretical knowledge. (iii) NPS-CCMR will assist the Universidad Torcuato di Tella in Argentina to develop a one-semester security affairs seminar, which can then be adapted by graduate-level international affairs programs and non-governmental organizations.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Civil-Military Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Security Affairs

### MILITARY POLICIES OF POST-SOVIET STATES: SOURCES AND CONDUCT

**Mikhail Tsyppin, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity**

**OBJECTIVE:** A study of military policies of post-soviet states will focus on the decision-making mechanisms for formulation and implementation of military policies, impact of revolution in military affairs, and process of military reform.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Military Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Russia/Ukraine, Military/Security, Doctrine, Decision Making

### ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE: FUTURE ISSUES

**James J. Wirtz, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Strategic Systems Program**

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project is to provide support to the Naval Treaty Implementation Program (SP2025) by responding to a series of research questions related to arms control compliance.

#### **PUBLICATIONS:**

Wirtz, J. and Larsen, J., "U.S. Missile Defenses: Three Scenarios and their International Consequences," *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Vol. VII, Issue 4, Autumn 2001.

#### **PRESENTATIONS:**

Alibek, K., "Biological Threat and Defense," Navy Treaty Implementation Program Workshop, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 8 February 2001.

Wirtz, J., "Arms Control and Cooperative Security in the 21st Century," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, 25 February 2001.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### THESIS DIRECTED:

Watson, S., "Nuclear Weapons Accidents and Accidental Nuclear War: Is Pakistan at Risk?" Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Arms Control)

**KEYWORDS:** Arms Control, WMD, Counterproliferation

### ARMS CONTROL IN THE NEW MILLENIUM

James J. Wirtz, Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: U.S. Air Force Headquarters

**OBJECTIVE:** This project will explore the role of arms control in national security and its contribution to the international stability and U.S. national interest at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A diverse group of experts on arms control, national defense, proliferation and regional studies will explore the background of arms control theory, its successes and failures during the Cold War, changes to the international security environment in the past fifteen years, and the likelihood of future arms control agreements in various issue areas and geographic regions. Together these analysts will explore contemporary arms control issues and assess the future prospects for arms control policy in U.S. foreign policy and national security strategy.

### PUBLICATIONS:

Carr, C., "Africa," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Chevrier, M. "Chemical and Biological Weapons," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Foerster, S., "The International Context *Arms Control, Cooperative, Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Husbands, J., "Conventional Weapons," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Kartchner, K., "A New Offense/Defense Force Mix," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Larsen, J., "Introduction: The Roles and Objectives of Arms Control," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Lavoy, P., "South Asia," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

McCausland, J., "Europe," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

McFate, P., "The Final Frontier: Arms Control in Outer Space," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Nagl, J., "Arms Control in the Year 2025," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Pilat, J., "Verification and Transparency: Essential Tools," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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Ratray, G., "Cyberwar, Information Operations and Arms Control," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Roberts, B., "East Asia," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Roberts, G., "Cooperative Security Efforts," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Schelling, T., "Foreword," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Segell, G., "The Middle East," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Spector, L., "Nuclear Proliferation," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Sim, J., "The Domestic Context," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Waller, F., "Strategic Nuclear Arms Control," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Wheeler, M., "A History of Arms Control: The Experience of the West," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Wirtz, J., "Conclusion: The Future of Arms Control," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Arms Control)

**KEYWORDS:** Arms Control, Missile Defense, Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Deterrence, Antiballistic Missile Treaty

### JOINT EXPERIMENTATION – RECOMMENDATION OF ADDITIONAL INTEGRATING CONCEPTS

James J. Wirtz, Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: U.S. Joint Forces Command

**OBJECTIVE:** This project identifies additional integrating concepts related to effects based operations.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Joint Operations)

**KEYWORDS:** Effects Based Operations, Joint Operations

### NUCLEAR FORCES IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

James J. Wirtz, Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Defense Threat Reduction Agency

**OBJECTIVE:** The project is intended to preserve the body of knowledge about nuclear weapons and strategy generated during the Cold War, adapt and apply this theory and practice to the evolving

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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international security environment and to supply the next generation of officers and policymakers with the expertise needed to manage the U.S. Nuclear Arsenal well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Arms Control)

**KEYWORDS:** Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Defense, Arms Control, Nuclear Stockpile Stewardship

### STRATEGY IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

**James J. Wirtz, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Office of Naval Research**

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project is to conduct a workshop to identify emerging threats and to update traditional notions about strategy to meet contemporary challenges encountered in using force to achieve political ends.

**SUMMARY:** Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. analysts and strategists have faced a crisis. On the one hand, they are well versed with the enduring concepts of strategy, intelligence and the procedures and lessons generated by nearly fifty years of Cold War. On the other hand, there is a widespread notion that traditional ways of doing business no longer respond to emerging challenges. Further complicating matters is the fact that the study of strategy and national security issues fell out of fashion during the 1990s, creating an entire generation of junior officers and analysts who have not been exposed to traditional strategic ideas. Events like the Gulf War, Bosnia, Kosovo, Desert Fox, "intelligence surprises" (Indian and Pakistan nuclear testing) and the tragic attacks of 11 September 2001 demonstrate a mastery of the principles of intelligence and strategy are the cornerstone of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

In response to these challenges, James J. Wirtz led a team of highly acclaimed scholars (Professor John Baylis, Professor and Head of the Department of Politics and the Director of the Center for the Study of Conflict at the University of Wales; Professor Eliot Cohen, Director of the Center for Strategic Education in the Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; and Professor Colin Gray, Director of the Center for Strategic Studies, University of Reading) in a project intended to updating and applying traditional strategic concepts to today's security challenges while creating materials to educate the next generation of officers and civilians in issues of strategy. They assembled an international team of scholars to address:

- Enduring Issues of Strategy
- The Evolution of Joint Warfare
- Twentieth-century Theories and Update
- Contemporary Issues of Grand Strategy

**Phase One:** With funding supplied by Joint Forces Command (J9) and the Naval Information Warfare Activity, an international conference of strategists, intelligence analysts and policymakers was held at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California 19-21 September 2000. The conference allowed participants to discuss how traditional strategic concepts to applied to contemporary security challenges. The findings of the conference were supplied to both sponsors in the form of a conference report that was delivered at the close of FY00.

**Phase Two:** During FY01 participants at the conference further refined their analyses of contemporary strategic and security issues. Chapters were subjected to complete revision in light of comments produced by the editorial team. The editorial process culminated in the fall of 2001 in a manuscript that was submitted to Oxford University Press for publication as a textbook. The final product, *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies* was published in January 2002.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Strategic Studies)

**KEYWORDS:** Naval Strategy, Arms Control, WMD, Joint Strategy

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### SUPPORT TO NAVAL RESERVE UNIT, ALAMEDA

James J. Wirtz, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: COMNAVRESREDCOMREG 19

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose is to provide a series of lectures to Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, Detachment 320. The lectures will cover a broad range of issues of interest to Naval Intelligence.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Naval Intelligence)

**KEYWORDS:** National Security Affairs, People's Liberation Army, Asymmetric Warfare, National Missile Defense, Media

### EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

**OBJECTIVE:** The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, education and training, system development, and technology transfer policy in major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

**SUMMARY:** Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. This research effort has emphasized the analysis of primary sources from publications in NATO Europe regarding the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." A broad definition of "information warfare" has been utilized, in order to encompass means to exploit information systems, to attack those of adversaries, and to protect one's own and those of allies.

#### PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union," *Survival*, Vol. 42, pp. 97-128, Winter 2000-2001.

#### THESES DIRECTED:

Himes, S., "NATO and the European Union's Emerging Security Role," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2001.

Polli, G., "The European Security and Defense Identity: A Challenge for NATO and the United States," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Electronic Warfare, Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** France, Europe, Information Warfare, NATO, Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### EUROPEAN SECURITY AND NATO NUCLEAR POLICY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and Office of the Secretary of Defense

**OBJECTIVE:** The objective was to advance understanding of European security policy developments, notably with regard to NATO nuclear weapons policy. This included matters such as nuclear deterrence doctrine in the Alliance and policy debates in major NATO European countries. The issues included the future of nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence and force planning, missile defense, developments in Russia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and European security and defense identity.

**SUMMARY:** Expert observers on both sides of the Atlantic have expressed concern regarding Russian non-strategic nuclear forces (NSNF), including the lack of transparency and the uncertainties about Moscow's implementation of the 1991-1992 commitments. The Russians have to date been unresponsive regarding NATO's proposed confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) for NSNF.

#### PUBLICATIONS:

Yost, D.S., "Russia's Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, pp. 531-551, July 2001.

Yost, D.S., "France's Commitment to Nuclear Deterrence," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, pp. 251-258, July-September 2001.

Yost, D.S., "France's Commitment to Nuclear Deterrence," *Rationale and Requirements for U.S. Nuclear Forces and Arms Control*, Vol. II: *Foundation Report*, Payne, K., ed., pp. D1-D6, Fairfax, VA: National Institute for Public Policy, 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Strategy, France, Europe, NATO, Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs

### NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: U.S. Air Force Headquarters

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project was to advance understanding of NATO European views on U.S. National Missile Defense (NMD) plans, particularly since January 1999. The issues included the future of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, Theater Missile Defense (TMD), ballistic missile proliferation, deterrence, strategic stability, arms control, and U.S. nuclear commitments to NATO European security.

**SUMMARY:** As in previous transatlantic debates about missile defense (in 1967-1972 and 1983-1988), the Allies have expressed concern about the implications of U.S. missile defenses for relations with Russia, strategic stability, arms control and nonproliferation, deterrence, and the trans-Atlantic link. Even the old argument that U.S. missile defenses could cause "decoupling" and create "differing zones of security" within the Alliance has been raised. If the ABM Treaty cannot be retained in its current form, Europeans generally declare, they would strongly prefer an amended ABM Treaty or some other U.S.-Russian agreed framework, in the interests of promoting nonproliferation, reassuring public opinion, and maintaining constructive relations with Russia. Despite the strong arguments for U.S.-Russian agreement in jointly terminating the ABM Treaty regime, the Russians appear at present inclined to make the United States bear all the political responsibility of withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. They nonetheless evidently recognize that it would not be in their interests to over-dramatize the implications of such a U.S. decision.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### THESIS DIRECTED:

Baze, M.W., "Assessing Russian Reactions to U.S. Missile Defense," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, September 2001.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, Europe, NATO, Strategy, Crisis Management

### NATO'S NEW ROLES IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: United States Institute of Peace Fellowship

**OBJECTIVE:** The objective of this project is to advance understanding of NATO's new roles in international security, particularly with regard to collective security endeavors undertaken on behalf of the international community, such as the peace enforcement efforts underway in Bosnia since late 1995 and in Kosovo since March 1999.

**SUMMARY:** While the Atlantic Alliance has multiple functions, it originated as, and remains, a group of nations dedicated to collective defense — ensuring protection for the Allies against direct aggression or coercion. Since 1990, however, collective security has become increasingly prominent in the Alliance's words and deeds. The words include NATO's offers, beginning in 1992, to support the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in peacekeeping operations; its commitments since 1994 to the 27 non-NATO nations in the Partnership for Peace; and its declarations that "security is indivisible" throughout what has since the end of the Cold War often been called the Euro-Atlantic area — the vast region consisting of North America, Europe, and the former Soviet Union, including the former Soviet republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia. The deeds encompass the many Partnership for Peace exercises and other activities oriented toward peacekeeping; the efforts to devise Combined Joint Task Forces that could be used for crisis management and peacekeeping by NATO-approved "coalitions of the willing;" and, most significantly, NATO's first military operations involving actual combat — the interventions in the former Yugoslavia that made possible the Dayton accords and the NATO-led implementation and stabilization forces (IFOR and SFOR) in Bosnia and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) in Kosovo.

### PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "NATO's Contributions to Conflict Management," *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P., eds., Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 585-602, 2001.

### PRESENTATION:

Yost, D.S., "NATO-Russia Relations," NATO: No Action, Talk Only — No More? Conference, U.S. Naval Institute and the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Wheaton, IL, 8 March 2001.

### THESES DIRECTED:

Inskip, C.H., "Adaptations in NATO and European Naval Command Organizations Since 1989," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2001.

Shupp, B.A., "U.S. Participation in Balkan Peacekeeping: The Rice Proposal," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2001.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Strategy, Europe, NATO, Crisis Management, Collective Security, Peacekeeping

**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**2001  
Faculty Publications  
and Presentations**

## PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS

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### JOURNAL ARTICLES

Wirtz, J. and Larsen, J., "U.S. Missile Defenses: Three Scenarios and their International Consequences," *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Vol. VII, Issue 4, Autumn 2001.

Yost, D.S., "Russia's Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, pp. 531-551, July 2001.

Yost, D.S., "The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union," *Survival*, Vol. 42, pp. 97-128, Winter 2000-2001.

Yost, D.S., "Russia's Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, pp. 531-551, July 2001.

Yost, D.S., "France's Commitment to Nuclear Deterrence," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, pp. 251-258, July-September 2001.

### CONFERENCE PAPERS

Alibek, K., "Biological Threat and Defense," Navy Treaty Implementation Program Workshop, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 8 February 2001.

Wirtz, J., "Arms Control and Cooperative Security in the 21st Century," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, 25 February 2001.

### CONFERENCE PRESENTATION

Yost, D.S., "NATO-Russia Relations," NATO: No Action, Talk Only — No More? Conference, U.S. Naval Institute and the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Wheaton, IL, 8 March 2001.

### CONTRIBUTION TO BOOKS

Lavoy, P., "South Asia," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Wirtz, J., "Conclusion: The Future of Arms Control," *Arms Control, Cooperative Security in a Changed Environment*, Larsen, J., ed., 2001.

Yost, D.S., "France's Commitment to Nuclear Deterrence," *Rationale and Requirements for U.S. Nuclear Forces and Arms Control*, vol. II: *Foundation Report*, Payne, K., ed., pp. D1-D6, Fairfax, VA: National Institute for Public Policy, 2001.

Yost, D.S., "Russia and Arms Control for Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces," *Controlling Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons: Obstacles and Opportunities*, Larsen, J. and Klingenberger, K., eds., Colorado Springs, CO: U.S. Air Force Institute for National Security Studies, pp. 119-157, 2001.

Yost, D.S., "NATO's Contributions to Conflict Management," *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P., eds., Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 585-602, 2001.

**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**Thesis Abstracts**

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **ARAB GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL (AGCC) ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATION**

**Khalifa D. Al-binali-Major, Bahrain Defense Force  
Master of Science in Management-December 2000**

**Advisors: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs  
Roger D. Evered, Department of Systems Management**

This thesis discusses the historical events that lead to the establishment of the AGCC organization and analyzes the cooperation of the AGCC countries politics, security, economy, as well as defense spending at lower life cycle cost. U.S foreign military sales (FMS) are a good tool to facilitate the arms trades between the U.S and the AGCC countries. The thesis discuss the external and internal threats to the region and the AGCC relations with the West. The AGCC countries must enhance the existing Shield Force and maintain its alliance with the West.

This thesis also discusses the economies of the AGCC countries and indicates that the AGCC countries are still largely oil-based economies. Moreover, the economic characteristics of these countries indicate that they are not ready at their current stage to form a full monetary union. However, these countries are economically qualified for several forms of partial monetary integration, such as an exchange rate coordination arrangement, capital market integration. Also, the thesis suggests additional and aggressive economic diversification programs are needed and essential to enhance the development of sustainable economies. Finally, this thesis provides recommendations for exchange rate unification and monetary integration among the AGCC countries to strengthen and move the AGCC forward in the future.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Economics)

**KEYWORDS:** Arab Gulf Cooperation Council (AGCC) Security, Political System, Foreign Military Sales, Economic Integration

### **RWANDA RECONSIDERED**

**Michael L. Artbauer-Major, United States Marine Corps  
B.S., Kent State University, 1985**

**Master of Science in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Letitia L. Lawson, Department of National Security Affairs  
Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

On April 6, 1994, the airplane returning the President of Rwanda home was shot down. After appearing to have achieved a negotiated end to the countries ongoing civil war, the nation was now plunged into an ethnically motivated genocide with horrendous results. What led the extremist elements of the President's ruling elite class to view this alternative as a plausible solution to the loss of power and prestige they would incur with implementation of the peace accords? To answer this question, this thesis examines how Rwanda's two ethnic groups were manipulated to ethnically stratify the country. After independence and a reversal of ethnic control, the new regionally based elites consistently returned to an ethnically divisive strategy to unite the population and maintain their narrow base of power over other regional elites. The onset of civil war in 1990 by exiled Tutsi refugees, coupled with international pressure for democratic reforms ultimately led to the Arusha Accords. The Accords in due course failed both because of extremist fears of the loss of their power and prestige, and the failure of the international community to back the vital provisions of the accords.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Humanitarian Intervention, State Sovereignty, International Law, Conflict Resolution

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **EXTENDING U.S. THEATER MISSILE DEFENSE TO NORTHEAST ASIA: RAMIFICATIONS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY**

**Steven A. Attenweiler-Lieutenant, United States Navy  
B.A., University of Maine, 1990**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

The absence of a formidable U.S. and allied Theater Missile Defense (TMD) capability in the East Asian region has encouraged a build-up in offensive missile capability on the part of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). This build-up has destabilized a region of vital importance to the national interest of the United States by encouraging the idea that offensive military action can be utilized to attain national ambitions at a relatively acceptable cost. This thesis shows that the introduction of a layered missile defense capability will serve to enhance regional security for the United States and its allies by raising the costs associated with using missiles in an offensive manner and by underscoring the level of commitment the United States maintains in guaranteeing the security of its allies in the face of a growing regional threat. The political benefits associated with such a tangible defensive obligation on the part of the United States should not be underrated.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command Control and Communications, Directed Energy Weapons.

**KEYWORDS:** Theater Missile Defense, TMD, Ballistic Missiles, China, PRC, PLA, DPRK, North Korea, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Security Alliances.

### **TURKEY EUROPEAN UNION RELATIONS: GREAT EXPECTATIONS**

**Hanifi Aydin-Lieutenant, Turkish Navy**

**B.S., Turkish Naval Academy, 1986**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: Stephen Garrett, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since 1963 Turkey has been struggling to join the European Union (EU). Despite strong Turkish aspirations, it appears unlikely that Turkey will be accepted as an EU member in the near future due to Turkey's shortcomings in its political, economic and social structure. Applications submitted prior to December 1999, were rejected by the EU Commission on the basis of poor democracy, human rights abuses, restrictions on political and cultural rights, a high level of influence of the Turkish military in political affairs, weak economy, and disputes with Greece and the Cyprus problem. The EU has certain criteria for membership: a functioning democracy, respect for rule of law, protection of minority and human rights, functioning market economy and settlement of disputes with other member states prior to accession. Turkey is seeking an immediate EU membership to improve economy and democratization, and take an undisputable place inside the European order and civilization. To this end, Turkey has to adopt the necessary reforms and regulations that will help strengthen democracy, economy and social and cultural rights in Turkey. However, Turkey's present domestic infrastructure does not provide a suitable situation to commence key radical political reforms in the immediate future.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Turkey, European Union, Democratization Process, Enlargement, Membership Criteria, Human Rights, Kurds

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**ASSESSING RUSSIAN REACTIONS TO U.S. MISSILE DEFENSE**  
Michael Wayne Baze-Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy  
B.A., Rice University, 1989

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001

Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

The United States government intends to deploy strategic missile defense (MD) capabilities to address an emerging ballistic missile threat. Many opponents of MD have argued that this deployment will incite arms races. This could pose a serious threat to U.S. national security. This thesis employs arms race theory as an analytical framework to assess the potential implications of U.S. MD deployment—focusing in particular on the likelihood of arms competition with Russia. Two questions are explored. First, what drives Russian reactions to U.S. MD? Second, what are Russian capabilities to engage in arms competitions? Perceptions of U.S. unilateralism play a significant role in Russian leaders' assessments of MD. Russian concerns, however, appear to be dominated by prestige considerations and perceptions of diminishing superpower status. Although Russia possesses some ability to engage America in arms competition, its economic limitations are severe. By enhancing understanding of potential Russian reactions to U.S. This thesis identifies ways to minimize the potential for arms competition. The thesis concludes with an analysis of policy options as America moves forward with MD.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Missile Defense)

**KEYWORDS:** Ballistic Missile Threat, Russia, National Security

**THE STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE –  
POTENTIAL, PROBLEMS, AND PERSPECTIVE**

Bernhard J. Becking-Lieutenant Colonel, German Air Force

Diploma, University of the German Armed Forces Munich, 1983

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs

As a consequence of the Kosovo War in 1999, the international community, and in particular the European Union, placed greater emphasis on conflict prevention, finally realizing that allowing crises to explode in the Balkans is more costly than taking initiatives for the construction of long-term peace and stability. In the immediate aftermath of the cessation of hostilities, the countries of the region and the international community have committed themselves to making a long-term effort in this direction. The new approach is elaborated in the "Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe," which resembled the Helsinki Process in that democratization, human rights, economic development, and security are essential constituents of stability.

The thesis analyzes this conceptual political novelty, connecting comprehensively post-war reconstruction, regional cooperation and a long-term perspective of accession to the Euro-Atlantic institutions for the region. The thesis assesses the Pact's chances for success by focusing on its potential, problems, and perspectives.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Stability Pact, South-Eastern Europe, Balkans, Helsinki Agreement, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act, CSCE, Bosnia, Dayton Agreement, European Union, European Commission, Stabilization and Association Process, Regional Approach, Stability and Association Agreement

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### OMNIBALANCING IN SYRIA: PROSPECTS FOR FOREIGN POLICY

Christopher Bergen-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., Virginia Military Institute, 1992

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000

Advisor: Glenn Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs

Syrian foreign policy has been routinely misunderstood as the domain of one man – Hafiz al-Asad, and now his son Bashar al-Asad – who makes decisions irrespective of domestic political considerations in Syria. This thesis challenges that conceptualization by arguing that domestic concerns are the central element in the making of Syrian foreign policy. I argue Syrian foreign policy is best understood as the result of “*omnibalancing*” the interests and threats of the two key groups of the authoritarian bargain: the ‘Alawi military elite, and the Sunni urban business class.

The ‘Alawi military elite form the backbone of the Syrian regime. Members of this minority make up only 12 percent of the Syrian population, but hold important leadership positions throughout the state. The Sunni business class rose to prominence in the Syrian regime because it has the ability to reduce the regime’s expensive overextension. This group has become junior partners to the ‘Alawi military elite.

The key to the analysis of Syrian foreign policy is the regime leadership’s ability to balance its’ external and internal threats. Conceptualizing Syrian foreign policy through the lens of *omnibalancing* sheds light on Syria’s calculations over a possible peace deal with Israel in the years ahead.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Syria, Israel, United States, Lebanon, Foreign Policy

### WAR AND PEACEKEEPING MISSION OF THE NORDIC-POLISH BRIGADE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Artur O. Bilski-Lieutenant, Polish Navy

B.S., Naval Academy, 1990

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs

Since the end of the Cold War an increasing number of multi-national peacekeeping operations have taken place in Europe, Africa and Asia. This new phase of multi-national cooperation represents a step forward. This study focuses on the military and civilian aspects of the peacekeeping activity of the Nordic-Polish Brigade IFOR/SFOR (Implementation Forces/Stabilization Forces) in Bosnia. The deployment of the Nordic-Polish Brigade, composed of eight nations, including the five core nations of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian detachments, was intended to create a secure environment necessary for the work of humanitarian agencies. It also was to accomplish the non-military aspects of the agreement, within its capabilities and the limits imposed by military tasks. The civil-military activities in support of peace operations were new for NATO and for most, if not all, non-NATO countries as well. The threat in Bosnia to the peacekeepers was real. This thesis analyses different challenges, which the peacekeeping forces of the Nordic-Polish Brigade faced in Bosnia. This example of multi-national cooperation is now followed by other military enterprises as the South Eastern European Brigade located in Bulgaria. The Nordic- Polish Brigade is an example of successful multi-national cooperation between countries with different military and cultural backgrounds.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Peace Implementation, Civil-Military Cooperation, Anti-NATO Propaganda)

**KEYWORDS:** Peacekeeping, Cooperation, Implementation, Force Protection

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **MODERNIZATION OPTIONS FOR LIGHT UTILITY HELICOPTER FORCE STRUCTURE IN THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD: FACTORS AND INFLUENCES AFFECTING FORCE STRUCTURE DETERMINATION**

**James R. Bittner-Captain, Pennsylvania Army National Guard**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil Military Relations-September 2001**

**Advisor: Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: R. Mitchell Brown, Naval War College**

This thesis assesses the different options for modernizing Army National Guard light utility helicopter aviation assets for future roles and missions. It will review the political process by which Army National Guard aviation structure and modernization are determined. The United States military forces are continually deployed to various regions of the world to perform different missions, in a period characterized by increasingly austere defense budgets. A major budgetary challenge for defense planners is to balance operational costs, in terms of equipment modernization programs, with operational capabilities. The post-Cold War period, with its potential for redefining roles and missions, continues to evoke situations requiring a thorough and nonpartisan examination of military force structure for the United States Army and the Army National Guard. The objective of such an examination should be for optimizing force structure throughout the Army, in both active and guard units. Army National Guard aviation, with its dual federal and state role, requires a careful analysis to determine the optimal force structure and modernization strategy that will best suit the Guard for both roles. In brief, this thesis provides a careful examination of modernization and conversion options necessary to evaluate what constitutes maximum operational and cost effectiveness with regard to army aviation force structure.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Manpower, Personnel and Training

**KEYWORDS:** National Guard, Optimal Force Structure, Modernization Strategy, Light Utility Helicopter Aviation Assets

### **THE 2000 ARMY AVIATION MODERNIZATION PLAN EFFECT ON ACTIVE COMPONENT ARMY AND ARMY NATIONAL GUARD INTEGRATION AND INTEROPERABILITY**

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**Advisors: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

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This thesis examines the 2000 Army Aviation Modernization Plan using interviews, review of Program Objective Memorandums (POMs), Government Accounting Office (GAO) reports, records of congressional testimony and other supporting documents. It is argued that non-integration is culturally imbedded in the Army. The cyclic patterns of build-up and teardown of the Army before and after conflicts have been replaced by a necessity to provide one integrated and interoperable force capable of continuous full spectrum operations. There are four major findings: First, favorable changes are evident in planning and coordination activities. These epic efforts from the three components are bound to improve integration and interoperability. Secondly, inadequate funding of the 2000 Army Aviation Modernization Plan causes integration and interoperability to either remain constant or decrease. Thirdly, the Army National Guard needs the second multi-functional battalion in the RC Division structure to support dual mission requirements. Finally, the funding for the Comanche program is provided at the expense of Army National Guard and Active Component Army integration. Consideration should be given to cutting the RAH-66 program and applying alternative solutions that improve integration and interoperability of the Army while modernizing the components concurrently.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Air Vehicles

**KEYWORDS:** U.S. Army Aviation Modernization, Integration, Interoperability, Helicopter Upgrades and Army Aviation, Active and Reserve Component Integration

### **ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY IN A POST SOVIET EUROPE**

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**J. Holmes Armstead, Department of National Security Affairs**

In 1997 the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian governments entered into a treaty that called for a joint project to build two dams on the Danube river, one in Gabčíkovo, Czechoslovakia and one in Nagymaros, Hungary. The original intent of the project was to provide a system of canals, reservoirs and locks to improve transportation on the river. The Czechoslovakians blocked and diverted the Danube River at Cunovo, Czechoslovakia causing an immediate negative environmental impact. The largest fresh water aquifer in the region lost more than two thirds of its water. The ground water level dropped over 12 feet, contributing to the desertification of the region. The river flow was slowed, and in some areas stopped all together, creating stagnate pools which were breeding grounds for disease. The natural filtration and cleansing capability of the river was harmed, increasing the level of pollution in both the river and aquifer. Continued construction of the dams could have caused lasting negative effects to the ecosystem in the region.

The Hungarians ceased construction in 1989 sighting environmental degradation as its reason for discontinuing their part of the project. The Slovakian government subsequently took the Hungarians to court to resolve the issue.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Environmental Quality

**KEYWORDS:** Environmental Impact, Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam Project, International Court of Justice, Danube River Basin, Ecosystem, Trans-boundary Conflict

### **FROM AUTHORITARIAN TO DEMOCRATIC REGIMES: THE NEW ROLE OF SECURITY INTELLIGENCE**

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**Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The purpose of this thesis is to design a new role for security intelligence in new democracies that achieves a proper balance between the security of the state, the intelligence activities, and the individual liberties of its citizens.

In this sense, a democratic intelligence system should have a clear legal mandate for its functions and should be controlled and overseen by civilians under democratic principles, such as respect for the rule of law and human rights, accountability and transparency. This thesis compares the intelligence systems of Argentina, Romania, and El Salvador under their different regimes, authoritarian as well as democratic. It also compares the strategies used by Argentina and Romania for their transitions from authoritarian intelligence systems to democratic intelligence systems. After comparing both the strategies used by these nations, one sees that designing a new model, a collaborative strategy, which includes all stakeholders, is the most appropriate approach, leaving the democratically elected authorities to employ an authoritative strategy when they deem it necessary.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Intelligence)

**KEYWORDS:** Intelligence Overview, Strategies to cope with Wicked Problems, Intelligence under Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes, New Role of Intelligence for New Democracies

### **KALININGRAD AND BALTIC SECURITY**

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**Advisors: Mikhail Tsytkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Rodney Kennedy-Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

Russia's Kaliningrad Oblast (Region) has a history of being *terra incognita*. In defiance of geographic and historical realities, the Allied leaders of World War II carved the oblast from the northern third of East Prussia and awarded it to Stalin's Soviet Union. As the Soviet empire disintegrated around it, Kaliningrad became lost in the shuffle of a new world order. Its very existence as a Russian exclave within an increasingly interdependent Europe brings the Oblast to the forefront of the Baltic region's future. Kaliningrad plays an important part in the wider pan-European context of regional security and regional stability. Using a traditional state-centric paradigm of definitive interstate borders makes the Kaliningrad riddle impossible to solve. By shifting the paradigm toward regional development and regional cooperation to address common problems, the future security relationship of the Baltic littoral becomes more optimistic.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** International Relations, European Security, Security Dilemma, Regional Security, Baltic Sea Region, Kaliningrad, Russia

### **OPEN SOURCE ACQUISITION AND ANALYSIS: LEVERAGING THE FUTURE OF INTELLIGENCE AT THE UNITED STATES CENTRAL COMMAND**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**CAPT Fredrick Rocker, USN, Department of National Security Affairs**

There is a vast amount of potentially valuable Open Source Information (OSINF) available to analysts and staff members of the United States Central Command (USCENTCOM). When properly leveraged, this data can contribute to the mission success of the command. The purpose of this thesis is threefold: first, to examine Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) programs within the Intelligence Community, and identify support available to the USCENTCOM OSINT effort; second, to examine the current status of OSINT utilization within the command and identify opportunities for enhancement; third, based on the research conducted make enhancement recommendations to the command across the full spectrum of operations and support.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Intelligence, Open Source, CENTCOM, USCENTCOM, Middle East, Mid East, Central Command, OSINT, OSINF, Information Systems

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **THE REQUIRED RESTRUCTURING PROCESS FOR THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES: MAJOR STEP TOWARD NATO MEMBERSHIP**

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**Master of Science in Management-June 2001**

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The transformation of the political relations in Europe at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century resulted in deep changes in the concept of security and collective defense.

In the context of NATO enlargement, Romania, like other Central and Eastern European countries, reconsidered its political and strategic position in this new environment, started profound reforms in its security institutions and continues to consolidate the democratic statecraft.

This thesis examines the steps Romania, as an aspiring country, has to complete for the admission into the Alliance. The analysis mainly focuses on the process of defense resource allocation and reorganization of the Armed Forces as requirements imposed by NATO through the concept of the Membership Action Plan. A detailed description of the defense resource allocation process is presented and analyzed against relevant theory on policy analysis and contemporary budgeting systems, in particular PPBS.

The analysis concludes that through the implementation of the new defense resource management system and reorganization of the Armed Forces, Romania can meet its defense needs and become an important military contributor to NATO.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Romania, Force Structure, Defense Resource Allocation)

**KEYWORDS:** Reorganization of the Romanian Armed Forces, Defense Resource Allocation Process, NATO enlargement, New European Security Environment

### **U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS: PROSPECTS FOR RAPPROCHEMENT**

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**Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

For the last two decades, the United States and Iran have fostered a relationship of enmity and distrust. The United States imposes sanctions against the Islamic Republic, in an effort to isolate the regime and limit its ability to finance terrorist activity or to develop nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Since 1996, however, Iran has undertaken a diplomatic "charm offensive" aimed at opening up to regional rivals and to the international community. It has sent some signals that it seeks to distance itself from terrorism and from antagonistic relations with its neighbors. Its burgeoning relations with Europe has left America alone in its implementation of sanctions, and has put Washington at odds with its European partners.

This thesis looks more closely at the nature of U.S. policy against Iran, examining key issues with regard to its conventional and unconventional security posture, the regional security environment that defines that posture, and the linkage between Iran's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and its sponsorship of extremist organizations such as Hizballah. It argues that Iran has legitimate security concerns that drive its current foreign policy. In this context, there may be room for rapprochement with Tehran.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security, Foreign Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Iranian Security, Conventional Military Balance in the Gulf, Weapons of Mass Destruction, State-sponsored Terrorism, Re-assessment of U.S. Policy

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **THE BULGARIAN QUEST FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

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**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

The thesis examines the challenges the Republic of Bulgaria has experienced since 1989 in striving to become a member of NATO. This thesis describes how NATO has addressed the security challenges arising from the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the emergence of new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

By highlighting the efforts Bulgaria has undertaken to meet NATO membership requirements, this thesis will show the country has been a reliable partner to NATO since 1992, and once included in a future round of Enlargement, Bulgaria will be a viable Alliance member.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (End of the Cold War, New-Democracies, Bulgaria and NATO)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO after 1989, New Democracies, Bulgaria in its Search for Security, PfP, MAP, DCI, Bulgaria's Membership in NATO

### **MONGOLIA'S SEARCH FOR SECURITY**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

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**Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

Mongolia entered a new security environment with the end of the Cold War. The demise of the Soviet Union and withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory have presented opportunities and challenges for Mongolia. On the positive side, Mongolia has broken free from its narrow geostrategic framework and is now charting its own future by pursuing a more balanced policy toward Russia and China and exploring the opportunities for closer ties with the outside world. On the negative side, the end of Moscow's security umbrella heightened Ulaanbaatar's vulnerability. Now Mongolia must address on its own the entire spectrum of threats to its security.

This thesis examines the dilemmas and opportunities facing Mongolia in the post-Cold War, post-Soviet Union world. Analyzing its changing relations with Russia and China, this study focuses on Mongolia's search for a "third option" -- reliable security and economic partners.

The best strategy for Ulaanbaatar, while pursuing a balanced and neutral policy toward its neighbors, to maintain independence and economic survival is establishing counterweights to Moscow and Beijing's influence. Cooperation with the international community, active participation in regional and international arrangements, and creating a security regime in Northeast Asia comprise the "third option." Mongolia sees maximum benefits through multilateralism.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Mongolia, National Security, Security Conception, Approaches to Security, Self-Help, Alliance, Bilateralism, Multilateralism

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION, PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: IMPACT ON U.S. FORCE PRESENCE IN JAPAN**

**Stephen E. Duke-Major, United States Marine Corps**

**M.A., University of Redlands, 1993**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

Constitutional research committees in both the upper and lower houses of the Japanese Diet have begun discussing Article 9 of Japan's constitution. Japan traditionally has interpreted this article as prohibiting collective defense, including joint military operations with U.S. forces and collective security activities like UN peacekeeping operations. These discussions respond to changes in the security environment surrounding Japan, where collective self-defense is becoming increasingly vital.

This thesis suggests that it is not a matter of if, but when Japan will revise or reinterpret its constitution to authorize Japanese forces to participate in collective defense. To support this argument, it analyzes the evolutionary process Japan has pursued since the end of the Cold War to become a "normal" country. For Japan to become a "normal" country, it must implement significant economic and political reform. Based on this requirement this thesis evaluates the prospects for change by analyzing the internal and external forces driving Japan to revise its constitution. It then discusses various approaches and policy options Japan may pursue. It evaluates the most probable approach Japan may take and the impact such an approach may have on U.S. force structure in Japan.

Finally, this thesis presents the U.S. debate over forward basing versus forward presence to assess the approach the United States should take toward force structure in Japan. This thesis argues in favor of Japan becoming an equal partner in the U.S.-Japan alliance. It concludes with recommendations on how the United States should respond and suggests several approaches the United States should take toward Japan, arguing that it is in both the United States' and Japan's interest for it to assume an equitable burden sharing role in the U.S.-Japan relationship.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)**

**KEYWORDS:** Japan, Constitution, U.S.-Japan Alliance, Force Structure, Forward Presence, Forward Basing

### **THE TALIBAN AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN CENTRAL ASIA**

**Todd B. Ebert-Captain, United States Air Force**

**B.A., Saint Olaf College, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisors: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

This study examines the relationship between Afghanistan's Taliban regime and Islamic opposition movements in the neighboring Central Asian republics. Despite alarming rhetoric to the contrary from Central Asian political leaders, Taliban ideology is unlikely to spread beyond Afghanistan's borders. The Taliban are an idiosyncratic phenomenon whose anachronistic ideology and violent behavior are more attributable to an obscure tribal code and the sociological repercussions of warfare than to any conventional expression of Islam. Islamic culture in the Central Asian republics was somewhat secularized by 70 years of Soviet domination. The small but growing Islamic opposition is attributable not to the appeal of Taliban-style fundamentalism, but to distinctly domestic factors such as political oppression and economic stagnation. Central Asia's authoritarian regimes are essentially causing the Islamic insurgency they seek to suppress; the Taliban are only significant to the extent that Afghanistan's instability exacerbates ongoing economic and political problems throughout the region. These findings have significant policy implications for the United States and other interested powers, which must deal more urgently with Afghanistan's instability, and should augment military support to Central Asian governments with an equal or greater emphasis on political and economic reform.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Taliban, Central Asia, Islam, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Oil, Caspian, Terrorism

### **RUSSIA'S PLACE IN CENTRAL ASIA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis assesses the need for U.S.-Russian cooperation in Central Asia to create a stronger, more reliable long-term stability in the region. Current United States policy toward Russia in Central Asia is tailored to isolate and minimize Russian influence due, in great part to a perception that Russian "heavy-handedness" is restricting political and economic development in Central Asia. Reforming Central Asia to be less dependent on Russia has been a centerpiece of U.S. policy in the region.

This thesis provides U.S. foreign policymakers with an alternative view on Russia. This view supports a new policy that encourages a more sustainable multi-lateral approach to stability in the region and more accurately takes into account the real threats to the region. An isolated Russia in Central Asia will complicate U.S. policy in the region and provide opportunities for other regional players antagonistic to a U.S. presence.

The lack of well established nation states in Central Asia, the judgment that Russia's approach is cooperative, and a clear understanding of the intentions of other regional players bring this thesis to the conclusion that improved U.S.-Russian cooperation can only enhance stability in Central Asia.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command, Control and Communications

**KEYWORDS:** Central Asia, Russia, Russian Foreign Policy, U.S.-Russian Cooperation, Democratization, Partnership for Peace, Nation-State, Taliban, Islamic Fundamentalism, "Great Game"

### **THE CONTINUED TRANSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE FORCE: RESERVE FORCE INTEGRATION AND UTILIZATION**

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**B.A., University of Oregon, 1994**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-December 2000**

**Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Paul N. Stockton, Department of National Security Affairs**

In the past decade, South Africa has undergone radical transitions in government, social integration, and direction. The most remarkable is the restructuring of the military, which included integration of former homeland defense units, the South African Defense Force (SADF), Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA – a military arm of the PAC), and the incorporation of Um Khonto we Sizwe (MK – militant wing of the ANC) members into the new South African National Defense Force (SANDF). The new democratic government implemented civilian control measures and added transparency to all military operations. The integration and transition led to drastic downsizing of the active component, new involvement of the reserves, drastic cuts in military spending and complete reorganization of the Ministry of Defense. Today, success of the young democracy depends on the state's ability to address plaguing social crisis of education, housing, unemployment, and AIDS. Simply put, South Africans face limitless challenges with severe economic and financial constraints. Already the benchmarks highlighted in the *1998 Defence and Review* and *1996 White Paper on Defence* are no longer viable due to budget constraints.

This thesis argues that given the prominence of severe budget limitations, significant social issues, and increasing economic concerns, the Reserve Force can play a crucial role in South Africa's future in terms of regional stability and democratic stability within its borders. The thesis also asserts that a well-

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structured reserve facilitates a smaller active force while improving countrywide social conditions and minimizing Ministry of Defense budgetary requirements.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Civil-Military Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** African National Congress, Reserve Force, Civilian Control, Civil-Military Relations, Ministry of Defense, Military Support to Civilian Authorities, Negotiations, Southern Africa, South Africa, South African National Defense Force, South African Defense Force, Democratic Consolidation

### **THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CLASS AND ETHNICITY IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR TERRORISM**

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**Second Reader: Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis attempts to determine which of two terrorist groups, an ideologically based group (Red Brigades) and an ethnically based group (ETA or Basque Fatherland and Liberty), is more effective at mobilization. Mobilizing human resources is the method by which terrorist groups sustain their levels of membership. Without sustained or growing levels of membership, the group declines and soon ceases to exist. By determining a group's effectiveness at mobilization, judgments can be made on the likelihood of the group experiencing continued mobilization leading to continued operations or experiencing demobilization leading to decline.

The ETA is still a functioning terrorist group whereas the Red Brigades has ceased to exist. A possible explanation is the ETA was more effective than the Red Brigades at mobilizing resources. After explaining the theory of mobilization, this thesis will apply the theory to the two groups. A subsequent comparison of the two groups' effectiveness at mobilizing resources will enable a judgment to be made on which group is more effective at mobilization. By demonstrating that the ETA was more effective than the Red Brigades at mobilizing people, this thesis will give an explanation for the survival of the ETA and the decline of the Red Brigades.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Terrorism)

**KEYWORDS:** Terrorism, Mobilization, Red Brigades, ETA

### **THE HONEYMOON IS OVER: HUNGARY'S FIRST TWO YEARS IN NATO**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

Hungary has gone through its third democratic election since the systemic changes in 1989. There is clear continuity in the foreign policy goals of the government, including Euro-Atlantic integration efforts (Hungary became a NATO member in March 1999, and is expecting to acquire accession to the European Union in the near future). The priority of building good relations with the country's neighbors remains strong.

Hungary has gone through military reform. By the end of 1997, it had finished the quantitative phase. In the second phase, the goal is to introduce qualitative changes, including defense strategy and technological modernization of the armed forces. Another key element is to perfect full-fledged democratic and civilian control over the armed forces.

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Hungary has been working on the issue of good-neighborly relations. The country has successfully mended historic ties with most of its neighbors. This reconciliation is in the interest of the countries involved, of the entire region, as well as that of Europe as a whole.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Hungary, Security and Defense Policy, Foreign Policy, NATO Enlargement, Ethnic Minorities In Central Europe, Military Reform

### **STILL DIVIDED: SECURITY IN THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN MULTI-PACED DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS**

**Roland Farkas-Captain, Hungarian Army**

**M.A., University of Economics Budapest, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisors: Stephen Garrett, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

A few years ago it became apparent that democratization processes in East and Central Europe (ECE) were divergent; both façade and consolidated democracies emerged. There are several implications of this new dividing line in Europe; this thesis focuses on the security consequences. Why did some democratic processes become successful, and others did not? What went wrong and what are the lessons learned? Experiences learned from democratic consolidations and the preceding transition period in ECE are useful not only in the further democratization in the region, but also in other parts of the world. Nothing makes this thesis more relevant and timely than a proposed U.S. law in May 2001 to strengthen democracy in Cuba. In 1996, Hungarian members of the Parliament had secret meetings with Cuban reform leaders; more recently Czech politicians were arrested on the island. ECE has the know how to promote democracy, while the West has the will to finance it.

There are many important elements of consolidating democracies. In this thesis we find answers to such questions as why parliamentary systems are effective, why center-right governments are in a better position to democratize and stabilize, why economic conditions are vital. Case studies examine democratization processes and their security implications, because strengthening democracies has positive results on the stability of the region; all knowledge and financial resources must be used effectively in order to guarantee European stability.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Security, International Relations, Democratization, East and Central Europe

### **HYDRO-CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: WATER SCHEMES FOR A THIRSTY REGION**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

In the Middle East, water is becoming a far more valuable natural resource than oil. Access to water has domestic and regional economic, political, and security implications for the Middle East. Water is likely to be the issue that sparks the next conflict in the Middle East. This thesis describes the impact of rapid population growth and urbanization, industrialization and pollution, and "self-sufficiency" agricultural policies on the water resources of the Middle East. Current capacities of water renewal and water production are not likely to be capable of supporting the future growth of the Middle East without intense planning and management. Five regions of the Middle East are currently feeling the effects of water scarcity: the Arabian Peninsula, the Euphrates-Tigris Basin, the Jordan Basin, the Maghreb, and the Nile Basin. Information is also provided about the Arabian Peninsula, particularly Saudi Arabia. Various

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schemes to obtain additional water resources are explored including Turkey's proposed "Peace Pipeline," which could supply water from Turkey to the countries of the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula. "Virtual Water" also is explored as a source of water for the Middle East.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs – Middle East)

**KEYWORDS:** Water, Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, Saudi Arabia, Virtual Water, Peace Pipeline

### **EVALUATING STRATEGIES TO COUNTER NUCLEAR-ARMED TERRORIST GROUPS**

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**Advisors: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs**

**James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs**

A number of recent studies have concluded that the United States is vulnerable to attack from terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). A terrorist attack with nuclear or radiological weapons could cause the most destruction and therefore represents a more dangerous threat than even a terrorist attack with other WMD. Many studies recommend the United States protect itself from nuclear or radiological terrorism by improving counterterrorism efforts in four areas. The first strategy is improving intelligence capabilities so the United States can better infiltrate terrorist organizations. The second strategy is to improve security in nuclear facilities throughout the former Soviet Union (FSU) so terrorists will have more difficulty acquiring nuclear materials. The third strategy is to deter terrorists from conducting nuclear or radiological attacks in the United States. The final strategy is to improve domestic response capabilities to terrorists that have already acquired nuclear or radiological weapons. This thesis evaluates present U.S. capabilities in each of these areas and provides recommendations for improving counter-terrorism strategies to defend against terrorists armed with nuclear or radiological weapons.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

**KEYWORDS:** Nuclear Weapons, Radiological Weapons, Counterterrorism, Intelligence, Nuclear Material Security, Deterrence, Emergency Response, Terrorism

### **THE TAIWAN QUESTION: IDENTIFYING COMMON GROUND TO MAINTAIN STABILITY AND DEVELOP CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE**

**Jonathan D. Foster-Major, United States Marine Corps**

**B.S., University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, 1990**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs**

The Taiwan Strait remains a possible flashpoint and is potentially one of the most destabilizing issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Even though People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwanese, and U.S. officials have put forward various policy positions on this issue, the question of Taiwan's future remains unresolved. Finding common ground between all parties involved in the dispute requires each side to see stability and constructive dialogue as the means to a peaceful end. This peaceful solution will only come about after a long-term process of linking the two cross-strait communities by way of exchanges of goodwill and cooperation.

As the people of the PRC and Taiwan work on reconciling their differences, the United States must play a supportive, balanced role. By maintaining a posture of strategic ambiguity and a cross-strait policy built on the three communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), the United States can reduce the likelihood of future conflict while encouraging each side to develop peaceful mechanisms to resolve differences. This thesis examines the Taiwan question from the perspective of conflict resolution to develop ideas and options for policymakers that promote stability and encourage constructive cross-strait dialogue.

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## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Taiwan, People's Republic of China, United States, Cross-strait Relations, Conflict Resolution

**URBAN WARRIOR: BREAKDOWN IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

**Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: LTC Gerald T. Favero, USNG, National Guard Program Manager**

It is estimated that by the year 2025, most of the world's population will be located in urban, coastal environments. This knowledge becomes an indicator for the military as to what areas and types of training soldiers will need in preparation for future battles. The United States Marine Corps saw the need to train its soldiers in actual urban environments in cities across the United States.

During this realistic training, the Marines discovered real impediments when organizing the exercise. This thesis is arguing that with better civil-military relations, training exercises as well as real exercises in which the National Guard may be called out, these impediments can be erased or diminished.

The city chosen for the study of this thesis was Monterey, California. The United States Marine Corps conducted the Urban Warrior exercise on March 13, 1999.

This city exemplified an example of the impediments that can arise when coordinating with civilian agencies. Marines found that too much time and effort was needed to overcome issues that could possibly have been prevented through better civil-military relations.

This thesis concludes that most or all impediments discovered during this particular exercise could have been prevented by an early, aggressive and adequately staffed public relations campaign. It concludes further that public relations campaigns should be planned and organized prior to events. This planning and organizing should be conducted on a full-time coordinating and educating basis between military personnel and civilian agencies.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Civil-Military Relations, Other (Urban Warrior)

**KEYWORDS:** Urban Warrior, Warfighting, Urban Battlefields, USMC Civil-Military Operations, Civil-Military Relations, and Urban Warfare

**POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN EURASIA:**

**RADICAL ISLAM OR RATIONAL ACTING?**

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**B.S., University of Massachusetts, 1985**

**Master of Science in Defense Analysis-December 2000**

**Advisor: Anna Simons, Special Operations Academic Group**

**Second Reader: Glenn Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

Much of the violence in Eurasia since the break-up of the Soviet Union has been blamed solely on radical Islamic Fundamentalism. This characterization is at best simplistic and at worst dangerously insufficient. Misunderstanding the complexities of this instability will undermine efforts by diplomats and soldiers to prevent future violence. Poorly understanding this violence will likewise hinder U.S. and multilateral post-conflict operations. Given the high likelihood for continued instability and violence in this critical region, its causes and complexities must be understood, and applying off-the-shelf "lessons learned" from other conflicts must be avoided.

This thesis attempts to provide a framework to understand the complex socio-political underpinnings of societies in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The thesis dispels the popular notion that the preponderance of regional violence is purely predicated on Islamic fanaticism. Rather, through the use of three case studies of recent conflicts in the region, this thesis shows that political violence is largely the result of

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political entrepreneurs exploiting extant ethnic, national, and religious cleavages when opportunities arise. This violence is not representative of a deterministic "clash of civilizations." Only through understanding the fluid and malleable nature of this political violence can one craft meaningful engagement and post-conflict strategies.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Special Operations)

**KEYWORDS:** Ethnic Conflict, Islamic Fundamentalism, Central Asia, Wahabbism

### **INFLUENCE NET MODELING: THE NARCOTICS NETWORK IN COLOMBIA**

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**Master of Science in Information Systems and Operations-March 2001**

**and**

**Joshua C. Himes-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.A., University of Pennsylvania, 1993**

**Master of Science in Systems Technology-June 2001**

**Advisors: LT Raymond R. Buettner, Jr., USN, Information Warfare Academic Group**

**Jeanne K. Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs**

The purpose of this thesis is to conduct the research necessary to develop a situational influence assessment model to identify critical indicators that will assist the USSOUTHCOM in identifying potential key centers of gravity in the fight against illicit drug production and narcotrafficking in Colombia. Efforts to combat the narcotics network directly support the USSOUTHCOM mission and are integral to U.S. National Security. Unlike the traditional military threats of the Cold War and previous decades, to include *Operation Desert Storm*, this problem set is far more complex and complicated with roots and foundations that date back to the development of Colombia as a nation-state. It is the strategic dilemma that is posed by this asymmetric threat that reflects the type of problems that will be encountered by the military of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Unlike the traditional land/sea/air combined warfare that the U.S. dominates globally, the threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will look much like Colombia – small, packetized, networked organizations with the ability to operate and inflict casualties below the threshold of our traditional military mechanisms. Improved decision support systems to model this type of problem are needed. This thesis suggests a number of modifications to an existing model, SIAM, in order to enhance its usefulness both for decision makers and intelligence collectors.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Information Operations, Intelligence Information Management)

**KEYWORDS:** Information Operations, Intelligence, Decision Support Systems, Influence Net Modeling, Colombia

### **JAPAN'S MARITIME IMPERATIVE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: Denny Roy, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis identifies factors that may induce Japan to create greater military capabilities and normalize military force as a potential source of national power in its security policies. A realist theoretical framework for analysis is constructed. It consists of Great Power Theory, the Law of Comparative Advantage, and the Utility of Military Force, and dismisses the artificial divisions between levels of analysis. The thesis examines the failure of Japan's national security doctrine in the post-Cold War world. It explores the impact of economics, Japan's national goals, security threats, and the U.S.-Japan alliance on

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the country's construction and normalization of increased military capabilities. Japan's primary obstacles to military normalization, Article 9 of its constitution and domestic opinion, are assessed. The thesis concludes that Japan's national talents, production capabilities, and status as a maritime nation make it likely that it will construct more capable naval forces to respond to imperatives in the post-Cold War environment.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Japan, Military, Armed Forces, Security Policy, Comprehensive Security, Post-Cold War, U.S.-Japan Alliance, Article 9, Maritime, Naval

### **PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN COLOMBIA: OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES OF THE MAIN ACTORS**

**Juan C. Gómez-Major, Colombian Air Force**

**B.A., Simon Bolivar University, 1992**

**B.S., Colombian Air Force Academy, 1998**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

**Advisors: Jeanne Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

Colombia is enduring an internal conflict with almost forty years of history. Guerrillas and self-defense organizations are threatening one of the oldest democracies in Latin America just as the country is starting to recover from one of the deepest economic depressions since its independence. The Colombian government, with both civilian and international support, is trying to halt, or at least to reduce the level of violence. However, the enormous military and economic strength of the guerrillas and illegal self-defense groups is clearly delaying the resolution of this conflict.

This thesis analyzes the origins of the conflict in Colombia and shows how mistaken government policies and changes in the drug trade have contributed to the escalation of the conflict in the 1990s. It then seeks to explain the prospects for peace in Colombia by analyzing the objectives and strategies of the different actors involved in the conflict. It concludes that the FARC guerrilla and self-defense groups seem to be interested in conflict perpetuation. On the other hand, the ELN, the state security forces and all domestic and international actors seem to be in favor of reaching peace. The final chapter then assesses the likelihood for success of the Colombian government's current strategy and makes policy recommendations. It concludes that the government's peace strategy and its unrelenting battle against narcotrafficking may be increasing the level of violence in the short run, but it should weaken the economic and military strength of the guerrilla and the self-defense organizations in the long run.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Conflict and Conflict Resolution)

**KEYWORDS:** Internal Conflict, Peace Process, Illegal Armed Actors, Guerrillas, Self-defense Groups, FARC, ELN, AUC

### **EVALUATING THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION PROGRAM**

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**B.S., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1987**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis offers an analytical survey of evaluations of the effectiveness of the U.S.-sponsored Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program. The CTR remains the principal source of U.S.-Russian interactions regarding weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation. Russia's internal problems, including

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political, economic, military and social instability, have created the risk that rogue states or terrorists may attempt to exploit the uncertainties in Russia to buy or steal nuclear weapons and/or materials and/or to acquire the expertise to develop a nuclear capability. This thesis explores four competing perspectives in the United States on the accomplishments of the CTR's nuclear agenda. The key points of discord among the competing schools of thought include the significance of limitations on the ability of the United States to effectively monitor and accurately assess the contributions of the program, and the expansion of the program to include projects that do not directly concern weapon dismantlement. This thesis concludes that the CTR's contributions to countering WMD proliferation could be more effectively pursued if the United States enhanced the quality of the CTR and worked cooperatively with Russia to address the full spectrum of common interests. The thesis also finds that if Russia fails to develop an enduring safeguard culture much of the CTR assistance may prove to have been of no avail.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

**KEYWORDS:** Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, Nunn-Lugar, Nuclear Proliferation, Weapons of Mass Destruction

### **NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES AND THE NEOREALIST STATE: IRAN AND REALPOLITIK**

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**M.A., American Military University, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-December 2000**

**Advisors: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis argues that pragmatic, neorealist interests—reducing Iran's international isolation, opening avenues for economic cooperation and commercial exchange, restoring religious and cultural links, and safeguarding the mutually advantageous relationships with influential powers in the region—are the true foundations of Iranian national security and foreign policy decisionmaking. Iran's imperative has been—and still *is*—focused on the pragmatic national security interests of the nation-state model vice the ideological potential for spreading its brand of Islamic revolution abroad. The causes of these Islamic revolutionary groups, no matter how noble in the Iranian leaderships' eye, do not outweigh the more classic nation-state decisionmaking process that the Iranian government undergoes when it determines the best course of action on an issue of foreign policy and/or national security—or *realpolitik*. It is the neorealist approach which always wins out in national security matters of a state. Presented are four case studies of Iranian relations with Azerbaijan, Turkey, Israel, and four Persian Gulf States (the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia). What each reveals is an Islamic Iran whose policy decisions and actions compelled by the rational, state model of neorealism and not ideology.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Persian Gulf, Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Central Asia, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, UAE, Oman, Israel, Arab-Israeli Peace Process, Neorealism, Balance of Power, Alliances, National Security Policy

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### THE THREAT OF INADVERTENT NUCLEAR WAR IN SOUTH ASIA

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001

Advisor: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

Michael Barletta, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis assesses the potential for a specific type of accidental nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan. Known as inadvertent war, such a conflict would be the result of a mistaken attempt at preemption, the launching of a nuclear attack by one nation in the mistaken belief that the other was doing likewise or was about to do so. While nuclear weapons can ordinarily be expected to exert a sobering influence on decision-makers, an escalating spiral of military activity during a crisis may generate different situational imperatives. Inadvertent war becomes possible when decision-makers perceive that conflict is inevitable and that there is a significant advantage in striking first.

Evidence suggests that there is good reason for concern about the threat of inadvertent nuclear war in South Asia. The nuclear force structures adopted by India and Pakistan can be expected to exert a particularly strong influence on the potential for both of the necessary conditions for inadvertent war. The current arsenals of these countries, small and heavily dependant upon aircraft for weapons delivery, may invite preemption in the event that nuclear war appears imminent. If India and Pakistan increase their nuclear delivery capabilities by deploying nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, the potential for inadvertent war will be even greater. In the context of a military confrontation in South Asia, ballistic missiles are likely to contribute both to perceptions of first-strike advantage and to reinforcing military alerts that can lead to the belief that nuclear war is inevitable.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Ballistic Missiles, Inadvertent War, India, Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear Weapons, Pakistan, South Asia, Weapons of Mass Destruction

### RUSSIAN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS SINCE 1991:IMPLICATIONS FOR UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCES

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001

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CAPT Fredrick Rocker, USN, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis analyzes the Russian Federation's conventional arms transfers since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia looks to the sale of conventional arms as a promising source of capital income and a viable method to maintain its state defense industry. Due to a substantial decrease in sales volume, the international conventional arms market has become extremely competitive over the last decade. This competitiveness has driven exporters, including Russia, to offer latest technologies employed in such advanced weapons as supersonic anti-ship cruise missiles, acoustically quiet submarines, and fourth generation fighter aircraft. The continued worldwide proliferation of advanced Russian conventional arms will remain a major concern for the United States Navy in the foreseeable future.

Navies throughout the world, in particular China's People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), are aggressively purchasing Russian advanced naval equipment and related technologies to improve their maritime capabilities. The United States Navy, accordingly, will increasingly encounter and possibly be engaged by advanced Russian conventional arms within the decade. Initiatives which curtail proliferation and minimize the impact of these weapons on regional stability should be implemented, thereby, reducing the potential threat to forward-deployed naval forces. The United States needs to strengthen current policies including the Wassenaar Arrangement arms control agreement, continue U.S.-Russian cooperative efforts in converting Russia's defense industry, and maintain a viable naval presence in the Western Pacific to counter the PLAN's modernization program.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Conventional Weapons

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Federation, Soviet Union, Russian Defense Industry, Conventional Arms Transfers, Arms Control, United States Navy, Sino-Russian Relations

### **THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONALISM IN RUSSIA: THE RISE OF REGIONAL TSARS?**

**Allison M. Hartmann-Second Lieutenant, United States Air Force**

**B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 2000**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001**

**Advisor: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Rodney Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the political and security impacts of the devolution of power to Russia's regions since 1993. By reviewing the basis of Russia's federal structure the author identifies how the nature of the structure and the manner in which it evolved have led to the emergence of local tsars who have few horizontal or vertical checks on their power. The thesis analyzes the impact that strong regional leaders have had within their regions, to include their impact on free and fair elections, free press, individuals' rights, and rule of law. The author finds that the lack of checks on the regional leaders' abuses of power within the regions destabilizes the country by only further encouraging them to expand their power into realms intended to be under the control of the federal government, to include the military and foreign policy. The resultant injection of regional leadership into these matters threatens the security of Russia by inhibiting the ability of the central government to field a cohesive military force and pursue cogent foreign policy. The thesis further examines the prospects for regional tsars in light of recent efforts to rein in the regions. The author determines that these reforms, though resulting in a degree of centralization, also target some of the key problems in Russia's federation, to include the dearth of checks on regional power and the contradictions in the legal framework guiding center-periphery relations. However, further reforms targeting Russia's antiquated federal structure and enforcement mechanisms are recommended.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (International Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Russia's Federal Structure, Regional Leadership

### **CLAUSEWITZ AND THE THEORY OF MILITARY STRATEGY IN EUROPE - REFLECTIONS UPON A PARADIGM OF MILITARY STRATEGY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY (ESDP)**

**Uwe Hartmann-Lieutenant Colonel, German Army**

**M.A., University of the German Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg, 1986**

**Ph.D., University of the German Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisors: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

The purpose of the study is to reveal characteristics of the strategic cultures in Britain, France, and Germany as the major member states of the European Union (EU). Assuming that national differences can be detected, the study proceeds in assessing whether there is an opportunity to reconcile them, or even to establish a European paradigm of strategic thinking as a core element of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU. Based on the interpretation of Clausewitz's theory of war and strategy in Britain, France, and Germany, main commonalities and diversities in strategic thinking are discussed. Analyzing, on the international and state level, why Clausewitz has been misunderstood, this study establishes Clausewitz's theory of war and strategy as the theoretical framework of strategy-making within the EU. The fruitfulness of the Clausewitzian paradigm is shown in two areas: first, Clausewitz's theoretical approach assists in gaining an improved understanding of the political and military strategic environment of the EU; second, it

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provides awareness of the challenges given with multinationality as a strategic principle of the EU. Finally, Clausewitz's theory allows institutional and educational consequences to be drawn.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command, Control and Communications, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Materials, Processes, and Structures

**KEYWORDS:** European Union, Common Security and Defense Policy, Clausewitz, Strategy, Strategic Culture, Liddell Hart, Fuller, Multinationality

### **TRANSITION FROM PEACEKEEPING TO PEACEBUILDING: TRAINING AND EDUCATION IMPLICATIONS**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil- Military Relations-December 2000**

**Advisors: Paul N. Stockton, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Dana P. Erye, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Gerald T. Favero, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis argues that the current peace operations training and education process is inadequate because it fails to incorporate peacebuilding, defined as: providing a secure environment that allows economic, political, humanitarian, and social development, which are the conditions necessary for the establishment of a self-sustaining, lasting peace. Absent the training for and conduct of peacebuilding operations (PBO), the military cannot withdraw from an area of operations because the conditions necessary for self-sustaining, lasting peace will not have been established, only conditions that prevent the re-emergence of violence. PBO take place during the period in which the former warring factions and society institutionalize or consolidate peace. Although force may be necessary at times to control violence, the military must rely on other methods and skills in order to continue the peace process towards the eventual objective of a self-sustaining, lasting peace. Leaders and soldiers must be educated and trained in these other methods, and provided the tools to determine when to employ these methods and when to use force to achieve missions objectives. This thesis will examine the missions the military may be asked to perform, and the kinds of training and education necessary to prepare the military for these missions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Manpower, Personnel, and Training

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Operations, Peace Operations, Peacekeeping Operations, Peacebuilding Operations, Training, Bosnia, Military Operations Other Than War, SFOR

### **NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION'S EMERGING SECURITY ROLE**

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**B.A., University of Notre Dame, May 1991**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

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**Second Reader: COL Tjarck Roessler, USA, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since 1999, the member states of the European Union (EU) have been pursuing capabilities to conduct conflict prevention and crisis management operations. The EU has no intention of usurping NATO's role in collective defense; but it intends to strengthen its influence in international politics and to acquire more options for crisis management.

This thesis analyzes the EU's emerging role in the management of international security challenges and its implications for the future of NATO, the trans-Atlantic link and the EU itself. It explores the nature and scope of the crisis management role the EU intends to play, critically examines the prospects for the development of the requisite military capabilities in the EU, and assesses the impact of the EU's emerging role on NATO. From the standpoint of the United States (and other non-EU NATO Allies, such as Norway and Turkey), close NATO-EU cooperation is imperative. The thesis concludes that the extent to which

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NATO and the EU coordinate their planning will be a decisive factor in the success of the CESDP. The U's emerging security role is a new test for the strength and resilience of the trans-Atlantic ties given formal expression in NATO.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security, Strategy)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, European Union, Transatlantic Relations, European Security and Defense Policy, Crisis Management

### **COLOMBIA'S WAR ON DRUGS: CAN PERU PROVIDE THE RECIPE FOR SUCCESS?**

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**B.S., University of Maryland, 1993**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: Jeanne Kinney Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Thomas Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines counternarcotics strategies of interdiction, eradication, and alternative development used in Peru during the 1990s to determine if Peru's success can provide the recipe for success in Colombia. It will show that Peru's sequential approach to eliminating its economic crisis and threat posed by the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas was key to its counternarcotics success. It will show that Colombia faces a similar situation but has failed to realize success because of policy decisions regarding how to deal with guerrillas and certain peculiarities of the drug trade in Colombia that render ineffective policies that worked in Peru. It will argue that Plan Colombia will escalate the civil conflict as FARC guerrillas linked to the drug trade battle to protect this source of revenue. It will suggest that the elimination of the guerrillas either simultaneously with the elimination of the drug trade as Plan Colombia promotes, or sequentially before fully engaging the drug trade, is key to counternarcotics success.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Economics, Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Counternarcotics, Interdiction, Eradication, Alternative Development, Peru, Colombia, Guerrilla, Drug Trafficker, FARC, ELN, FMLN, AUC, Counterinsurgency

### **ADAPTATIONS IN NATO AND EUROPEAN NAVAL COMMAND ORGANIZATIONS SINCE 1989**

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**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

**Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: COL Tjarck Roessler, USA, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis analyzes post-1989 organizational and capability adaptations of NATO and European naval command organizations. Specifically, this thesis examines how the adaptations of the Striking and Support Forces Southern Europe (STRIKFORSOUTH), the European Maritime Force (EUROMARFOR), and the Combined Amphibious Forces Mediterranean (CAFMED), as well as the definition of the European Multi-national Maritime Force (EMMF) concept, strengthen the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within NATO and endow the European Union (EU) with a naval dimension. These organizational adaptations are intended to help the member nations of NATO and the EU meet evolving international security challenges. However, they have also raised significant questions about whether NATO European allies are willing to fund NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI) to address military and naval deficiencies. The capabilities gap between the naval forces of the United States and those of NATO European allies poses noteworthy challenges, including interoperability.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Surface/Undersurface Vehicles - Ships and Watercraft, Conventional Weapons

**KEYWORDS:** CAFMED, Common Foreign and Security Policy, EMMF, EUROMARFOR, European Union, European Security and Defense Identity, NATO, STRIKFORSOUTH, Western European Union, United States

### **POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY IN HAITI**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Jeanne Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

A nation attains democratic consolidation when democratic ideals become permanently established within its society. An institutionalized political party system is a prerequisite for democratic consolidation and is based on stable rules of interparty competition, parties with stable social roots, and party organizations independent of individuals' ambitions. Additionally, all actors must accord legitimacy to a party system in order for it to be institutionalized.

This thesis focuses on the political party system in Haiti and how its lack of institutionalization has undermined the consolidation of democracy. It also examines the factors that are responsible for this lack of development. Such factors include the actions of Haitian elites, lack of social organization, and a lack of party development during the earliest stages of state building.

The impact of United States foreign policies upon this nation's party system are examined in order to discover which policies have assisted party system institutionalization and which have hindered its development. While the entirety of Haitian political history is reviewed, an emphasis is placed upon United States policy since the 1991 ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In conclusion, this thesis recommends future United States policies designed to assist in the institutionalization of Haiti's political party system.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S. Foreign Policy Haiti)

**KEYWORDS:** Haiti, Political System, Political Party System

### **IMPORTANCE OF UNITED STATES NAVAL FORWARD PRESENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN AFFAIRS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Douglas Porph, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: CDR David Spain, USN, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis describes the benefits of maintaining United States Naval Forward Presence in the Mediterranean. It encompasses several themes to justify its point of view. It argues that the Mediterranean has been important to the United States for over 200 years. It describes the significant United States political and economic interests in the region. As the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) strongest member, the United States has a vested interest to ensure that the Mediterranean remains open and accessible.

Geographically the "Middle Sea" is an essential link between the Atlantic, the Persian Gulf and beyond. It forms a bridge across which three continents interact. But the Mediterranean's geographic configuration and complex political environment also makes it an operational challenge. Finally, the complexities and acrimony of Mediterranean politics calls for the United States Navy to support a variety of missions from "stability and support" to "small-scale contingencies" (SSCs) or potentially more

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conventional operations. However, the political, economic and geographic characteristics of the Mediterranean make it very difficult for military forces to operate there.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command, Control and Communications, Conventional Weapons Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Naval Forward Presence, NATO, Mediterranean Sea, Barbary Wars, World War II, Middle East, Arab/Israeli Wars, Libya, Lebanon, Bosnia, Kosovo, Balkans, Pilot Rescue, Reconnaissance, Tomahawk Missile Attacks, Amphibious Intervention, Armed Intervention, Cooperative Engagement Capability

### **GROZNY AND THE THIRD BLOCK (LESSONS LEARNED FROM GROZNY AND THEIR APPLICATION TO MARINE CORPS' MOUT TRAINING)**

**Michael W. Kelly-Major, United States Marine Corps**

**B.S., University of Alabama-Birmingham, 1988**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Rodney Kennedy-Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since 1995 the United States Marine Corps has focused its attention on urban warfare. The Marine Corps conceptualizes a *Three-Block War*. Block One is humanitarian operations in a permissive environment. Block Two is security operations in a questionable environment. Block Three is high intensity conflict. The Marine Corps' focus on urban operations is justifiable for two reasons. First, urbanization is increasing at an accelerating rate. Second, urban environments have traditionally acted as an equalizing effect between disparate military forces. The recent battles for the city of Grozny are the most recent examples.

The Marine Corps is presently capable of winning the first two blocks. Current training methods and tactics, combined with living institutional knowledge, and the frequency of such operations has kept the Marine Corps primed. This is not the case for the third block. The infrequency of such battles, and lack of institutional knowledge, coupled with current training practices, has rendered the Marine Corps woefully deficient in this area.

Utilizing the battle for Grozny as a case study, this thesis will prove that current Marine Corps training policies and practices for urban warfare are actually degrading the Marines' capabilities to successfully prosecute high intensity urban combat, and recommend possible solutions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs/Urban Warfare)

**KEYWORDS:** Battle of Grozny & United States Marine Corps' Military Operations in Urban Terrain (MOUT) Training, Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTPs), Urban Warfare.

### **UKRAINIAN NAVAL REFORM: REQUIRED FOR SURVIVAL**

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**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Mitch Brown, Naval War College**

This thesis examines the transition of the Ukrainian Navy from the Soviet Union Black Sea Fleet (BSF) to a national navy and its need for reform to survive. The settlement of the BSF revolved around three central issues: the division of BSF assets; basing rights; and sovereignty in the Crimea. Ukraine's navy must evolve from an obsolete Cold War force to a regional navy capable of protecting its national interests. Stability in the Black Sea region is critical to Ukraine and centers on four issues: a resurgent Russian Federation; Turkish dominance; Caspian Sea oil; and political and military instability. The thesis analyzes the Ukrainian Navy via a "Top-down" method of force planning utilizing a T-matrix model. This produced

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three areas of required reform: establishment of military functions; allocation of resources; development of a regional navy. The problems facing reform in Ukraine are military development, domestic political will, and economic issues. These problems make reform difficult. For Ukraine to survive, it must implement reform through a combination of governmental action and continued reliance on outside assistance through North Atlantic Treaty Organization/ Partnership for Peace and the United States.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Caspian Sea, Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol, Crimea, Navy, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Partnership for Peace

### **MODELING INFLUENCES ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS DECISION MAKING BY PAKISTAN USING THE SITUATIONAL INFLUENCE ASSESSMENT MODEL PROGRAM**

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B.S., San Jose State University, 1987**

and

**Jeremy P. Jurkoic-Lieutenant, United States Navy  
B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1995**

**Master of Science in Information Systems and Operations-March 2001**

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James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since Pakistan's inception in 1947, when the British carved it out of the western region of India, Pakistan and India have fought three wars and even now coexist in a permanent state of tension. Since 1998, both nations have declared their nuclear status, creating a risk of nuclear war in any future conflict. Low-level skirmishes between Indian and Pakistani forces along the Line-of-Control (LOC) in the disputed state of Kashmir are a regular occurrence, providing the most likely scenario for full-scale warfare to erupt between India and Pakistan. Further, the disparity of conventional forces between India and Pakistan (India enjoys a 2:1 conventional force superiority over Pakistan) has spurred Pakistan's nuclear program, and provides significant impetus for Pakistan to resort to first use of nuclear weapons. Pakistan views their nuclear weapons as both a deterrent and a force multiplier.

Utilizing a computer program known as Situational Influence Assessment Module (SIAM), an influence net model is constructed to ascertain the likelihood of Pakistan using nuclear weapons against India. The model is used to examine U.S. Central Command's (CENTCOM) Theater Engagement Plan (TEP) goals and whether or not the TEP effectively targets the key influences identified in the model.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Computing and Software, Modeling and Simulation

**KEYWORDS:** Pakistan, Nuclear Weapons, Modeling and Simulation, SIAM, Information Warfare, Perception Management

### **THE FUTURE OF THE ROK-U.S. ALLIANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF KOREAN UNIFICATION**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs  
Second Reader: Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

After the Korean War, the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the United States signed a Mutual Defense Treaty on October 1, 1953. There were many conflicts and challenges between the ROK and the United States in keeping the relationship strong. Nevertheless, the ROK-U.S. alliance has successfully defended South Korea from the volatile threat of North Korea and maintained stability and peace in Northeast Asia. After the historical North-South Summit talks in June 2000, Korean unification is more likely now than it has been at any other time since Korea's division. Once Korea is unified peacefully under South Korea's

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leadership, however, Korean unification will bring into question the necessity of the ROK-U.S. alliance. In other words, the diluting of the strategic goals of the alliance, regional concerns toward the further strengthening of today's ROK-US alliance, and growing Korean national self-consciousness for self-defense and antagonism against foreign powers undoubtedly will pressure the Korea-U.S. alliance to modify its role and nature into a more flexible and limited alliance. Given these situations, the most important means to compensate for a weakened former bilateral alliance will be a Northeast Asian multi-lateral security system in conjunction with the growing economic, political, and security interdependence throughout the region.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political Science)

**KEYWORDS:** Alliance, Korean Unification, Bilateralism, Multi-lateralism

### **NUCLEAR OPTIONS FOR A UNIFIED KOREA: PROSPECTS AND IMPACTS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Second Reader: Douglas Porch, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis explores the future prospects and strategic impact of nuclear proliferation by a unified Korea on regional peace and security. It argues that the perception of vulnerability from external threats, public preference on nuclear weapons, bureaucratic and industrial efforts to meet rising energy and economic demands, and environmental issues will drive a unified Korea toward nuclearization. It suggests that possession of a small nuclear arsenal or a virtual nuclear capability would help to maintain regional peace and security.

Current policies for a nuclear-free Korean peninsula and a nuclear-free Northeast Asia are detrimental to a unified Korea's security and economic needs. Republic of Korea or a unified Korea must move towards a virtual nuclear capability. More importantly, the United States should encourage this policy. Otherwise, the U.S. security commitment to Korea would become questionable and opaque nuclear weapons development might become an attractive option for Seoul.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Weapons)

**KEYWORDS:** Korea, Korean Unification, National Security, Nuclear Policy, Nuclear Weapons

### **FEDERALISM IN INDONESIA**

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**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 2001**

**Advisors: Thomas Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Roger Evered, Graduate School of Business and Public Policy**

This thesis provides a review for Indonesians about federalism, including the definition and concept, how other countries apply federalism, what the impacts of implementing federalism in Indonesia might be, and what the requirements are for Indonesia to make federalism work successfully.

Indonesia seems to meet some of the indicators for a successful federal state. It has a population of over 200 million, and its territory is spread across more than 2,000 inhabited islands. It has great linguistic and ethnic fragmentation and many religions.

The current demands for a federal system are largely the product of a feeling of injustice against the central government, and its abuse of local revenue distribution accompanied by authoritarian actions by members of the Armed Forces and other government officials. This had created an unhealthy undercurrent of resentment against the unitary system, which has been surfacing in different ways for the past several years.

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In order to deal with this issue, the essence of federalism has been adopted in the new bill (No.22/1999 or Regional Government) known as "wide-ranging autonomy." Therefore, the thesis recommends that the Indonesia government should first concentrate on the implementation of Law No.22/1999 (regional autonomy) and see how it works.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Indonesia, Federalism)

**KEYWORDS:** Federalism

### **FUTURE INDONESIA-EAST TIMOR RELATIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE REGIONAL SECURITY PRACTICES IN THE COLD WAR AND AFTER**

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**B.Sc., University of Merdeka, Indonesia, 1996**

**Master of Art in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis describes the history of Indonesia and East Timor as former colonial states. Indonesian leaders believed that East Timor was part of Indonesia's pre-colonial family and legacy, but East Timorese were more influenced by the Portuguese' 450 years colonialism. In 1975, the Government of Indonesia launched a military intervention and occupied East Timor. In the Cold-War era, having feared that the communist movement had infiltrated East Timor, the United States and its allies thus supported Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. The reaction of the international community was to condemn the Indonesian military intervention of East Timor. Indonesia always received some support from year to year in United Nations' resolutions.

This study examines the different views of major countries in the East Timor case during the Cold War and its aftermath. The situation in East Timor changed dramatically after the Cold War ended. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as a mature organization, will continue to play a critical role in the future of East Timor. This thesis concludes by exploring the ASEAN role in rebuilding East Timor both politically and economically.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Indonesia, East Timor, Bilateral, Regional-ASEAN.

### **THE MEDIUM-WEIGHT BRIGADE STRUCTURE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND THE ARMY OF UKRAINE**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

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**Thomas-Durrel Young, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The U.S. Army has faced many formidable decisions on how best to transform. The fundamental changes in the strategic environment after the Cold War, crucial advances in technology and military doctrine related to the Gulf War and permanent involvement in peacekeeping/peacemaking operations around the world have led to a more flexible and lethal force structure. An army should maintain the capability for conducting various military operations from small-scale contingencies to major theaters of war. Therefore, based on major changes in the strategic environment—a dismantled Warsaw Pact, increasing asymmetrical threats, budget constrains along with frequent involvement in contingency operations—the U.S. Army once more confronts transformation and reorganization.

This thesis focuses on the current transformation of the U.S. Army to examine the history of reorganizing the U.S. Army along with the dynamics of reforming the Ukrainian Army. This thesis

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explores why a "medium-weight brigade-size" force structure became the key feature of the U.S. Army's transformation strategy for the forces of the 21<sup>st</sup> century namely, the "Objective Forces." The main intention of this thesis is to reach conclusions about how the U.S. Army's transformation experience can be applied to the current process of developing the Army of Ukraine.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Civil-Military Relations

**KEYWORDS:** Transformation of the United States Army, Initial Brigade Combat Team, State Program of Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Medium-Weight Brigade-Size Units

### **POST-COLD WAR RUSSIAN/WEST RELATIONS: U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES, SOURCES OF FRICTION, AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This study analyzes U.S. foreign policy initiatives toward Russia between 1993-2000. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the West found itself in a period of global transition during which they had an opportunity to redefine the post-Cold War security arena and secure enduring peace and cooperation between historically adversarial blocs. The key to creating this system was immediate, full-fledged Russian inclusion. Yet due to remaining Cold War-biases and misaligned U.S. policies, Russia has become alienated from the West. Russia's newfound isolation is the result of an evolving process that has begun to destabilize global security. The failure of structurally and financially inadequate economic reforms led to Russia's catastrophic 1998 market crash, provided Russians with a scapegoat, and helped silence reformers. The expansion of NATO showed Russia that it had no part in the West's newly envisioned security system. Furthermore, the Kosovo campaign nullified Russia's UN veto and consequent global influence, armed NATO's threatening encroachment, and bolstered a Russian, anti-Western body politic.

Consequently, the West must reassess its current stance and set Russian inclusion as its first priority, for history suggests that without Russia, there is can be no stability in Europe.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGICAL AREA:** Other (Russia/West Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, Soviet Union, NATO, Military Doctrine, Security Policy, Post-Cold War, Security Arena, National Missile Defense, Expansion, Economic Reform, Kosovo Campaign, Nuclear First-Use, Limited Nuclear War

### **ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

**Advisors: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The goal of the thesis is to explore economic intelligence. The work includes the analysis of open sources. The approach to the issue of economic intelligence is based on the analysis of the state's economic security. The research presents the views of politicians, intelligence professionals, and scientists. It proposes possible objectives and missions of economic intelligence. Additionally, the research investigates the usefulness and reliability of open sources of economic analysis.

The second goal of the thesis is the analysis of modern schools of intelligence and classifications of intelligence by levels and components. Next, the work analyzes modern economic intelligence exploring its structure and activities. Then the work compares the intelligence process of public and private economic intelligence.

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The third goal is to analyze the economic intelligence system of the modern state by using the economic intelligence system of Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russian Federation, and United States as models for an economic intelligence system. Furthermore, the work points out the principal features of each system.

Finally, the research offers conclusions about the use and development of economic intelligence for the state.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Command, Control, and Communications

**KEYWORDS:** Economic Security, Economic Intelligence, Economic Espionage, Industrial Espionage, Competitive (Business) Intelligence, Economic Intelligence System

### **DEFINING AND COPING WITH WICKED PROBLEMS:**

#### **THE CASE OF FORT ORD BUILDING REMOVAL**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

**and**

**Kevin P. Schultz-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.A. University of San Diego, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Nancy Roberts, Graduate School of Business and Public Policy**

**Second Reader: CAPT Frank Petho, USN, Department of National Security Affairs**

Globalization and interdependencies have given rise to a new type of problem—some call them “wicked.” Wicked problems are confounding experts in many disciplines of study. They are inherent to policy and strategic planning issues in civilian and military settings. The traditional, linear methods of problem solving are inadequate to address the complexity of wicked problems, and thus require new methods of problem solving. This thesis begins with a review of the definitions of wicked problems and strategies for coping with them found in academic literature.

In order to demonstrate the utility of these concepts to a military audience, the building removal aspect of the Fort Ord base closure is utilized as an illustration of a wicked problem. The thesis first identifies the characteristics of a wicked problem in the Fort Ord case, and then proposes a strategy for coping with Fort Ord building removal. The Fort Ord example is not unique within the Department of Defense, and lessons learned from this illustration are applicable not only to other closed bases and to future rounds of base closure, but also to other issues marked by complexity and interdependence.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Environmental Quality, Manpower, Personnel, and Training

**KEYWORDS:** Wicked Problems, Problem Solving, Coping Strategy, Fort Ord, Base Closure, Base Reutilization, Base Reuse, Base Realignment and Closure, Building Demolition, Building Deconstruction, Building Remediation, Hazardous Materials, Lead Based Paint, Asbestos, Strategic Planning, Decision-Making, Leadership

### **UKRAINE AND NATO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTILATERAL RELATIONS (1989-2001)**

**Igor I. Lymarenko-Colonel, General Staff of Ukraine's Armed Forces**

**Higher Education Diploma, Frunze's Military Academy, Moscow, 1993**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

**Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

This thesis examines the evolution of the Ukraine-NATO ties since 1991. The rise of new states in the former USSR represents a diplomatic revolution of the first order, which this study analyses in part. The Ukraine is officially committed to a policy of neutrality, and has used its non-block status mainly to

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distance itself from Russia. It has, at the same time, tried to develop closer political relationships with the countries of Central and Western Europe. At this moment, it is vital for the Ukraine to establish a special relationship with NATO, as well as bilateral relations with the USA. By means of this policy, the Ukraine may confirm its independence and sovereignty, to build a new state, and to integrate into the Western society. Presently the Ukraine needs to create constructive relations with Russia. Furthermore the relationships between the Ukraine, NATO, and the USA will play a very significant role in the Ukraine affirming itself.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Civil-Military Relations

**KEYWORDS:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Neutrality, National Security, Commonwealth of Independent States, Strategic Partnership, NATO, Europe, Ukraine

### **MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IDENTITY GROUP CONFLICTS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Anna Simons, Special Operations Academic Group**

**Second Reader: Letitia Lawson, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis studies military intervention in identity group conflicts. Building on the theory of Eide about conflict entrepreneurship, it is argued that military commanders must coopt, confront, accommodate or compete with existing identity groups to be successful during intervention operations. It is argued that the local military commander is relatively autonomous and therefore can and should aid the community in rebuilding durable, long-term institutions such as police, judiciary and local councils.

Israel's 1982 intervention in Lebanon, Operation Peace for Galilee, and the United State's intervention in Somalia, Operation Restore Hope, are used to highlight the common elements of intervention and the activities that encourage cooperation with the intervention force. The paradox of intervention is that it often solves a short-term problem at the same time it spawns a new threat. This arises in part from the effect of the intervention on the political economy of the target society.

The activities of local commanders in Lebanon are assessed based on the historical record and documentary evidence. The activities of commanders on the ground in Somalia are analyzed based on a number of personal interviews, a compilation of unpublished lessons learned and the unpublished history of the Marines in Somalia. It is argued that the official "lessons learned" are inaccurate and suggest a set of Lessons (Un)Learned that are useful in planning and conducting intervention operations.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Tactics)

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Operation Peace for Galilee, Operation Restore Hope, Military Intervention, Operations Other Than War, Nation-Building, Humanitarian Intervention, IDF, Peace Operations, Lebanon, Somalia.

### **THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE IN THE AEGEAN SEA: ITS RAMIFICATIONS FOR NATO AND THE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLUTION**

**Stephen F. Mann-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., Carnegie Mellon University, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

**Advisor: COL Tjarck Roessler, USA, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Stephen Garrett, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since 1974 the Aegean Sea has been a topic of much dispute for Greece and Turkey. In spite of many attempts to resolve the problems, the dispute goes on to this day. Over the years it has cost both countries some lives, cost Greece and Turkey politically and economically, and has been a detriment to NATO

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defense planning and operations. Continued tensions therefore not only hold the potential for disastrous war between two members of the same alliance but also hold the potential to pull other countries into this conflict.

Stability in the region and, consequently, Europe is therefore at risk and must be restored through resolution of these disputes between Greece and Turkey. Resolution has not been attained, though, mainly because of each country's intense nationalism and pervasive mistrust of the other country. This nationalism and mistrust of the other country must be overcome if a resolution is to be reached. Fortunately, the current governments of both Greece and Turkey are much more moderate and pro-resolution than their predecessors, and an ironic amelioration of relations thanks to devastating earthquakes in both Greece and Turkey in 1999 indicate that the time is ripe for a push toward resolution.

This thesis therefore examines the Aegean dispute in detail, shows its impact on NATO, looks at the attempts at resolution over the past thirty years, and discusses the current prospects for resolution.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Greece, Turkey, Aegean Dispute, NATO

### CHANGES IN GUERRILLA CONFLICTS IN LATIN AMERICA AFTER THE COLD WAR

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000

Advisors: Jeanne K. Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs

Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the impact of the end of the Cold War and acceleration of the communications revolution on international support for guerrilla movements in Latin America. As a consequence of the world's transformation from a bipolar to a multipolar system, non-governmental agencies, international organizations, and the United Nations have more influence in insurgent conflicts than ever before. At the same time, the acceleration of the communications revolution has increased the power of non-state international actors, and has played a key role in helping guerrilla movements disseminate their ideas and goals. These changes are demonstrated in this thesis by two case studies. The Salvadoran case illustrates how a guerrilla conflict that existed during the Cold War was transformed into a peace-making process at the end of it. The Mexican case illustrates how a guerrilla movement that began after the Cold War ended behaving differently from the guerrilla conflicts of the Cold War, and how it has used the acceleration of the communications revolution to its advantage.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Latin America)

**KEYWORDS:** Guerrilla, Latin America, Cold War, Post-Cold War, Communications Revolutions, International Organizations, NGOs

### END OF THE ISLAMIC COLD WAR: THE SAUDI-IRANIAN DÉTENTE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Charles A. McLean II-Major, United States Marine Corps

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-June 2001

Advisors: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs

Robert J. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs

Saudi Arabia and Iran are not only reconciling their diplomatic differences, but are also cooperating in numerous areas including oil, trade, and domestic security. Given their differences, what forces are lessening tensions and motivating them to pursue this new détente? More importantly, what are the implications of this new relationship?

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Shifting political sands in Saudi Arabia and Iran in the late 90s, the failure of the US "Dual Containment" policy, and the collapse of the Middle East Peace Accords are bringing the two rivals together. It is, however, Saudi Arabia and Iran's dire economic conditions, worsened by the 1998-99 oil price collapse, that forces them to cooperate. The main vehicle for Saudi-Iranian cooperation is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The Saudi-Iranian détente holds vast implications for oil and stability in the region. Their cooperation ensures higher oil prices, which adversely affect the world economy. These higher prices, however, salvage both countries' economies, improving their domestic stability. The reemergence of Iran onto the Gulf political landscape also serves to lessen tensions in the region. The resulting improvement in inter-Gulf relations creates possibilities for establishing a stable regional security framework that may affect the United States' role in the region.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Saudi Arabia, Iran, Oil, Economics, Stability, OPEC, Persian Gulf, Dual Containment, Middle East Peace, President Khatami, Crown Prince Abdullah

### **CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CASE OF VENEZUELA UNDER HUGO CHAVEZ**

**Manuel Roberto Meléndez-Major, United States Army**

**B.S., Virginia Military Institute, 1987**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

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**Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the actions of democratically elected leaders perceived to create threats to democracy. These leaders are often political outsiders who come to power after established politicians and the "traditional" way of conducting democratic politics have been discredited. Once in power, some of their actions are seen as nonconforming with established democratic norms. This thesis investigates the areas where setbacks and major threats to democracy have occurred in Venezuela and how the international community might respond most effectively to such threats.

This thesis advances four definitions of democracy drawn from the relevant literature, delegative, liberal, and substantive. It then examines the actions of the government on the different dimensions of democracy set forth by those definitions, elections, human rights and civil liberties, checks and balances, and militarism. Although the Chavez regime conforms to the minimal conditions of an electoral democracy, it is shown to fall short of accepted standards of liberal democracy. It also falls short of the vision of participative democracy advanced by President Chavez himself. This thesis concludes by offering policy recommendations on how to deal with these regimes.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Democratization)

**KEYWORDS:** Challenges to Democracy, Electoral Democracy, Liberal democracy, Delegative Democracy, Participative Democracy, Civil Liberties, Checks and Balances, Militarism in Venezuela, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Authoritarianism, Hugo Chávez Frias, Bolivarian Revolution

### **THE BALTIC REPUBLICS: PRIORITIES FOR WESTERN INTEGRATION**

**Zachary C. McMechan-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis explores the growing realization that the Baltic republics are not the same, and should not be treated as a single regional bloc. At the same time, merely realizing the existence of different priorities for

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integration with the West is not enough. The time is fast approaching when Western European institutions will offer the three Baltic republics the opportunity for full membership. Despite this approaching deadline, important questions remain unanswered. This thesis answers these questions by examining the policies enacted by the Baltic republics since 1995 to further their goal of integration with the West.

This thesis focuses on policies and decisions regarding the European Union and NATO, since these are the most important Western European institutions. This thesis will identify the priorities that each of the Baltic republics has established for integration and trace important changes in these policies over the course of the decade. In the final analysis, an assessment will be made of possibilities for integration of each republic based on these priorities, and what integration might mean for Europe.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Integration)

**KEYWORDS:** Baltic Republics, Baltic States, Enlargement, Accession, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, European Union, NATO

### **RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC WARFARE; THE KOSOVO CASE**

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**B.S., University of Bucharest, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisors: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs  
Thomas Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

This study focuses on the politics and society of Kosovo from the 12<sup>th</sup> century until the recent past. It interprets the history of Kosovo in South-Eastern Europe and analyzes the roots of the 20<sup>th</sup> century conflict. Furthermore, the thesis describes how the Kosovo issues influenced neighboring countries and the implications for European security. Finally, the thesis reflects on the possible future of Kosovo.

Two major conflicts that developed in the Balkan area (Bosnia/Kosovo, 1992-1999) raised the question about the stability of the zone. The thesis describes the security risks and challenges to the Balkan area and the prospects for solving these problems.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Ethnic and Religious Warfare)

**KEYWORDS:** Kosovo, Ethnic and Religious Warfare, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Balkans, Former Yugoslavia, Albania, Ethno-Nationalism

### **U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THE DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIA'S CHEMICAL WEAPONS**

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**B.A., University of South Carolina, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisors: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs  
Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

The thesis examines the present status of Russia's chemical weapons destruction program, which is to be implemented according to the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). It assesses the magnitude of the challenges in destroying the world's largest chemical weapons stockpile, which is located at seven sites in western Russia. It also evaluates the environmental and international security concerns posed by the conditions at these sites and the disastrous implications of a failure of this chemical demilitarization program. The thesis then investigates the development of the pilot nerve agent destruction facility at Shchuchye, Russia, which has been the primary focus of U.S. Cooperative Threat Reduction program support to the destruction of Russia's chemical weapons. In view of the decisions by the U.S. Congress to eliminate funding for this destruction facility in FY2000 and FY2001, the thesis examines the apparent causes of these decisions, including concerns about Russian commitment to full implementation of the CWC. The thesis concludes with a review of arguments for continued U.S. and allied support for the destruction of Russia's chemical weapons.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

**KEYWORDS:** Chemical Weapons, Russia, Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), Proliferation, Environment

### **PROSPECTS FOR NATO ENLARGEMENT: EXAMINING THE "BIG BANG" APPROACH**

**Andrew J. Moyer-Major, United States Marine Corps**

**B.S., Oregon State University, 1991**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

**Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

In March 1999, NATO admitted the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland as its first new members since the collapse of the Soviet empire. As the 2002 NATO summit approaches, nine countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) aspire to membership. Led by the Baltic states, these nine countries have signed the May 2000 Vilnius Declaration, advocating the admission of all nine aspirants simultaneously, a so-called "big bang" approach to the next round of NATO enlargement. This thesis examines the "big bang" approach to NATO enlargement as well as the prospects for the current candidate countries. Allied and aspirant arguments in the enlargement debate are discussed as well as key issues concerning NATO-Russian relations. The thesis concludes that, while NATO is well advised to remain open to further enlargement, the Alliance is unlikely to pursue the "big bang" approach, owing to the political, financial, and strategic implications that enlargement would entail. Indeed, the Allies may conclude at their 2002 summit that it would be premature to undertake further near-term enlargement.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, NATO Enlargement, Russia, NATO-Russia Relations, Baltic States, EU, Europe, European Security

### **THE EUROPEAN UNION'S BARCELONA PROCESS AND MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY**

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**B.A., California State University-Long Beach, 1985**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the Barcelona Process, a European Union initiative launched in 1995 with the goal of building a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. The Barcelona Process links twelve countries of the southern littoral of the Mediterranean Sea with the European Union. The participants have three goals: shared prosperity, enhanced cultural exchanges, and political stability. This thesis investigates the European Union's objectives in pursuing this process. Three possible motivations are analyzed: promoting prosperity and democracy, expanding a European Union-led trade bloc, or containing instability. The available evidence provides more support for the latter two motivations than the first. This thesis also investigates the North-South divide within the European Union itself, the influence of NATO and the United States, and possible solutions in view of the difficulties encountered thus far in pursuing the initiative's goals.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Mediterranean Security)

**KEYWORDS:** European Union, Mediterranean Security, Barcelona Process, Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **NAVAL SPECIAL WARFARE-LEADING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE**

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**B.S., University of Kansas, 1989**

**Master of Science in Defense Analysis-December 2000**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Ken Hagan, Naval War College**

This thesis examines organizational transformation, utilizing Naval Special Warfare (NSW) as a model for DOD-wide organizational change. The broader context of the revolution in military affairs (RMA) highlights the unique role of special operations forces in general and NSW specifically regarding innovation and adaptation in the military and its diffusion to conventional forces.

Four elements: technological change, systems development, operational innovation, and organizational adaptation compromise a revolution in military affairs. Although technological change and systems development have made significant impacts upon military affairs, operational innovation and organizational adaptation are lacking. Organizational adaptation responding to information age realities - changing geo- political and social circumstances as well as rapidly advancing technology -is necessary to achieve the predicted revolution in military affairs. A transformation from a rigid hierarchical organization to a collaborative network of stakeholders is recommended.

Speed, agility, integration, and innovation are necessary success factors in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In order to achieve these attributes military organizations must leverage resources across hierarchal, functional, command, and social boundaries. This will require a long-term transformation effort.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Organizational Transformation/Adaptation, Organizational Change

**KEYWORDS:** Organizational Transformation, Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), Collaboration, Networks

### **GERMANY'S INTERESTS AND POLICY IN AND TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ARAB - ISRAELI CONFLICT**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs**

Over the years Bonn and Berlin's policy and decision-makers adopted a pragmatic multilateral attitude that serves Germany's interests best. Today, Germany executes the concept of a civilian power. Supranationalism and institutional cooperation, followed by integration are the key ideas to formulate and represent power and national interests.

As one of the largest industrial and trading nations, Germany is dependent upon a stable and well-functioning economic system that is committed to free trade relying largely on imported raw materials and energy - i.e. low-cost oil from the Middle East.

In this context, German politics has an interesting and unique position. Germany's policy in the Middle East is somewhat ambiguous. The Federal Republic's dependency on oil inclines Germany toward the Arab states. The second factor is the historical moral burden bequeathed by the Third Reich that tends to tilt German diplomacy toward Israel. Germany's dilemma is its polarized Middle Eastern policy; German leadership carefully maintains a political neutral position keeping the country's economic interests in mind, along with considerations of an evenhanded approach toward the Middle East.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International)

**KEYWORDS:** German Multilateral Foreign Policy in the Middle East, Civilian Power with Economic Interests, Moral Obligation to the State of Israel

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **EXPANDING THE ROK NAVY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.-ROK ALLIANCE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security and Affairs-June 2001**

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**Second Reader: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

Stability on the Korean peninsula is a goal for several countries. The Republic of Korea (ROK) has depended on the United States to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula, but realizes its greater independence from a long time ally may be inevitable, especially after reunification. Measures now required afford the ROK every opportunity to provide for its own security and stability, including the need for modernizing the ROK Navy (ROKN). Present and future South Korean naval commitments to regional and international maritime environments support the transition from a brown water navy to a blue water navy capable of meeting future challenges. The ROK intends to achieve a naval force capable of projecting power, carrying out its strategic objectives, and ultimately guaranteeing vital defense for ROK sea lanes of communications.

The Korean peninsula borders on the East Sea and the West Sea, dictating an overwhelming need for a capable and efficient maritime force to protect the lifeblood of the Republic of Korea. Currently, the ROKN cannot compete with or against large modern navies, ones capable of conducting sustained naval operations while concurrently maintaining various platforms assigned numerous tasks. The ROKN's opportunity is ripe to expand its existing force into a modern blue water navy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Surface/Under Surface Vehicles – Ships and Watercraft**

**KEYWORDS:** Republic of Korea (ROK), U.S.-ROK Security Cooperation, Maritime Alliance, Sea Lanes of Communications (Slocs), Korean Unification, U.S.-ROK Relations, International Security

### **THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE IDENTITY: A CHALLENGE FOR NATO AND THE UNITED STATES**

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**Magister, University of Vienna, 1991**

**Ph.D., University of Vienna, 1995**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

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**Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

The development of the European Union's (EU) European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) since 1998 has strongly affected the EU-NATO relationship. Starting with the Franco-British bilateral declaration at Saint-Malo in December 1998, the EU recognized the need for autonomous military capacities for actions outside NATO's framework. This policy challenged NATO's agreement to enhance the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) as a European pillar within NATO, as agreed at NATO's Ministerial Meeting in Berlin in June 1996. As the development of the EU's ESDP between December 1998 and December 2000 indicated, the members of the EU have put more emphasis on developing ESDP within the EU rather than developing ESDI within NATO. Developing the ESDP inside the EU, however, tends to undermine NATO's concept of strengthening the European pillar under the authority of the North Atlantic Council.

The development of the EU's European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) since 1998 has strongly affected the EU-NATO relationship. Starting with the Franco-British bilateral declaration at Saint-Malo in December 1998, the EU recognized the need for autonomous military capacities for actions outside NATO's framework. This policy challenged NATO's agreement to enhance the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) as a European pillar within NATO, as agreed at NATO's Ministerial Meeting in Berlin in June 1996. As the development of the EU's ESDP between December 1998 and December 2000 indicated, the members of the EU have put more emphasis on developing ESDP within the EU rather than developing ESDI within NATO. Developing the ESDP inside the EU, however, tends to undermine NATO's concept of strengthening the European pillar under the authority of the North Atlantic Council.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Security and Defense Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** European Security and Defense Identity, European Security and Defense Policy, European Union, NATO, Berlin, Saint-Malo, Cologne, Helsinki, Feira, Nice

### **INTERAGENCY MANAGEMENT OF COMPLEX CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS: THE IMPACT OF PRESIDENTIAL DECISION DIRECTIVE 56**

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Karen Guttieri, Department of National Security Affairs**

The central question of this thesis is: What was the impact of Presidential Decision Directive 56? The U.S. government recognized the need for a more systemized method for managing the interagency response to complex contingency operations, after their experiences in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia. In 1997, President Clinton signed PDD 56: *The Clinton Administration's Policy on Managing Complex Contingency Operations*.

To determine the impact of this directive, this thesis uses a pre-PDD 56 and post-PDD 56 case study comparison methodology treating PDD 56 as the intervention. U.S. participation in Bosnia from 1995 until 1996 is the pre-PDD 56 case study, and U.S. participation in Kosovo from 1998 until 1999 is the post-PDD 56 case study. The Bosnia and Kosovo case studies are compared using six variables (type, depth, and timing of planning, decision process, funding, and monitoring and modification). Subsequent improvements to PDD 56 illustrate the positive impact that PDD 56 has had on improving U.S. government civil-military unity of effort in complex contingency operations.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (U.S. Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Presidential Decision Directive 56, Clinton

### **OMNIBALANCING AND THE HOUSE OF SAUD**

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Whether it is Egypt, Yemen, Iran or Iraq, when it comes to threats facing the House of Saud, the popular media has focused almost exclusively on external factors. Yet, the greatest threat facing the House of Saud is not one of foreign aggression but one of domestic opposition.

This thesis contends that the House of Saud has maintained control of Saudi Arabia by relying on three distinct pillars (or power facilitators): first, aligning itself with a strong and reliable outside power, second, preventing opposition groups from gaining a significant following by controlling informal networks within Saudi Arabia, and third, creating a *rentier state* making its citizens dependent on the government largesse. Furthermore, this thesis contends that the House of Saud will have increasing difficulties controlling its informal networks, and that its *rentier policies* are utterly flawed and unsustainable.

The purpose of this thesis is to scrutinize Saudi Arabia in order to determine the future viability of the House of Saud in light of the numerous political, social, religious and economic challenges that it now faces. The House of Saud is analyzed through the lens of omnibalancing which this thesis argues best describes the House of Saud's propensities.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Saudi Arabia, Rentier State, Oil, Social Contract, Demographics, Succession, Islam, Education, Labor, Unemployment, Political Reform, Economic Reform, Legal Reform, Privatization, Saudiization, World Trade Organization, United States, Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Gulf Cooperation Council

### **DEMOCRATIZATION IN BOSNIA: A MORE EFFECTIVE ROLE FOR THE MILITARY**

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**B.A., Monmouth College, 1994**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001**

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**Anna Simons, Command, Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence Academic Group**

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Since the end of the civil war in 1995, the United States and the world community have poured enormous amounts of money and resources into Bosnia and Herzegovina in an attempt to create a sustainable peace for all of Bosnia's citizens based on the principles of democratic governance. But at times, it seems that although the fighting has stopped the country is no closer to being a functioning, stable democracy than it was when the multi-national intervention force first arrived more than five years ago.

This thesis examines democracy theory and the democratization process to provide an explanation for why the international effort has been unsuccessful so far, and explores alternative ways to address some of those shortcomings. This thesis argues that the Stabilization Force (SFOR) has the ability to be a more effective partner in fostering consolidated democracy in Bosnia. It concludes by identifying military capabilities such as civil affairs, Special Forces and intelligence collection that could directly contribute to successful democratization.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Democratization)

**KEYWORDS:** Bosnia, Conflict Resolution, Conflict Suppression, Democratization, IFOR, SFOR, Stabilization

### **DEMOCRATIZATION, ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE, AND SECURITY COOPERATION BETWEEN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND CHILE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**Jeanne K. Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis analyzes the progress in inter-state security cooperation among Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (ABC) since 1983 as a consequence of these states' political democratization, economic liberalization, and sub-regional integration. The causal role of each of these variables has varied over time. Argentina's political democratization in 1983, followed by democratic transitions in Brazil in 1985 and Chile in 1990, ushered in security cooperation, ending a century-long phase of interstate rivalry and conflict management regimes. Economic liberalization adopted by the ABC countries from 1990 led, for the first time in the countries' history, to growing levels of economic, societal, and political interdependence. This changed the countries' mutual threat perceptions and created incentives for largely bilateral conflict prevention regimes. This shift, together with the creation of Mercosur's customs union in 1995, opened a more advanced phase featuring sub-regional multilateral collective action in the security realm. Further advances will mostly depend on Mercosur's still unclear consolidation. Integration and security cooperation has been a deliberate state strategy during the 1990s, strengthening the ABC countries' capacity for domestic and international governance. The thesis concludes by asserting the need for more integrated theoretical frameworks able to articulate different levels of analysis and variations in causality.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** International Security, International Relations, Foreign Policy, Integration, Latin America, Argentina, Brazil, Chile

### **PALESTINIAN REFUGEES AND THE REGIONAL SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THE PEACE PROCESS**

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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Second Reader: Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis focuses on the status of Palestinian refugees following final peace negotiations. The major conclusions of the thesis are that basic Palestinian refugee rights are not likely to be honored given the immense imbalance of power between Israel and the PLO; that the Palestinian refugee community will likely become a permanently marginalized outcast group in the Middle East; and that the probable result of this condition will be an increase in Palestinian political violence and terrorism against Israeli, American, and allied Arab interests. This is likely to be achieved through mobilization of former refugees by Islamic fundamentalist groups, capitalizing on the failure of the nationalist peace effort. These conclusions are reached through a close examination of the specific Palestinian refugee question and applying a general model of ethnonationalist collective action to the Palestinian question. The major policy conclusion for the United States is that to protect its own interests in the Middle East and reduce violence, the United States must treat seriously the rights of Palestinian refugees during regional peace negotiations. American and Israeli interests on this key issue are clearly divergent; they should be recognized as such and treated accordingly.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Palestine, Palestinian, Refugees, Peace Process, Oslo, Israel, Terrorism, Islamist, Islamic Fundamentalist, Ethnonationalist

### **REALIST THEORY AND RUSSIAN ALLIANCE BEHAVIOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

**Timothy M. Sullivan-Lieutenant, United States Navy  
B.A., University of Notre Dame, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000  
Advisor: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs  
Second Reader: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis develops multipolar and bipolar propositions for alliance formation, validates these propositions using Russian alliance case studies, and applies these propositions to the post-Cold War international system. Realist theory explains Russian alliance behavior in multipolar (Hitler-Stalin Pact) and bipolar (Warsaw Pact) international systems. In the Hitler-Stalin Pact, domestic influences dominate multipolar alliance selection. In the Warsaw Pact, the emergence of superpower struggle illustrates how structure determines alliance behavior in a bipolar system. In the post-Cold War system, evidence concerning Sino-Russian rapprochement supported a unipolar moment: overwhelming U.S. power allows U.S. action to be dictated by domestic factors while lesser power behavior (i.e., China and Russia) responds to structural stimuli.

This thesis demonstrates that realist theory remains a powerful methodology for understanding alliances because Russia behaved as predicted by realist propositions. In the post-Cold War system, when micro-decisions in the United States have global effects, current behavior by emerging powers corresponds to realist predictions. Since the United States cannot wholly distance itself from its domestic, valued-based interests, U.S. foreign policy architects must recognize potential adversaries are more intent on security and

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regime survival than the advancement of individual rights and democratic freedoms that often seem to shape U.S. international behavior.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Alliances, Alliance Behavior, Russia, Soviet Union, United States, Foreign Policy, Hitler-Stalin Pact, Warsaw Pact, Realism, International Relations, Sino-Russian relations

### **REFORM OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATION IN HUNGARY IN CONTEXT OF JOINING NATO**

**Imre Takacs-Major, Hungarian Army**

**M.A., Moscow Technical University of Telecommunication, 1984**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001**

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Defense reform in Hungary has followed a difficult path from the Soviet era to NATO accession. This paper suggests how Hungary first adopted the new Defense Law and Basic Security Principles in 1993, and defined the roles of the Armed Forces in the new post-Cold War era. Secondly, by the end of the NATO accession talks in 1998, Hungary transformed not only its own military to comply with NATO standards, but also the command structure and the leadership and management of the Armed Forces. As a consequence of the 1999 Kosovo War the Hungarian government initiated a new, three-phase defense reform concept. The new defense reform sets forth a smaller, better-equipped, sustainable army, capable of carrying out missions, originated in the 1998 Defense Law, the 1998 Basic Security Principles, and international obligations. Due to a broad parliamentary and public consensus and a ten-year process, from 1990 to 2000, Hungary has radically transformed its civil-military relation and established the basis of a Western democratic principle-based, civilian-controlled Armed Forces.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command, Control, and Communications, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Other (Military Technology Development, Budgeting)

**KEYWORDS:** Hungary, Civil-Military Relations, Defense Reform, Domestic Politics, Kosovo War, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Accession

### **THE NEXT TRANSITION IN CUBA: AN ANALYSIS BASED ON INSTITUTIONAL COMPARISONS WITH DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

**Robert M. Thweatt-Second Lieutenant, United States Air Force**

**B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 2000**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001**

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Decision makers throughout the international community, including the United States, need reliable information on the characteristics of Cuba's next transition to make effective policy towards the island. This work adds to existing research by exploring what lessons can be learned about Cuba's next transition by comparing Cuba's current institutional environment to the institutional environments found in four Soviet bloc countries prior to their transitions to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Based on this institutional analysis, the study argues that a lack of internal oppositional organizations makes Cuba institutionally unready for a transition to democracy. Instead, an imposition of an authoritarian successor regime will characterize Cuba's next transition. Moreover, Cuba's eventual transition to democracy likely will occur through imposition, but as the distance in time from the departure of Fidel Castro increases, a transition towards democracy through reform or, less likely, through revolution becomes more probable. Finally, this work recommends that international decision makers tailor their policies towards Cuba in such

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a manner as to avoid a violent revolution on the island, to promote an independent Cuban civil society, and to seek an international consensus on Cuba's future.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (International Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Cuba, Democratic Transition

### **GREEK MILITARY STRATEGY: THE DOCTRINE OF DETERRENCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS**

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**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 2001**

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**Roger D. Evered, Graduate School of Business and Public Policy**

The invasion of Cyprus by Turkey in 1974 and the occupation of 37 percent of its territory proved to be a benchmark year for Greek-Turkish relations. Since then, new frictional issues have generated in the region, making the prospects for reconciliation harder and an all out confrontation more likely. Greek policy-makers and officials believe that Turkey has adopted an expansionist and revisionist policy over the last 25 years with the aim to alter the status quo in the region. To counter this threat, Greece is trying to build up those elements in its military doctrine and defense posture that will fulfill its security concerns.

The recent dynamics of Greek-Turkish interaction are driven by the central factor of the growing Turkish military advantage, which makes an escalation towards warfare, even if unintended, more likely. External factors, namely the U.S., NATO, and EU, that can contribute toward a de-escalatory direction, are not effective enough to guarantee the prevention of an all out confrontation in the foreseeable future.

This thesis maintains that Greece's deterrence doctrine presents, under certain conditions, a unilateral effort that may provide an additional source of stability in addition to third party mediations. It concludes that the risk of warfare will remain significant between the two countries, unless Greece succeeds to restore the strategic balance with Turkey.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Greek Military Doctrine, Greek-Turkish Relations

### **RUSSIA'S SUBMARINE FORCE: DETERMINANTS AND PROSPECTS**

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**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis analyzes the factors likely to shape the future of the Russian submarine force. It examines key events affecting this force since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and explores the determinants of these events. The Russian Federation inherited a huge submarine fleet from the Soviet Union. Due to the changing conditions in the world and in Russia, its future status is in doubt. The thesis begins by analyzing the development and roles of the Soviet submarine force. It then considers the four most significant factors that have affected the submarine force since 1991: 1) Russia's poor economic performance, 2) Russia's changing national security requirements, 3) competition from the other military services for a limited defense budget, and 4) changes within the military and society. The thesis concludes that the Russian submarine force is unlikely to undergo a major revival. The most probable scenario involves a smaller and less capable force. The most influential factors may be Russia's economic performance and the military reform plans of Russian President Vladimir Putin and Defense Minister Sergey Ivanov.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Navy, Nuclear Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons, Russia, SSBN, Submarine, Weapons of Mass Destruction

### **ASSESSING THE U.S. COUNTERPROLIFERATION INITIATIVE: CONSIDERATIONS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR**

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The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) represents a growing threat to the national security interests of the United States. The United States must retain its ability to project power, while providing its forces adequate protection. Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) are becoming a primary responsibility and mission of the U.S. armed forces. Evidence indicates that WMD are proliferating precisely in the same regions where U.S. military forces have been called upon to conduct MOOTW.

While the United States has developed various measures to confront this growing challenge, most notably the 1993 DoD Counter Proliferation Initiative, additional considerations must be weighed in assessing the overall effectiveness of the U.S. counterproliferation strategy. The level of preparedness of the U.S. military is of particular concern, in ensuring forces are trained, equipped, and prepared to confront WMD-armed adversaries in a MOOTW environment. This study examines the merging confluence of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and U.S. military operations other than war.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Battlespace Environments, Chemical and Biological Defense

**KEYWORDS:** Counterproliferation, Proliferation, Preemptive/Preventive Attacks, Weapons of Mass Destruction, Military Operations Other Than War, Nuclear/Biological/Chemical Weapons

### **EVOLUTION OF RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS IN THE 1990s**

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**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

The end of the Cold War was followed by a period of euphoric romanticism in Russia over its future relationship with Europe and the United States. Russians enthusiastically embraced the end of hostility and were looking forward to be accepted on equal terms in Europe. The situation changed when the country failed to utilize peace dividends and the economy suffered a serious breakdown.

The Russian political elite expressed concerns that this policy was the Euro-Atlantic community's attempt to underscore the dimension of Russian humiliation and to further limit Russian influence in the international arena. Russia adamantly opposed NATO advancement to the territory of the former USSR; by exploiting this hard stance Moscow, indeed, provided NATO aspirants with arguments to join the Alliance. There is a tendency in Russia to view its relationship with NATO through the prism of the U.S. dominant role in the Alliance. This perception explains why Moscow tries to assert its position by focusing on a big power dialogue. Russian leaders attitudes toward NATO enlargement are strongly tied to their estimates of the strength of the country and their influence in the international arena.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Russia, Enlargement, Perceptions, Security

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### **OPERATION ALLIED FORCE: SETTING A NEW PRECEDENT FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION?**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2000**

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**Second Reader: Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

On 24 March 1999, NATO initiated military action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in response to the crisis in Kosovo. Operation Allied Force was conducted without the explicit authorization of the United Nations Security Council, but was justified by NATO allies as a means to bring peace and stability to Kosovo, and to prevent a greater humanitarian emergency from developing. In the absence of specific U.N.S.C. authorization, was NATO's violation of Yugoslavia's sovereignty through the use of force illegitimate? Or were the potential humanitarian consequences of inaction by NATO so disastrous as to make intervention a moral imperative, despite the stipulations of the U.N. Charter? These questions—still under debate—highlight the dilemma facing the NATO allies on the eve of Operation Allied Force. This thesis examines Operation Allied Force and how the most influential NATO allies (Britain, France, Germany, and the United States) justified the use of force in the Kosovo crisis without relying on an explicit U.N. Security Council mandate for such action. In addition, it considers whether NATO's intervention in the Kosovo conflict established a new precedent whereby U.N. Security Council authorization of the use of force is no longer a prerequisite for forceful humanitarian intervention.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Law)

**KEYWORDS:** Humanitarian Intervention, State Sovereignty, International Law

### **NUCLEAR WEAPONS ACCIDENTS AND ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR: IS PAKISTAN AT RISK?**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

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**James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs**

Can new nuclear states build nuclear deterrent forces that are safe, secure, and reliable? Deterrence pessimists claim that lack of experience, material resource constraints, and organizational problems can lead to nuclear weapons accidents with catastrophic outcomes, including accidental nuclear war. This perspective also believes that military organizations in control of nuclear weapons will favor command and control systems that allow their immediate use. Pakistan is cited as particularly worrisome because of its inexperience with nuclear weapons and its unstable civil-military relations. This thesis establishes a framework based on normal accidents theory, high reliability theory, and the U.S. experience with nuclear weapons accidents to evaluate Pakistan's risk of suffering nuclear weapons accidents and whether these accidents can lead to accidental nuclear war. Using data from classified U.S. intelligence community assessments, this thesis suggests Pakistan's risk of suffering a catastrophic nuclear weapons accident that leads to accidental nuclear war is moderate to low.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

**KEYWORDS:** Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear War, Nuclear Weapons Accidents, Pakistan

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### **A CHANGING EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE ARCHITECTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY**

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**Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since the 1991 Maastricht Treaty, the European Union countries have been trying to form a common security and defense identity as one facet of the European Union unification process. The efforts to create "separable but not separate" European forces within NATO have accelerated in the last three years and changed direction toward creating an autonomous "European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)" within the framework of the EU. This policy concerns some non-EU European NATO allies, such as Turkey, and Norway, as well as non-European NATO allies, such as the United States and Canada.

The developments in the European security structure in the aftermath of the French-British St. Malo Declaration (1998) have profoundly changed the discussion of an all-European force. The ESDP is an evolving process. The impact of the latest developments on Turkey's position in the European security system and Turkey's security policies is significant. Turkish national security interests compel it to be part of a new European security system and of security arrangements in the post-Cold War era. Turkey should have some institutional links to European Security and Defense Policy that would enable it to influence the decisions of its European counterparts on the matters that could affect Turkey's interests. European security cannot be provided without Turkey. How Turkey will fit into the new European security system will depend on its European membership process, its unique geostrategic position and its special relationship with the United States.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Turkey, European Security, ESDP, CEFSP, CFSP, ESDI, European Union, Turkey-EU Relations, US-EU Relations

### **TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

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**B.S., Turkish Army College, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2001**

**Advisor: Ahmed Goreishi, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs**

The end of the Cold War and the Second Gulf War affected the Middle East profoundly. The role of regional countries changed when the end of the superpower competition transformed frozen animosities into new conflict areas. In this context, Turkey extremely involved in regional politics.

During the 1989-2000 period Turkey's policy toward the Middle East in general centered on security issues while Turkey encouraged regional cooperation simultaneously. PKK terrorism and the prospect of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq have been the forefront issues in Ankara's agenda.

Ankara followed an active policy in the region to counter the regional threats to Turkey, to recover its declining image in the West, and to improve its economy through regional opportunities.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Turkey, Middle East, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Kurds, PKK, Terrorism, Syria, Water Problem, GAP, Israel, Strategic Cooperation, Iran, Islamic Fundamentalism

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **CHINA AND INDIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR REGIONAL MARITIME SUPREMACY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEAN**

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The expanding economic and political power of China and India have led each country to extend its naval operations into the other's region of influence in order to safeguard economic/national interests. This expansion has led to suspicion and increased tension between the two countries. The thesis postulates that the continued operational expansion of China and India's naval forces into each other's claimed maritime domain is likely to trigger alliance formations and a naval arms buildup between the two countries which could lead to confrontation and conflict in the near future. This thesis is supported by evidence of active naval modernization programs initiated by China and India as well as the pursuit of security relations with countries in each other's respective regions. Conflicting strategic cultures, a history of antagonistic relations and differences in long-term strategic objectives warn of the possibility of a coming confrontation, which may now have a maritime dimension. The volatility of the situation could have an effect on not only the maritime security climate, but on the security of mainland Asia itself and has implications for future U.S. security policy in the region.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** China, India, Naval Forces, Asia-Pacific Security, Indian Ocean Security, Chinese and Indian Relations, Security Relations in Asia

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