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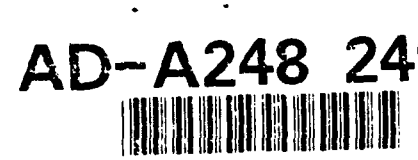

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Volume II

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Selected Compendium of Student Research

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SELECTED COMPENDIUM OF STUDENT RESEARCH

VOLUME II

DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE COLLEGE

ACADEMIC YEAR 1989-1990

Prepared by the

Academic Research Center
Defense Intelligence College

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Defense Intelligence College
Washington, DC 20340-5485

Statement A per telecon
Lt. Neysa Slater DIA/DEE-4
Washington, DC 20340-5485
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Background: The Defense Intelligence College

The Defense Intelligence College (DIC) is chartered by US Department of Defense directive and Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) memorandum to provide educational and training programs to prepare military and civilian intelligence personnel for positions in the national and international security structure and to assist in their career development.

Since 1980, when Congress authorized DIC to confer the Degree of Master of Science of Strategic Intelligence (MSSI), more than 400 MSSI degrees have been awarded. The College's MSSI degree is the only advanced degree in strategic intelligence granted in the United States.

In order to complete the MSSI program, students are required to satisfactorily complete either a Master's thesis or two research papers in conjunction with special research seminars offered by the College. The papers thus produced represent a potentially important contribution to the literature on strategic intelligence. They embody an impressive array of subjects indicative of the far-reaching nature of intelligence analysis.

The Compendium

The second volume of the Student Compendium includes selected unclassified student papers and theses completed during the 1990-1991 academic year. Each paper is listed alphabetically by author, including the name of the approving faculty member, date of completion, title of paper, and abstract.

The views contained in the papers included in this compendium are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as necessarily representing the official policy, either expressed or implied, of the Defense Intelligence College, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, or the United States Government.

To Request Papers

Papers listed in this publication can be requested by writing to the Academic Research Center, Defense Intelligence College, DIA/DIC-R, Washington DC 20340-5485 (ATTN: COMP2). DIC is required to obtain, for each paper, permission for release from the Office of Security, Defense Intelligence Agency.

Student (Paper Chairman) — Date Approved

Agena, Craig J. (Harris) — DEC 1989

Japan's Ethnic and Social Problems: An Examination of the Korean, Ainu, and Burakumin Issues

Minorities account for two percent of the population in Japan, a situation which contrasts markedly with that of the US. Although officially Japan denies the existence of a minorities problem, one does exist and is deeply ingrained.

This paper examines three distinct and divisive ethnic issues confronting Japanese society: those of the Koreans, the Ainu, and the Burakumin. In looking at the Koreans, the largest ethnic minority in the country, the paper explores how the Japanese view and treat people who are non-Japanese in terms of both nationality and race. With the Ainu, it examines how the Japanese have dealt with their equivalent of the American Indians or Australian Aborigines. While racially different from the mainstream (Waijin) Japanese, the Ainu are nevertheless Japanese citizens who suffer discrimination. The Burakumin or "Village People" are yet another example of a discredited minority. They are, however, Japanese citizens and of the same racial stock as mainstream Japanese. They have been stigmatized merely on the basis of their social background.

Racism, xenophobia, and discrimination on the basis of class and culture are examined. Cultural feelings of inferiority and superiority are discussed as they relate to Japan's difficulty relating to other peoples.

Anderson, David C. (Blake) — DEC 1989

Responsibility for Covert Paramilitary Operations

Should the responsibility for covert paramilitary operations belong to CIA or DoD? This debate has grown out of US experiences of recent years and has prompted some speculation about the legitimacy of covert operations.

The negative atmosphere of the Congressional hearings of the mid 1970s which looked with detail into actions of the US intelligence community were the key to reduction of US covert action capability. Only shock from the lack of an adequate response to the Iranian hostage crisis brought home the reality of the US need to rebuild its covert action capability and focused attention on this vital part of US foreign policy. During the Reagan Administration, both CIA and DoD were involved in covert paramilitary operations.

Currently, some are calling for rebuilding of comprehensive covert action capability within CIA to include paramilitary operations. Others argue covert paramilitary action would be more at home in the US military. However, the realities of budget cutbacks must lead one to believe that any type of operation will be run by both CIA and DoD on a much more efficient basis. More importantly, though, is the reality that covert action is, and always will be, a vital part of any effective foreign policy.

Anderson, David C. (Collins) — DEC 1989

Tech Transfer and Perestroika: The Push to Liberalize Export Restrictions

Technology transfer to the USSR poses many problems for the US because the Soviet acquisition system is so immense and effective. Through the Military-Industrial Commission (VPK) and trade diversion programs, the Soviets try to steal the most costly, advanced, and precious military and commercial technology.

The Soviet economy is in a critical state which may increase dependence on US innovative ability or force the Soviets to improve their own capability. Perestroika begs for more cooperation between East and West. The US economy also needs help. Current trade barriers hurt US industry more than they hurt Soviet acquisition efforts.

The writing on the wall is clear: restrictions on exports will be revised. What remains to be answered is how and when this revision will occur. The US must proceed with prudence and caution despite pressure from her allies. How

much are we willing to decrease trade barriers? What effect will liberalization have on the Soviet economy, what will the US role be, and how will this effect our own economy? The US must elevate the priority of export control, streamline the process, and develop a more realistic policy.

Anderson, Lonny A. (Finan) AUG 1990

The US and the Honduran Armed Forces

This paper answers the question of what impact the US had on the Honduran armed forces. It starts by tracing early US involvement and continues through the fall of Somoza (former dictator in Nicaragua) in 1979. Additionally, the 1954 Bilateral Military Assistance Agreement is discussed.

Moving into the 1980s, the paper discusses President Reagan's decision to stop the spread of communism in Central America. The paper discusses the new administration's plans for Honduras and, specifically, for building the Honduran military. External threats to Honduras are discussed, focusing on El Salvador and the Contras.

Looking to the future, the paper examines the Bush administration's views on US Central American policy. It then looks at the US decision to cut military assistance to the Honduran armed forces in half for FY1990. The possible repercussions of that decision on the Honduran armed forces are looked at in three subsections: role in Honduran society, national security, and changes in the armed forces.

This paper does not try to view the US impact on the Honduran armed forces in terms of right or wrong. Instead, it describes the type and level of US involvement and the reason for that involvement.

Arent, Raymond J. (Heymann) APR 1990

The 1989 Soviet Coal Miners' Strike: Insights into Coal Industry Problems, Implications for Authority Relations, and the Possibility of Soviet Economic Reform

The Soviet coal miners' strikes, which began on 10 July 1989 and continued sporadically throughout the year, reflected the desire for political and economic change in the USSR. Yet, they also disclosed the many impediments to any significant and effective reform. Obstacles in the coal industry are due in part to the "exogenous" factors of geography, geology, and climate which make coal extraction, transportation, and use difficult. The great distances between resource locations in Kazakhstan, East Siberia, and the Far East and the consumers in the European and West Siberian areas of the USSR have raised the costs of coal and further burdened the railroads with its transport. Difficult mining conditions due to geologic depletion and climatic conditions add to labor and capital costs.

These "exogenous" factors have been exacerbated by "endogenous" elements of Soviet policies and institutions. These have combined to thwart any meaningful change in an industry so desperately in need of scientific and technical innovation. The result has been an industry in which what little growth has occurred over the past 20 years has been extensive in nature, requiring ever-increasing inputs of labor and capital.

Arent, Raymond J. (Harris) JUN 1990

Toward a Typology of Ukrainian Aspirations on the Basis of the Manifestations of Nationalism, Marxism, Wilsonianism, Decolonization, and Ethnonationalism

The paper reviews current Ukrainian aspirations in light of the development of Ukrainian history from the earliest days of Kievan Rus' through the Cossack period of the 15th-18th centuries. The survey is continued with the Ukrainian national movement of the late 19th and 20th centuries up to the present day.

The thrust of the research is a review of this movement on the basis of the five manifestations of self-determination as given by the Dov Ronen in *The Quest for Self-Determination*. Special emphasis is on the ideational aspects of the

characterization of the manifestations as opposed to any detailed portrayal of statistical data bearing on either the sociopolitical or the economic-normative trends. The hypothesis studied is the failure of the Soviet regime to fulfill Ukrainian dissident demands within the context of Soviet nationality policy in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, and the consequent inability of the regime to control these aspirations. Thus, the situation today is increasingly leading to more or less nationalist demands on the part of the Ukrainians, rather than the milder, less comprehensive ones made earlier.

Beaird, Cecil R. (Vanderburg) SEP 1990

Terrorism: What is It?

Terrorism is a commonly used term that first appeared in dictionaries nearly two centuries ago. Although the phenomenon is not novel, it is much easier to describe than define.

Most experts on the subject of terrorism agree it involves an act of violence or the threat of an act of violence, there is some political motivation which separates terrorist actions from other criminal acts, and the victim of the act may mean nothing to the terrorist beyond being a conduit for reaching a larger audience.

Beyond this, there is little agreement on criteria for classifying an act as terrorism or war, legitimate violence or a common crime. This is evidenced by the more than 100 definitions of terrorism in existence today. The United Nations has been unable to successfully define the term because of the "one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist" dilemma.

This paper analyzes current definitions in an effort to discern the elements of a universally acceptable definition. The world is in accord concerning the absolutes of terrorism, the act. However, since it is commonly accepted that terrorism is a politically motivated act, some political force will uphold the legitimacy of any act of political violence, and, therefore, a universally acceptable definition of terrorism is impossible. International accords outlawing particular acts of violence as being unacceptable are possible and are being used now. This may be the only way to build an international counterterrorism policy without a universal definition.

Boik, William A. (Parchomenko) MAR 1990

The Soviet Union and the United Nations: Gorbachev's "New Thinking"

This paper concludes that the Soviet Union has dramatically changed its approach towards the United Nations. Unlike earlier years where the Soviet leadership attempted to use the UN for its own crude propaganda, the Gorbachev leadership is now seeking to strengthen the UN as a key instrument in its effort to improve overall Soviet national security and find genuine solutions to the global problems facing the USSR.

The driving force behind this changed Soviet attitude has been Gorbachev's "new thinking" on national security which has been embraced by the Soviet leadership and significantly developed over the last few years. The most important realization of this new thinking for the Soviet leadership is that internal economic stability and East-West cooperation, not military superiority, are seen as the critical ingredients of security and the nation's power and prestige. Today, Gorbachev points to the serious economic problems facing the USSR as the immediate threat to the country's security.

The USSR's changed approach to the UN is dramatic, albeit partial, evidence of the new realism in Soviet foreign policy. To date, this change supports the view that the USSR is acting more responsibly internationally.

Boomsma, Louis G. (Harris) AUG 1990

The European Community's Energy Market: Prospects for 1992

Energy is an important factor in the operation and development of all modern economies. Over the past 30 years, the European Community has gradually become dependent on outside energy supplies, primarily oil.

The oil crisis of 1973-74 brought severe disturbances in these external oil supplies, affecting the amount supplied and the prices charged to European consumers. It also highlighted the need for a common energy policy between EC member countries.

In 1975, shortly after the oil crisis broke, the EC developed a common energy policy looking out 10 years to 1986. The aim of this policy was to reduce dependence on imported energy, disassociate economic growth with growth in energy consumption, place a ceiling on oil imports, and diversify energy supplies.

In 1986, the EC built upon these objectives with another 10 year plan, which included reducing oil consumption, producing electricity with coal and nuclear energy, developing alternative energy sources, and promoting competitiveness. The EC has generally been successful in meeting these concerns. Although imported oil will continue to dominate EC energy budgets through 2000, the EC has greatly improved its posture regarding energy dependency.

Boomsma, Louis G. (Reed) JUN 1990

French and West German Nuclear Energy Programs: Looking to 1992

Energy is the lifeblood of economic frameworks throughout the world. This notion rings especially true in Europe. The European Community's (EC) reliance on cheap, efficient sources of electricity has been an integral aspect of achieving energy self-sufficiency and is a crucial factor in the broader economic goals of EC1992.

Worldwide development of nuclear power had been an issue between the US and Europe due to nuclear weapons proliferation concerns. France and West Germany have had a substantial interest in developing and exporting nuclear technology, in spite of US desires to control its spread. France did not sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 and strongly objected to the controversial Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (NNPA) OF 1977. Germany, however, was a signatory to the NPT and was forced to comply with export restraints outlined in the NNPA.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, France developed nuclear power as rapidly as possible, meeting its goals by 1985. France has a large electricity surplus and is Europe's largest electricity exporter.

Because of constraints imposed by the NPT and NNPA and a lukewarm acceptance by government and the environmentally-conscious public, German nuclear power developed quite differently. Political support was fragmented, and public backing low from the start. Coupled with a broad economic slowdown and lower demand for electricity, nuclear plant construction stopped in Germany in 1982.

The EC expects nuclear power to account for 25 percent of total energy production by the year 2000, with nuclear energy producing 75 percent of total electricity consumption. These expectations depend on emerging joint programs in preference to the individual programs France and Germany pursued in previous years. Thus, recent political decisions and industrial partnerships catering to the EC's internal energy market are bringing French and German nuclear programs closer together in anticipation of future joint markets in the EC and in Eastern Europe.

Bradshaw, Carl Joseph (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

Assassination: Should It Be a US Counterterrorism Tool?

Since 1975, every president has banned assassination as a foreign policy instrument. During the same period, the threat posed by international terrorism increased as the US government struggled with strategies to counter the elusive threat. The ban against assassination unnecessarily reduces the policymaker's flexibility to respond to the terrorist threat in a proportional manner.

This paper explores the costs and benefits of banning the use of assassination as a possible counterterrorism tool. Moral, legal, and political arguments for and against this ban are analyzed. Practicality of assassination as a counterterrorism tool is examined, and the US raid on Libya is analyzed to illuminate the paradox between the ban and the US policy of retaliation against terrorists and their state sponsors.

The paper reaches three conclusions. First, the political atmosphere following Vietnam and Watergate in 1975 did not allow for a rational debate on where assassination belongs in US national security policy. Second, there is little gained by the self-imposed ban on assassination. Lastly, although the president will need expanded flexibility in an increasingly multipolar world, the ban against assassination will remain. As long as Americans continue to support conventional responses against external threats, no president will risk the controversy created by a reversal of the assassination policy. However, the president may need and should have the flexibility to use assassination in the fight against terrorism.

Bradshaw, Carl Joseph (Harris) AUG 1990

The Swedish Model: A Blueprint for the Emerging Democracies of Eastern Europe?

The emerging democracies of Eastern Europe are rebuilding their political, economic, and social structures, but it is not clear what systems might replace the void left by the failure of communism. Sweden seems to be a natural place for the countries of Eastern Europe to begin their study of socio-economic alternatives. This paper examines the Swedish experience of social democracy to determine if it can provide a blueprint to the "middle way" for the transitional countries of Eastern Europe.

This paper provides a description of the political, economic, and social aspects of the Swedish model, analyzes the dissolution of the model, and examines the uniqueness of the Swedish experience. The Swedish model developed over a period of 30 years in the midst of economic prosperity and with a national consensus based on trust. So few, if any, of the conditions that made Sweden possible can now be found in any East European countries. The Swedish model provides systematic lessons learned, but not a useable blueprint to the struggling countries of Eastern Europe.

Brothers, Kevin R. (Marsh) MAY 1990

The Soviet Union and Indian Naval Expansion

Over the past 25 years, the Indian Navy has grown into one of the world's largest fleets. It has achieved this status through indigenous production and the purchase of foreign, primarily Soviet, equipment. This paper studies the relationship between the USSR and the growth of the Indian Navy. It examines how the relationship has developed and assesses future cooperation between the two nations in naval matters.

After discussing the Indian Ocean maritime environment and history of the defense relationship between India and the USSR, this study examines each element of India's navy: submarines, surface ships, aviation, and naval weapons. The level of Soviet support to each specific area and India's attempts to lessen its reliance in that area are addressed. The paper then proceeds to look at political and economic factors that influence the relationship from both the Soviet and Indian perspective.

This study finds many reasons for the relationship to continue. Each country benefits from a convenient barter payment plan. There are valid reasons for the USSR to develop a navy in a part of the world where Soviet naval power is becoming less visible. Finally, both countries gain politically from the current arrangement. The study concludes India is many years away from a true blue-water navy and will require continued Soviet assistance, which the Soviet Union will provide.

Burke, Thomas F., III (Watson) APR 1990

Soviet Combined Arms Structure Under Reasonable Sufficiency: Is It Defensive?

Soviet military policy and force structure have undergone substantial changes in recent years. In December 1987, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced that future Soviet military doctrine would be based on the idea of "reasonable sufficiency." Along with this doctrinal change, the Soviet Armed Forces would alter offensive strategy to a "defensive defense," which would be decidedly nonthreatening to the nation's neighbors. These policy changes have paralleled increasingly radical changes in Soviet Ground Forces structure and deployment.

An examination of recent Soviet ground force restructuring is helpful for a better understanding of the true direction of current force development plans of the Soviet Army. Such an investigation reveals that the new combined arms structure of Soviet maneuver divisions is not purely defensive in either its orientation or its capabilities, despite public statements by Soviet leaders. The analysis of the Soviets' ground force structure is a particularly important method in determining actual Soviet military policy because the USSR has "continuously restructured and reequipped its forces to match the current state of Soviet military doctrine, military art, potential areas of military operations, and prospective enemies." While small changes are constantly taking place, when necessary, significant changes have occurred in the past and will continue in the future.

Campbell, Kim H. (Reed) AUG 1990

Europe '92: Internal Problems and External Impact

This paper examines the European Community's (EC) internal problems in trying to implement the single market of 1992. Problems include the different visions by major EC members of just what the final form of the Community should be, the impact of German unification, and the impact of reforms in Eastern Europe on the Europe '92 process.

Also covered is the impact of 1992 on the Community's major trading partners and how they are reacting to the prospect of a single EC market. The areas and countries examined include the European Free Trade Association, the reforming countries of Eastern Europe, the US, Japan, and the USSR.

Campbell, Kim H. (Heymann) APR 1990

Joint Ventures in the Soviet Economy

This paper examines joint ventures between Western and Soviet enterprises. An in-depth look at the conditions which led to the implementation of joint ventures sets the stage by examining the state of the Soviet economy in the early 1980s and the actions taken by Gorbachev to reform it. Soviet perceptions of world economics at that time are also discussed.

Five basic aspects of joint ventures are examined. Why the Soviets implemented joint ventures, what problems such ventures face, what motivated western companies to undertake ventures, how they are progressing, and how have some US joint ventures have fared.

Finally, the paper assesses where joint ventures are likely to fit into Soviet economic reform and what could be achieved if ventures are properly regulated and nurtured.

Carter, Robert F., Jr. (Finan) SEP 1989

The Causes of the Insurrection in El Salvador

El Salvador today is tied up in a costly civil war both in terms of lives and economics. The Communist leaderships of the Farabunda, Marti National Liberation Front, and the Revoluuonary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) coalition are conducting a protracted guerrilla war to overthrow the present government by armed struggle. However, the war concerns not only the Communist-led guerrillas and the present government, but it also covers a much broader social spectrum between those who seek reforms through the democratic process and those who wish to monopolize the country under a neo-fascist order.

All of these, the FMLN-FDR, the centrist of the Christian Democrats, and the extreme right, have their roots in a past that led to insurrecuon. Continuing basic concerns have been land and equitable income distribution in a country with the largest population in Central America and the size of Massachusetts. The military-oligarchy elite control the majority of the land and income distribuuon. Superficial attempts toward reform by various dictatorships are either stifled by the landowning elites or repressed by the military when a threat to its political hegemony existed.

Centner, Christopher M. (Richstein) SEP 1990

The Arab View of Chemical Weapons and Its Implications for International Chemical Weapons Treaty Compliance

The Iran-Iraq War reminded the world that chemical weapons can be a decisive factor in war. Chemical weapons have proliferated among the Arab nauons in the last 30 years, and this trend shows no signs of slowing down. Arab nations view chemical weapons as a cheap alternauve to nuclear weapons.

Negotiations are now underway to obtain a worldwide ban on the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons. However, should the Arab nations sign a chemical warfare convention (CWC), at least some are likely to attempt to circumvent its provisions. Chemical weapons will remain vital to Arab nations as long as they perceive a threat to their existence from Israel, each other, and outside nations capable of using chemical or nuclear weapons.

With the increasing possibility of inter-Arab conflict, it is conceivable the Arab nations will accede to the need for a regional arms control agreement, or a workable CWC; however, both options would force them to communicate and coordinate with Israel.

Centner, Christopher M. (Harris) AUG 1990

Future Polish Security Policy

Modern Poland's security problems began at its founding. From the start, Poland struggled to define and defend its boundaries. Although the Polish leadership recognized its position between Germany and Russia required a powerful alliance system, they failed to secure such a system before World War II.

After a year of war, Poland allied with the USSR, and later became a member of the Warsaw Pact, which provided Poland with a strong regional alliance guaranteeing borders. As long as the Pact remained solid, Poland was assured its territorial integrity.

Three major changes weakened the Pact and Polish security between 1987 and 1989. The USSR stopped backing the communist regimes in Eastern Europe with military force, the Pact adopted "defensive sufficiency", and individual Pact members, including Poland, drastically cut back on defense spending and forces. The prospect of a unified Germany thus caught Poland unprepared and relying upon a weakened alliance system that was obviously crumbling.

Poland is now taking steps needed to meet the prospect of a new European environment with a strong Germany. Poland will remain a member of the Warsaw Pact alliance, but will insist upon reforms to make it more responsive to

smaller members' needs. The Warsaw Pact as a military alliance will dissolve when a new European security arrangement, probably based upon the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), is created.

For the near term, Poland will probably remain an ally of the USSR even after the Pact dissolves. However, by 1994, Soviet forces in Poland will likely be reduced to only a token presence. Poland will actively work to maintain cordial and beneficial relations with any new independent nation resulting from the breakup of the USSR.

A new security arrangement based upon CSCE will help reduce the danger of Poland once again becoming a battleground. But Poland's long-term security probably depends as much upon its own ability to avoid renewing old historic disagreements as any new security arrangement.

Churchill, Carl L., Jr. (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

Aryan Nations: Domestic Terrorists or Fringe Political Extremists?

The US has long enjoyed the reputation of having an absence of international terrorism directed against it within its borders. The domestic terrorist threat has also been considered small and inconsequential, but it warrants attention and continued close monitoring.

One group with links to domestic terrorism is the racist, extreme-right group known as the Aryan Nations. Their publicly stated goals directly challenge the laws and authority of the United States government. While they are not a group of great numbers, during the early 1980s, their hate-based philosophy, activities, and the violence of some members prompted concern. This paper analyzes the threat potential of the Aryan Nations.

Churchill, Carl L., Jr. (Harris) AUG 1990

Wirtschaftswunder II? Another German Miracle in the Making

Economics has always played an important role in German history. Recently, economics changed German reunification from a political platitude, to initial negotiations, to the presently emerging reality. Economic merger of East and West Germany on 1 July 1990 was for all intents and purposes the merger of the two states. As the economies truly become one, so too will the states. In order to analyze the potential economic implications, this paper examines German economic history since World War II, the events that surrounded economic reunification, and the outlook for the future.

What will emerge from this reunification is an economically stronger Germany. Before it gets better, however, it is also going to get worse as a centralized command economy changes to a social market economy. There will be an extremely difficult and painful adjustment period and then strong growth.

The initial pain will come as a result of massive unemployment, wholesale failure of up to 50 percent of East German industry, and the astronomical price of cleaning up the incredible pollution of the communist run economy. The costs of additional factors such as worker unrest and the upward spiral of oil prices are unknown as yet and could derail recovery as well.

However, German economic reunification will succeed despite these daunting problems. The strength of the economy and the wealth of the West German government are significant factors assuring this. Additionally, there are many salvageable parts of East German industry and some that are already very competitive worldwide. Finally, the boom in employment brought about by a long overdue rebuilding of the infrastructure as well as the potential of the service and retail sectors for East German entrepreneurs will provide growth and employment. In 10 to 15 years, the standard of living in all parts of the united Germany should be roughly equal, a prospect that any East German would consider a miracle.

Cigar, Norman (Kauppi) SEP 1989

Moscow and the Middle East: Change and Continuity under Gorbachev

Change and continuity in Soviet policy toward the Middle East in the Gorbachev era is examined in this paper. Has Soviet policy constituted a fundamentally new approach or simply revamped methods to achieve traditional goals? Gorbachev's "new thinking" and its application to concrete conflict nodes, including the Persian Gulf and the Arab-Israeli arena, are also included.

Moscow's approach in the region has become less confrontational, in deference to its broader interests of an improved bilateral relationship with the US. However, the USSR has continued political competition in pursuit of its key traditional goal in the region: the reduction of US influence. Although the USSR's potential in the Middle East will remain limited by its own inherent atheism, local suspicion against it as a superpower, and inability to provide the region's economic needs, it can nevertheless enhance its regional role further and erode some of the West's influence.

Overall, the change in Soviet policy thus far seems to be at the rhetorical and tactical levels, rather than the strategic. This change, however, should not be minimized, as it can make regional conflicts less explosive and facilitate peaceful resolution. The continuation of Moscow's current Middle East policy will depend, to a great extent, on the overall US-USSR bilateral relationship and on the continuing predominance of Gorbachev in the Soviet hierarchy.

Cleaves, Jon S. (Garst) SEP 1989

No More Napoleons: The Failure of the US Army Officer Education System to Institutionalize the Military Genius

Despite having decisive material superiority in all its recent conflicts, the US Army has proven vulnerable to failure in combat. One possible reason for this is the lack of rigor, intensity, and substance in officer education in teaching the practice of the "art" of war.

This thesis explores the quality and emphasis of this education in six parts: the formative part of an officer's education; the elements of this education relevant to success in combat; the performance of pre-commissioning education in providing these skills; the performance of lieutenant and captain levels of military education in providing these skills; the education system used by the German General Staff Corps (1860-1945) as an historical example of an attempt to institutionalize military excellence; and a summary of findings and recommendations for correcting the problems faced today.

Cliver, Barry Keith, III (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

Japan's Evolving Response to International Terrorism

Japan's response to international terrorism is probably the least studied policy of any Western nation facing the issue. Although violence perpetrated by Japan's indigenous revolutionary groups is swiftly dealt with, Tokyo's prevention and retaliation capabilities against international terrorist incidents are not well understood. For many years, a soft-line policy enraged the US and other Western nations victimized by the Japanese Red Army. In recent years, Japan's maturation in the world community has forced a stiffer response, but Tokyo's new counterterrorism resolve remains to be tested.

Japan is a vital economic, strategic, and diplomatic ally for the US. It is home to several US military installations which are deemed necessary for America's forward basing strategy. Japan is one of the world's largest commercial air carriers, and Japanese businesses are pervading every region of the world. Links with the US and Japan's position in the geopolitical framework are especially vulnerable to the impact of terrorists.

Japan's evolving response to terrorism has taken on the face of a hard-line policy. Several structural changes to executive departments have been made, and Japan is a signatory to several international agreements addressing the fight against terrorism. Still, Japan's overseas intelligence and military capabilities are limited and will remain that way.

Japan will probably continue to reach out to South Korea and other Pacific rim nations to coordinate security. Internal security measures and a greater awareness of the problem are evident to travelers, and they are testament to Japan's new mood about combatting terrorism.

Cliver, Barry Keith, III (Cigar) SEP 1990

Soviet-Iranian Relations After the Cold War

The political relations between the USSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran have improved over the last year. The death of Ayatollah Khomeini and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan have permitted an increased dialogue. The depth of this new relationship is the subject of this paper.

Because of long-standing suspicion and distrust between the two states, it is unlikely any significant agreements will be concluded which would significantly alter the region's geopolitical order. Soviet policymakers suffering from "Islamphobia" will avoid close relations with the radical Tehran government. Likewise, Iran's leadership, albeit more practical than its predecessor, will refrain from expanding relations with a secular communist government which suppresses fellow Moslems.

The region is critical to the economic vitality of the West. A pro-Soviet government in Iran would certainly not be in the interest of the US, just as a pro-US government in Tehran would disturb Soviet planners. As Iran rearms and Hussein occupies Kuwait, the subject demands the attention of US decisionmakers.

Comstock, Richard E. (Parchomenko) SEP 1990

The Deported Peoples of the USSR: Is a Solution at Hand?

Stalin's deportation of peoples late in World War II is now being reversed. This process began in the late 1950s, but the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks are only now receiving the official support necessary to end their diaspora and return to their ancestral homelands.

This paper explores four nations' histories in the USSR and contrasts the two "success" stories, the Chechens and Ingush, with the two failures, the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks. The problem has ethnic, religious, and cultural dimensions. Practicability, in terms of land, housing, schooling, and financing, is the principle threat which could thwart these peoples' return. Moscow and some, though not all, union republics now support their repatriation. Government leaders are finally trying actively to right one of Stalin's great wrongs nearly a half century after it was committed.

Cook, Richard H. (Leighton) SEP 1990

Gorbachev's Strategic Arms Control Objectives

The perception exists in the US that Mikhail Gorbachev's policies represent a significant change in Soviet foreign policy. His arms control policies, statements, and agreements are commonly cited as clear evidence of this transformation.

This paper discusses whether Gorbachev's arms control policies truly represent a watershed in Soviet arms control policies when compared and contrasted with those of the Brezhnev period. Gorbachev's policies will be examined to establish whether they represent a change in goals and priorities or merely a change in tactics to achieve traditional Soviet goals. The central question is whether Gorbachev's arms control goals and priorities match his "mutual security" rhetoric.

Gorbachev has retained almost all of Brezhnev's strategic arms control objectives. He has made a tactical shift to an emphasis on political means over the military means preferred by Brezhnev. These objectives do not match Gorbachev's new "political thinking" rhetoric. A strategic shift in Soviet strategic arms control has not occurred.

Gorbachev's strategic arms control objectives are in basic agreement with those of Brezhnev. The continued Soviet buildup in strategic arms and the existence and pursuit of underlying objectives reflect this continuity.

Cook, Richard H. (Richstein) AUG 1990

SLCMs: A New Start for the US Navy?

The US is under great pressure from the USSR in arms control negotiations to place significant restrictions on nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). The US has a lead in SLCM technology, but the Soviets are gaining. The USSR has offered some enticing items at the negotiating table in order to get the US to accept SLCM controls. The key question is whether the retention of nuclear-armed SLCMs is in the long-term best interest of the US and the US Navy.

This paper explores primary and secondary sources in the US and USSR. A wide range of viewpoints about the pros and cons of nuclear-armed SLCM control was reviewed. The national and naval interests of the US were considered. The effect of nuclear-armed SLCMs and other tactical nuclear weapons on all levels of conflict (strategic, operational, and tactical) was considered. The final conclusion was that banning these weapons would be in the best interest of the US and the US Navy.

Cooper, Norma G. W. (Eisenhaur) SEP 1989

The First Amendment: Friend of Change or Threat to National Security?

Do current executive orders and directives, statutes in the United States Code (USC), and judicial interpretations protect the intelligence community from unauthorized disclosure? There are several criminal statutes which are clearly applicable to unauthorized disclosure, notably, the Espionage Statute, 18 USC, Sections 792 through 799; the Embezzlement and Theft Statute, 18 USC, Section 6412; and the Atomic Energy Act 18 USC, Section 2011. In addition, national security is protected by the National Security Act of 1947 and the Classified Information Procedures Act of 1980.

Judicial review has upheld the constitutionality of the above mentioned statutes in case after case. In 1972, the Supreme Court also provided the Government with a monetary tool to use against persons who disclose information without authorization (*US v Marchetti*). Theoretically, it provides a viable deterrent to those who might disclose classified information for monetary gain. Government employees can be convicted of theft (18 USC, Section 641) for disclosing classified information to the press for personal gain.

The burden of preventing unauthorized disclosures rests upon the shoulders of the intelligence community. Laws are in place to prosecute those who would disclose without authorization, and, as grim as the consequences are, the community must accept risks in certain cases to provide a credible deterrent against future disclosures.

The Morison case provides an excellent example, and, hopefully, this example will be followed. Although it is not yet clear what final impact the Morison case will have on the community, one thing is clear: government employees are now aware they can, in fact, be convicted of espionage and theft if they disclose classified information without proper authorization. The Government must aggressively seek judicial remedies at every possible opportunity. Only then will the problem of unauthorized disclosures begin to fade.

Coppolino, Peter J. (Haaga) OCT 1989

Columbian Cocaine and US Overseas Drug Policies

This paper discusses Columbian cocaine cartels and the threat posed by programs designed to fight the cocaine trade. Also discussed is the size of the Colombian cocaine business and the problems created for the US and Colombian

governments when trying to implement various programs to control the cocaine trade. This report views the Colombian cocaine industry from the perspective of a big business which has economic and political influence. It is essential to understand that cartel economic and political influence is important to continued cartel success. Exercising economic and political influence in Colombia can perpetuate the success of the cartels. Diminishing this influence can make government efforts against the cartels more effective.

Understanding the economic and political impact of the cartels can allow the US to formulate more effective policies to assist the Colombian government in their efforts to control the cocaine trade. However, cartel economic and political influence can have a negative effect on these efforts.

Coppolino, Peter J. (Harris) DEC 1989

The Effect of Detente on NATO Strategy and Forces

The US shares common political, cultural, military, and economic interests with Western Europe and the other countries represented by NATO. When one country is affected in these areas of interest, it usually has an affect on the other NATO countries. NATO was formed to help protect these interests. Gorbachev's detente policies of glasnost, perestroika, and especially his supposed abandonment of the Warsaw Pact's offensive military posture in favor of the strategic defensive, threaten to undermine NATO's very reason for being.

This paper describes NATO's current military strategy for the protection of Europe and the affect detente has on that strategy. It contains a qualitative analysis of NATO's military capabilities and discusses theater nuclear forces as well as conventional forces and their deployment. The effect of detente on these forces and their deployment will be covered.

US interest in Western Europe can be negatively affected if the euphoria of detente causes changes in NATO forces and strategy which are not carefully thought out and negotiated. The US must ensure its interests are protected should Gorbachev fall from power, detente fail, and the USSR return to a confrontational relationship.

Cranston, Kenneth C., Jr. (Harris) SEP 1989

The Bismarck-Moltke Feud

This paper examines civil-military relationships during the three wars of German Unification (1862-1871) and the different perspectives of command and control held by Moltke and Bismarck. Although Moltke had studied and understood Clausewitz's dictum that war is an extension of politics, he firmly believed that once a war started, politics were secondary to military strategy. Bismarck, on the other hand, advanced the political doctrine of *Realpolitik*, which called for decisions and actions not in accord with military logic but commensurate with the political theater.

Major and recurring themes are the relationships between military means and political ends, the subordination of military strategy to policy, and the dangers of civilian leadership becoming enamored with military activities.

Cummings, Jonathan P. (Swenson) SEP 1989

An Examination of Events Leading to the Falkland Islands War of 1982

The United Kingdom and Argentina pursued credible claims to sovereignty over various South Atlantic islands, including the Falkland Islands, through earnest negotiations. The UK intended to withdraw from the area gradually, allowing Argentina to peacefully fill the vacuum.

Local functionaries responded to new threats to the interests of both nations by ordering or authorizing military actions. The central governments remained unresponsive to threats until local representatives, who ignored their chains-of-command and, therefore, were not adequately responsive to their governments, initiated military actions.

Local functionaries, through spontaneous acts beyond the purview of the British and Argentine governments, initiated provocative military actions which precipitated the Falkland Islands War of 1982.

Cunningham, Jeffrey C. (Allen) AUG 1990

Project Phoenix: The Battle Against the Communist Insurgent Political Infrastructure of South Vietnam

The US was late in adapting strategy to counter the politically organized insurgency in South Vietnam. The National Liberation Front (NLF) was a Communist "front" organization directed by the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), a pseudonym for the Southern Branch of the Lao Dong Party, the Communist Party of (North) Vietnam. The PRP had complete control of the Viet Cong military units in South Vietnam as well as NLF and other political fronts. This made the PRP the key element, or the infrastructure, tying the insurgency in the South together. For this reason, it should have been an early target of serious US counterinsurgency efforts.

The realization that pacification efforts in the South required increased emphasis came in late 1967 and was significantly reinforced by the Communist Tet Offensive of 1968. After Tet, the upper levels of both the US and South Vietnamese governments began to seriously emphasize pacification. A key element of these efforts was the program to neutralize the Viet Cong Infrastructure (VCI). The US advisory effort to coordinate intelligence and target the VCI was called the Phoenix Program.

Phoenix was an advisory effort aimed at coordinating divergent intelligence collection efforts, collating and verifying information on the VCI, and providing that data to Vietnamese law enforcement agencies who would then attempt to capture or kill, if necessary, the targeted member of the infrastructure. The program resulted in the "neutralization," a poorly chosen euphemism, of many thousands of VCI, but never succeeded to the expectations of its designers.

Cunningham, Jeffrey C. (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

Sendero Luminoso: Insurgency and Terrorism Along Peru's Shining Path

Sendero Luminoso is a classically Maoist revolutionary insurgent organization and political party founded in rural Peru after 1968. The insurgents accept little or no outside help, but even so have maintained a uniquely resilient and potent organization.

Sendero Luminoso developed in the most isolated, least developed department in Peru and based itself on the isolation of the Quecha Indians from Peru's mainstream and the ethnic differences between the Indians and ruling whites. Sendero Luminoso is, therefore, the product of a periphery-center conflict.

The organization is highly secretive and very violent. Responsible for the loss of thousands of lives and billions of dollars in damages, it rarely takes credit for its actions. Sendero Luminoso makes liberal use of terror for three purposes: to break down Peru's social fabric; to disrupt the government's ability to function; and to enforce discipline.

Peru is suffering from an economic crisis that began in the mid-1970s. Sendero Luminoso, on the other hand, has recently established bases where a large percentage of the world's coca leaf is grown, thus ensuring a source of considerable revenue.

Peru's government has considerable support among the populace, and US aid and recent attempts to resolve differences with the International Monetary Fund will likely improve Peru's circumstances. Sendero Luminoso, however, remains a potent destabilizing force likely to continue its activities for years to come.

Erichsen, Robin A. (Cobb) AUG 1990

The Effects of Gorbachev's Policies on the Soviet Navy

President Mikhail Gorbachev's policies are playing an integral role in changing the Soviet Navy. New political thinking has directly influenced foreign policy goals, challenging the requirement for a blue-water navy. As the Soviet Navy takes a less visible role in Third World affairs, its presence and port visits have decreased. Subsequently, military doctrine has been revised to reflect new political thinking. Terms such as reasonable sufficiency, defense of defense, and defensive doctrine are now used to define current Soviet military doctrine. As evidenced in operations over the past few years, the Navy has become an advocate of these policies.

Soviet naval development has been consistent with current doctrine. Reduced budgets in addition to several other factors have caused a reduction in operations tempo and out-of-area deployments. Further cost savings are being realized by scrapping obsolete ships. Restructuring has become a reality.

Glasnost has fueled open debate ranging from inquiries regarding the recent spate of naval accidents to the controversial issue of aircraft carriers. The navy is successfully using Gorbachev's style of public relations and glasnost to broadcast its new policies and reductions, while quietly increasing its capabilities. By implementing reforms advantageously, the navy will emerge as a smaller, more capable fighting force.

Eshelman, Mark James (Cigar) SEP 1990

Pushing Our Luck: American Oil Interests in the Middle East

This paper examines the current and future importance of the Middle East to the US in terms of the energy problem. It also describes some of the threats, with respect to oil, that could adversely effect American interests in the region and explores what can be done to remedy the situation.

American dependence on foreign oil is growing and is projected to get worse. After several years of decline, the demand for energy is on the rise again. While there are enough world oil reserves to last well into the next century, it is probable that within a decade, only four countries (all in the Persian Gulf) will have the production capacity to set prices. With US domestic production down, imports up, and no prospects for improvements, dependence on foreign oil is expected to get worse.

Reliance on foreign oil is dangerous to our economic security. The solution is to implement a balanced energy policy for the future. However, because of the high costs, such a policy has never been developed. As a result, the current Middle East crisis could become a blessing in disguise. It might serve to alert Americans to their energy problem and prepare them for the costly steps leading to energy self-sufficiency.

Gallagher, Daniel J. (Witt) AUG 1990

When National Interests Conflict with Individual Interests: Command Decisions Relating to the Loss of LTJG Joseph P. Dunn

On February 14, 1968, an unarmed US Navy A-1H Skyraider piloted by LTJG Joseph Patrick Dunn was shot down by Naval Air Force MiG-17 aircraft of the People's Republic of China (PRC) off the east coast of Hainan Island. Subsequent search-and-rescue efforts by elements of the US 7th Fleet were unsuccessful. Criticism of US decision-makers after the incident reflected the opinion that Dunn "was abandoned to his fate in Hainan waters on orders from beyond the Pentagon."

During the Vietnam War, several US Navy aircraft were shot down by the PRC, North Korea seized *USS Pueblo* and shot down an unarmed EC-121 aircraft, and revolutionaries in Cambodia seized *SS Mayaguez*. The scenario under which Dunn was lost is one which could occur on any given day for a military or civilian US citizen. This thesis examines the circumstances of the Dunn case, the decisions made, and the actions taken in the unsuccessful attempt to affect his

recovery. Intelligence, rules of engagement, and crisis management were examined to determine how changes in these areas might enhance the probability of survival in such situations today.

Today, in circumstances similar to the Dunn incident, the probability of survival is markedly improved through technological advances, improved intelligence collection and dissemination, formal peacetime rules of engagement, and institutionalized crisis action procedures. However, the primary lesson of the Dunn incident is that the broad interests of the United States, as perceived by the incumbent President, will prevail. This remains true today.

Gambill, Brenda Sue (Reed) JUN 1990

French Political and Security Policies and European Integration

French foreign and defense policies have remained consistent for the last 45 years. France's main objectives are to restrain German economic and military power, limit American and Soviet influence in continental European affairs, and restore France's primacy as a continental European leader. Concomitantly, the central theme which dominates French foreign policy is the desire to prevent future German economic, military, and political hegemony in Europe.

After World War II, Monnet and Schuman organized the European Communities as a means to restrain Germany's warmaking industrial capabilities and to rebuild Europe's shattered economy. They were part of the movement which hoped to integrate Europe's political, economic, and security policies under one supranational organization. Their dream for a unified Europe was not shared by everyone, and the continent was never politically unified. However, the European Communities they established, combined with numerous security arrangements, facilitated rapid European economic rehabilitation and significantly affected Germany's warmaking ability. The system did not, however, bridle Germany's economic development. Today, West Germany has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Over the last four decades, Paris and Bonn have normalized relations, establishing numerous bilateral economic and security ties. The "German threat" subsided as the Soviets expanded throughout Eastern Europe and Asia. French policymakers pursued an independent foreign and military policy between the Soviets and Americans, maintaining a "non-belligerency" stance between the two superpowers. A member of NATO, they insisted French military forces remain under national control and refused to include them in NATO's integrated military command structure.

The Warsaw Pact alliance is crumbling as several Eastern European countries replace their communist governments, the two German states plan reunification, and the Soviets face numerous economic and internal political problems. As the old world order crumbles and German reunification gains momentum, French policymakers are seeking avenues to solidly anchor Germany in the West. President Francois Mitterand is urging members in the European Community to enhance cooperation by forging a political, economic, and security union under the aegis of the EC by 1 January 1993. The Europeanist movement appears to be resurging. Although these and other events are forcing most world leaders to reassess their foreign policy goals, one expects to see the French steadfastly encourage European unity as a means to restrain their German neighbors.

Gambill, Brenda Sue (Schutz) AUG 1990

Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution in Central America

The United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) is a UN peacekeeping force responsible for separating and monitoring a ceasefire between Nicaragua's combatants, demobilizing and protecting disarmed rebels (Contras) from governmental forces (Sandinistas), and receiving and destroying weapons from the Contras. ONUCA is one part of a three-pronged peacemaking process launched by the UN in August 1989. Two other parts of the process are ONUVEN (United Nations Observation Mission for Verification of Elections in Nicaragua) and CIAV (International Support and Verification Commission). ONUVEN marked the first time the UN monitored free elections in a sovereign nation and represented the UN's first major operation in the western hemisphere. CIAV is a joint UN Organization of American States (OAS) venture responsible for implementing civilian aspects of the peacemaking process.

The Central American crisis is significant because it has led to regional insecurity, dissolution of the Central American Common Market, economic deterioration, and heightened superpower tensions; thus, the crisis has both a regional and global impact. Until recently, attempts to reconcile warring factions and bring peace to the troubled region

have always failed. In 1983, the Contadora Group (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama) proposed a regional peace settlement which formed the baseline for the current peace initiative and the deployment of ONUCA. For the first time in 30 years, belligerents are communicating with one another and trying to resolve their differences. The UN/OAS peacekeeping process is at the heart of this process and is helping to curb regional violence and lessen tensions. ONUCA has been successful. The last Contras were disarmed on 29 June 1990. Currently, the UN Secretary-General is looking at ONUCA's organization and considering other potential Central America situations where a peacekeeping force could be useful.

What are the implications for the US? Recent successful peacekeeping operations in Namibia, the Persian Gulf, and Central America have generated worldwide renewed respect for peacekeeping. Future peacekeeping efforts could employ US assets or forces; hence, this positive trend directly impacts on US foreign and defense policies.

This study will examine the current crisis, trace the evolution of the conflict resolution process, the development of ONUCA and its counterparts in the peace negotiations process (CIAV and ONUVEN), and assess scenarios where the current process could be employed to enhance regional peace and security. Finally, it will conclude with a discussion of the implications for US foreign and defense policies.

Gay, David K. (Richstein) SEP 1990

The Chemical Warfare Convention: Is It Verifiable?

Since the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the international community has attempted, with little success, to negotiate a treaty eliminating chemical weapons. The simple requirements to produce chemical weapons combined with the proliferation of ballistic missile technology in politically immature and unstable Third World countries makes the threat of chemical weapons potentially more serious and more likely then nuclear conflict.

In the Iran-Iraq War, the horror and destructiveness of chemical weapons brought the consequences of their use in war to public attention unlike anything since World War I. This public attention, along with an overall easing in international tensions, has contributed to an acceleration in progress on a comprehensive multilateral chemical arms control treaty called the Chemical Warfare Convention (CWC).

As the CWC is finalized, it is important for the US to ensure the treaty enables confident compliance verification to protect our national security. For the majority of the time the treaty has been under negotiation, a mutually agreeable verification regime, intrusive enough to ensure compliance, build confidence, and protect the security of the signatories, has been the major stumbling block preventing progress. This paper analyzes the verification regime negotiated to date, ascertains whether the agreed techniques are effective, and, most importantly, if the CWC protects the security of the US while eliminating chemical weapons and international chemical weapons production capability.

Gianino, Frank W. (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

The Shining Path: A Case Study in Terrorism

In Peru, no name evokes such raw fear as that of "Sendero Luminoso" (SL); the "Shining Path." Mysterious in its nature and brutal in its methods, SL has sought to depose the present regime and institute its own unique form of communist rule. This uncommon nature of SL makes it an organization worthy of closer scrutiny.

In his framework for analysis, Dr. Bard O'Neill has identified several key elements which impact upon the success or failure of an insurgent movement. These elements form the structure of the case study and prove the framework to be a valuable tool in insurgency analysis.

The results of this ordered study indicate SL and the Peruvian government are largely equal in factors which mitigate for their success or failure. The inescapable conclusion of this assessment is, if conditions remain the same, neither side has the capability to resolve the situation in its favor. In other words, the stalemate will continue.

Gordon, Mary Ann (Sample) AUG 1990

Ethical Issues in Managing Diversity

Demographic experts predict the composition of the workforce will change drastically by the year 2000. Women, minorities, and immigrants will dominate the workplace, while white, US-born males will only account for 15 percent of those entering the workforce.

Culture, traditional attitudes, and perceptions will need adjusting to accommodate the change. The next 10 years will be a crucial decade as managers learn to manage diversity. There will be no room in the workplace for the personal biases and prejudices that currently prevail. The old-boy network which has so carefully protected top management positions possibly will be challenged the most.

This research highlights some of the ethical issues facing those individuals who will be responsible for managing diversity. By acknowledging some of the unspoken, untouched inequalities existing in the corporate culture, perhaps managers can focus on the changes that will need to occur.

The goal should be to create an environment where everyone--man, woman, black, white, Hispanic--will have the opportunity to develop to his or her full potential. By establishing fair and equitable promotion procedures, those with the ability will have a chance to compete.

This paper looks at some of the obstacles that currently prevent women and minorities from reaching their potential in the workplace and considers the ethical issues involved. It is not easy to admit that prejudice and discrimination exist. As long as these personal biases and discriminatory practices continue, however, managers will have difficulty managing the diverse workforce of the 1990s.

Green, Susan K. (Collins) JAN 1990

Intelligence and Policy in the Arms Control Environment

Arms Control is becoming more important as a national tool and an issue in international relations. Errors in this area could severely affect US national security now and in the future. Any mistakes in the negotiation of an arms control agreement can be politically difficult or extremely costly to rectify. For this reason, it is absolutely necessary that policy makers and negotiators be supported, throughout the process, by an intelligence community which understands their consumers' needs and requirements while also providing the most useful general intelligence support.

The "arms control" subset differs from the normal interface of intelligence and policy because intelligence capabilities, assessments, and support are more directly involved in all phases of the arms control process. Intelligence in this process is more than just one of the many inputs to the policymakers' decision. This means that intelligence sensitivities and risks are more visible to all parties in this process than the usual intelligence/policy interface.

Even though the interface may sometimes be rough, the policy and intelligence communities must still interact if the goal of "effective verification" is to be met. Notably, it is through this interaction that a better grasp of the other's methodology and requirements can develop. The developing interface between intelligence and policy in the arms control environment has the potential to increase the effectiveness of the overall interaction as well as the relationship between arms control and national security.

Greene, Beatrice (Harris) FEB 1990

The German-German Dialogue: One Nation, Two States

The de facto division of Germany following World War II and the incorporation of the two new German states into opposing military alliances became the basic political construct of Europe. Today, in response to glasnost and perestroika, the "German Question", or question of Germany's role and form, is once again crowding the international center stage.

This study discusses German ethnicity, to include the Germans' consciousness of their historical, political, cultural, and psychological place in Central Europe and how this consciousness has found its expression, both as a means for staying divided and as a means for finding common ground over the past 40 years. The fact that Germans seem to have accepted with relative equanimity the post-war division of their country into two states is not extraordinary. Only in the brief period from 1871 to 1945 did the German nation exist as a single state, while for thousands of years before, there were many states within the nation.

The two Germanys have now existed as separate states for a period of time more than half that of Germany's total existence as a unified state, more than twice that of the Weimar Republic, and more than three times that of Adolf Hitler's "Thousand-Year Reich." Nevertheless, the litmus test of a German national consciousness remains their position on reunification. The West Germans maintain the German nation will exist as long as Germans continue to desire its reunification. Today's events show it will always be premature to write off the cause of German unification. Again and again, unforeseen circumstances will bring the "German Question" out of any deep freeze to which it may have been consigned. In the words of German President Richard von Weizgacher, the nature of the "German Question" is such that "it will rise again and again."

Greene, Beatrice (Harris) MAY 1990

Germany's Vanishing Border: From De Facto Division to De Facto Unification

German unification is no overnight phenomenon, no quick product of East German destabilization and revolution in the streets. Reunification has been worked for purposefully and resolutely by a West German leadership that set out to rejoin the Germanys almost from the moment of their separation. Paradoxically, the East German leaders cooperated in the German-German rapprochement for reasons of their own, finding in their acceptance of the West German overtures a source of economic viability and political legitimacy they felt would advance the GDR's bid for international respect and recognition as a separate state as well as their domestic popularity.

Current mass migration from East to West Germany, therefore, far from being the cause of reunification, only caps and accelerates a de facto process that has been actively under negotiation between both German governments for almost two decades. However absent German reunification may have been from the international agenda, it was always very much on the agenda of the German people.

Griffith, Paul B. (Richstein) SEP 1990

CFE: The Monitoring Challenge

"Trust, but verify," President Reagan often declared in summarizing his attitude toward arms control agreements. He insisted during Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) negotiations on the most stringent verification measures ever incorporated into a US-USSR arms agreement. The same attitude is being incorporated into current negotiations. The Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks promise to have the most stringent monitoring and verification regime to date. As START, CFE, and other negotiations are completed and go into effect, the demand for monitoring those agreements will reach unprecedented levels. The US Intelligence Community (IC) will be tested to its limit in its ability to fulfill that mission. For the IC, CFE will be a resource allocation problem. US negotiators must guard against committing too many collection and analysis assets to the monitoring of CFE.

CFE brings special monitoring challenges to the IC. It is a multilateral treaty requiring extensive monitoring coordination between allies, involving massive amounts of equipment and personnel, during a time of increasing fiscal constraints. Additionally, issues such as counternarcotics, nuclear/biological/chemical weapons, missile proliferation, regional conflicts, and terrorism will be competing for collection resources.

The verification standards for CFE should not be as stringent as for strategic agreements. There will be a great deal more warning time should the Warsaw Pact circumvent CFE to a militarily significant degree. The IC will be able to support adequate verification of CFE while still able to allocate necessary resources to other areas of growing importance only if the following criteria are met. Cooperative measures facilitating monitoring should be drawn into CFE, the US

Intelligence Community and NATO should identify those areas most susceptible to non-compliance and target them for intense monitoring, nuclear treaty monitoring must remain a viable asset, and analytical assets should be improved.

Grogan, David P. (Atkeson) DEC 1989

The Impact of Soviet Defensive Doctrine on Their Airborne and Air Assault Forces

Standard airborne and air assault formations are addressed in this paper; however, repercussions of a defensive doctrine on special warfare or active air mobile forces are not discussed.

The Soviets will cut their strategic airborne force (VDV) by two divisions. The deactivated troops will become subordinate to the Interior Ministry (MVD) where they will be used for internal security. The air assault formations in the Western Group of Forces (WGF) will be removed from the forward area and relocated inside the Soviet Union. As the Soviets develop their plans for large counteroffensive operations, we may see the development of a multi-brigade or corps air assault structure at the front level. Doctrinal missions of airborne units will be modified to reflect the current defensive philosophy. The airborne force of the 1990s will be leaner and meaner than its predecessor.

Grogan, David P. (Haaga) SEP 1989

Pakistan: Narcotics Control--The Problem to the US and Pakistan

Pakistan plays a significant role in the international narcotics trade. Opium cultivation and the production and transhipment of heroin are problems to both Pakistan and the US. Heroin, considered to be the drug scourge of the 1970s in this country, was deemed a secondary problem as cocaine dominated the drug scene in the 1980s. There are indicators, however, that heroin use and its subsequent problems are on the rise. A large share of the heroin consumed in this country originates in Southwest Asia. Much of that region's heroin export is either produced in or transits through Pakistan.

Before any progress can be made in the international narcotics control effort, the source countries must recognize that they have a drug problem. Pakistan has taken that giant first step. Heroin addiction is a problem of epidemic proportions in Pakistan. The Pakistanis are sincere in their efforts to curb opium cultivation and heroin production and use in their country. However, Pakistan is an underdeveloped nation with precious few resources to allocate to the anti-narcotics effort.

US assistance is necessary for even limited success in Pakistan. Current levels of US aid will likely resort in marginal victories in Pakistan and decreased amounts of Southwest Asia heroin entering the US. In the case of Pakistan, US assistance can only help that country.

Guyant, Maurice L. (Kauppi) OCT 1989

Soviet-Iranian Relations Since 1979

Conventional wisdom states Iranian-Soviet relations are influenced primarily by four factors: the Soviet's history of invading Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, and the conflict between socialism and Islam. It is popularly believed that these factors are obstacles to improved relations between Iran and the USSR.

The author demonstrates the relationship is not that simple. This thesis refutes conventional wisdom by concluding that in addition to being issues of policy divergence, the four factors listed above simultaneously provide issues of policy convergence, encouraging Moscow and Tehran to maintain mutually beneficial ties through even the most demanding times. Neither Moscow nor Tehran have allowed these factors to irreparably damage their mutually beneficial relationship, as both desire its continuation.

The role these factors have played in Iranian-Soviet relations is examined through their effect on five Soviet foreign policy goals: increased Soviet influence and the concurrent reduction of US influence; the territorial integrity of the

Soviet Union; the maintenance of relations with movements not enjoying governmental recognition; acceptance as a superpower; and avoidance of military confrontation with the US.

Iran's central role in superpower relations, especially with regard to superpower security interests, is discussed. The four periods of Soviet-Iranian relations during the first 80 years of the 20th Century are examined, followed by the period from 1979-1988. Also discussed are the relationships between socialism and Islam and speculation on the political scene in Iran now that Khomeini is dead.

Hagigh, David M. (Nafsinger) AUG 1990

The Issue of a European Regional Satellite Monitoring Agency (RMSA)

Commercial satellite technology has made significant advances in recent years. Commercial satellite companies and their governments and customers are beginning to realize how valuable a tool advanced satellite imagery can be. These developments have sparked interest in Europe to explore the possibility of establishing a European-based satellite monitoring agency. A European space monitoring consortium may emerge in response to commercial advances. Such activity is expected to change US relations with its various European NATO allies.

This paper addresses the possibility of a European space monitoring capability being used in large part to monitor future conventional arms control agreements. Such an effort would be difficult to justify for a number of monetary and technical reasons despite strong political desires to do so. The argument assumes that even though it is not a good concept, the underlying reality is the US-European intelligence relationship is apt to be affected by future conventional force agreements in Europe, possibly leading to increased US sharing of its satellite imagery with its European allies.

The paper is not an examination of commercial remote sensing but an attempt to determine the possible effects of European space reconnaissance on future arms control monitoring regimes.

Harbin, Kenneth S. (Marsh) JUN 1990

The Evolution and Process of Economic Development Planning in Malaysia (1950-1975)

Today Malaysia is a stable democratic government dedicated to economic development, blessed with abundant natural resources, a small population, and a small but dynamic and growing manufacturing sector. Between the formation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948 and 1975, Malaysia achieved a remarkable economic performance, with real growth averaging close to seven percent, inflation about five percent, and a large trade surplus. Other socioeconomic factors contributed to an overall noteworthy economic performance over the past two and a half decades. These and other internal factors have been responsible for one of the smoothest economical and political progressions from colonialism to self government for any nation in Southeast Asia.

The only significant periods of serious political, economic, or social challenge for the country were the Emergency (1948-1960), the Confrontation with Indonesia (1963), and the racial rioting of 1969. The 1969 riots highlighted the dangers inherent in a multiracial society when ethnic prejudices are exacerbated by economic disparities. Malaysia's political leaders, spurred by the need to eliminate conditions perceived as causes of racial discord, formulated the New Economic Policy, which was incorporated in the Second Malaysia Plan (1970-75).

This thesis examines the economic planning processes of the period 1950-75 and describes the evolution in economic planning methods which occurred between the old economic policies of the 1950s and 1960s and those that became the institutions of the New Economic Policy of 1971. It looks at the economic progress of the country between 1950-1975 and some of the key issues that faced planners in succeeding plans.

Headen, Thomas Y. (Garst) DEC 1989

Congressional Oversight and Accountability of the US Intelligence Agencies into the 1990s

The role of Congress in overseeing the intelligence community is an issue constantly under debate. Current oversight issues being considered and finding some resolve are the interpretation of the assassination ban, the implementation of an independent inspector general in CIA, and the ever present problem in dealing with unauthorized disclosures. In past and current legislative and executive branches, there has been an outcry for change to the oversight structure. To some, that change requires establishment of a Joint Committee on Intelligence. Based on circumstance, congressional rules, and administration, the suggestion of a Joint Committee on Intelligence has been facing an uphill struggle since 1955.

Congress and members of the Executive Branch feel the oversight structure and management of intelligence activities are working well. Additionally, the trust lost between the two political bodies during the Carter years is slowly rekindling itself. Consequently, the Bush Administration and Congress have been able to make significant strides in interpreting and devising new oversight mechanisms of intelligence activities. Additionally, the rapid change in foreign developments have increased the need for sound intelligence input toward the creation of foreign policy guidelines.

It is apparent that oversight is here to stay and the chance of it increasing in the future is very good. Therefore, the requirement for understanding between Congress and the Executive Branch is essential for the successful operation of intelligence activities.

Headen, Thomas Y. (Collins) DEC 1989

DoD Increases Role in its Role on Drugs: Limitations, Considerations, and Recommendations

DoD is attacking the drug problem through substantial efforts in assisting the Federal Government to reduce both the demand for and the supply of illegal drugs. The war on drugs is expensive, and over the last few years Congress has looked increasingly to the direct use of DoD resources in the drug-control effort.

Legislation supporting that effort was passed in 1989. The National Defense Authorization Act of 1989 assigned DoD as the lead agency to monitor and detect aerial and maritime transit of illegal drugs into the US; to integrate US command, control, communications, and technical intelligence into an effective communications network; and to approve and fund the state governors' plans for the expended use of the National Guard in support of drug interdiction. In addition, President Bush submitted a National Drug Control Strategy to Congress in September 1989.

Legislation limiting DoD's role in interdiction is the Posse Comitatus Act which prohibits the use of the Air Force and Army to execute US laws except as otherwise permitted by the Constitution or Act of Congress. As the flow of illegal drugs into the US increases, so will motion on the Hill to amend this Act. As increasing demands persist, Congress will have to decide to what extent DoD will become involved in drug interdiction.

Hickernell, Robert B. (Leighton) SEP 1990

Active Measures as an Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy During the Gorbachev Era: A Declining Technique or Renewed Effort?

Soviet use of active measures has a long history, one the West only recently became aware of, both in frequency and scope. Key defectors provided a vivid picture of Soviet active measures and the means adopted to keep them secret.

Active measures are a unique feature of the Soviet political mindset used to achieve political objectives. Active measures are principally a tactic for fostering political, diplomatic, and world public opinion. Active measures include both overt and clandestine operations, including use of agents of influence, disinformation, fabrication, diversion, military deception, provocation, forgeries, use of front organizations, and manipulation of the press in pursuit of political

or military objectives. Controlled at the highest level of the Soviet government, active measures are employed to place the Soviets in the best possible light in the target country, create dissention among rival factions there, turn foreign public opinion in a pro-Soviet direction, and take up valuable time of the target country's resources in countering disinformation. The Soviets believe in the power of active measures as a coordinated effort to achieve their political goals, and they view active measures as a very cost effective and worthwhile endeavor to be used in pursuit of their foreign policy objectives.

Hill, Kathleen M. (Eisenhaur) OCT 1989

Laws, Policies, and Procedures governing US Intelligence: Are They Enough?

The intelligence community has been plagued over the years with scandals traced to improprieties within its various agencies. Cries for new legislation to tighten control of the US intelligence apparatus have followed every major scandal. Investigations have generally concluded that intelligence agencies are performing their respective functions reasonably well but that there is room for improvement in the laws and policies governing their activities.

This paper explores some of the more recent incidents of intelligence agencies working outside the established legal framework, the results of the investigations which followed, and the recommendations offered to solve the problems. Few recommendations of the various investigating committees have been implemented. Policies outlined in Executive Orders have had real impact on control of the intelligence community. The potential for abuse within the existing framework is as high as it ever was, not because the laws are flawed, but because of the human factor required to implement them.

Hill, Kathleen M. (Harris) APR 1990

The Muslim in Soviet Society

The USSR is going through a period of tremendous change. Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika have opened a Pandora's box of nationality and ethnic issues, some of which threaten to destroy the state. There have been incidents of violence in several areas of the USSR over nationality and ethnic questions.

Nowhere has the violence been more widespread than in the Muslim Republics. Muslims of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus have long been in the Russian shadow. Though they may have received better treatment under Soviet control than under the tsars, Muslims have not necessarily been treated fairly. Discrimination against Muslims is common in the USSR, even in the Muslim republics. Domestic as well as international considerations are forcing Soviet leaders to reassess attitudes and policies toward the growing Muslim population.

Hines, Ralph L. (Haaga) SEP 1989

The United States War Against Bolivian Cocaine Production: The Policy Issues

This paper presents a case study of US Government policy towards Bolivia in combating the American drug problem. Emphasis is placed on US policies directed at Bolivia as a host (source) country, and include eradication/crop substitution, internal interdiction, economic sanctions, and diplomacy. Also addressed is the 1988 Bolivian drug law, to include discussions concerning possible implications and opposition.

Inherent in any program of this magnitude are problems which must be dealt with. A portion of this paper is devoted to discussing the problems encountered by the US Government in the implementation of these policies. The conclusion includes an analytical summary concerning present US policies and why so many consider them unsuccessful.

Hoellerer, Joseph E. (Smith) APR 1990

Soviet Maskirovka and the August 1968 Surprise Storm of Czechoslovakia

Soviet maskirovka practices can be traced to the days of Tsarist Russia. Because the Soviets in general seem to have a penchant for deception and secrecy, maskirovka should not be associated strictly with military thought and operations. However, the Soviet military is a frequent and clever perpetrator of maskirovka. Its employment in the Great Patriotic War helped the Soviets achieve surprise in several of the war's major campaigns.

Most Westerners do associate maskirovka with Soviet military operations, a somewhat narrow approach to the concept. It actually encompasses a broad range of practices employed by both the Soviet military and polity. These include camouflage, concealment, denial, secrecy, and security. Adding to the complexity of the problem, there is no exact equivalent in Western doctrine for maskirovka. Western analysts should focus on the concept as a whole rather than individual parts. Simply defined, maskirovka is a system of measures designed to mislead, conceal, confuse, and misrepresent in order to gain competitive advantage.

This paper examines the Kremlin's recipe for the joint surprise invasion of Czechoslovakia. It focuses on the political-military maskirovka employed prior to the invasion, connecting those aspects to some of the unexpected, clever methods designed to inflict and exploit surprise at H-hour. The case illustrates the vulnerability of analysts, politicians, and military decisionmakers to cleverly executed maskirovka; no one is immune. It serves as both example and caution, for if history is an indicator, we can expect the Soviets will continue to use so effective a tool.

Hooker, Gregory T. (Parchomenko) AUG 1990

The Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security

The Gorbachev leadership has introduced a radically different process for formulating Soviet national security policy in which parliamentary oversight is an important and promising feature. This paper examines on important legislative committee, the Committee for Defense and State Security (KOGB), to illustrate the incipient trend toward a rule-of-law state in the USSR.

The paper focuses on the KOGB's purpose, organization, activities, and trends and concludes that the KOGB has the potential to be very influential in Soviet politics, but so far has played a rather passive role.

Hyland, Francis P. (Kauppi) SEP 1989

Armenian Terrorism: The Past, the Present, the Prospects

The socio-political background that led to the formations of the groups or "well-springs" of Armenian terrorism are laid out in this paper. Commonalities among Armenian terrorist groups, other ethnic terrorist groups, and state-supported terrorist groups were also identified. Evidence on the supporting infrastructure of terrorist cells and the affiliations of Armenian terrorist groups with organizations within the Armenian diaspora was gathered from hundreds of individual sources. Of particular interest from the counterterrorism standpoint is the indication that treating terrorist groups like any other organization, with inputs, processes, and outputs, appears to hold promise for enhancing counter-terrorism efforts.

On the subject of Armenian terrorism, it is clear that the groups never represented a threat to the Turkish government. Further, this upsurge of Armenian terrorism was but one wave in a continuing series throughout Armenian history whenever the cause of Armenian freedom from oppression has not been advanced to the satisfaction of significant numbers of Armenians.

On the more general subject of counterterrorism research, the systems approach paid dividends. When a terrorist group is segmented into its organizational subsets, leadership, communications, training, funding, recruitment, logistics, travel, etc., the segments present opportunities to intervene in the ongoing process of attack preparation. Finally, we

can expect that, since the underlying causes of Armenian terrorism have not been ameliorated, more waves will appear in the future.

Jaworoski, Mark E. (Richstein) SEP 1990

CFE and Soviet Military Reform

The "new political thinking" of Gorbachev has profoundly changed all aspects of Soviet society. His program to reform the ailing economy by easing international tensions has produced a surge of interest in conventional arms control and substantial movement on the Soviet side. Gorbachev's initiatives to stress defensiveness, redefine military doctrine, and reduce conventional forces highlight the attention given by the Soviets to arms control.

In March of 1989, the Warsaw Pact and NATO initiated force reduction talks to build down the military confrontation in Europe. The precursor, the talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions, lasted 15 years and failed to make a dent. The new talks in Vienna, officially called the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, or CFE for short, hold greater promise as the Soviets appear willing to make very large cuts in their armaments.

The objectives of these negotiations are to establish a secure and stable balance of conventional forces at lower levels, eliminate destabilizing disparities, and prevent either side from launching a surprise attack or initiating a large-scale offensive.

The CFE talks have made rapid progress and a treaty will most likely be concluded before the end of 1990. Its enlarged scope and verification proposals will provide an important foundation for a new European order. Reducing the NATO threat, at least as perceived by the Soviets, will allow them to create the army they need, and, most of all, can afford. Their new ground force structure will be analogous to the US Total Force, a mixed cadre-militia system. It will consist of a professional force filling the ranks of combined-arms and mechanized units, and part-time soldiers serving their local militias in strictly "defensive fortification" units.

The composition of future Soviet ground forces will indeed reflect the new defensive doctrine, and in combination with the verification and confidence building measures of the CFE Treaty, will help put an end to the destabilizing force imbalance which has plagued Europe for over four decades.

Jenkins, Timothy N. (Finan) DEC 1989

Coming Down From The Mountains: The Role of Urban Operations In Latin American Insurgencies

Because of the success of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, insurgent movements throughout Latin America looked to Cuba as a model to emulate. Castro's emphasis on rural guerrilla warfare developed into the Foco Theory, espoused by Guevara and Regis Debray. In developing the theory, Guevara and Debray down-played, if not neglected altogether, the contribution of the anti-Batista urban underground. Thus, when revolutionary leaders throughout the region attempted to reproduce Castro's success, they developed inadequate strategies that overlooked the necessity of urban tactics.

The focus of this study is to determine the impact of urban operations in the successful Marxist revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, and what role they play (and will play) in Sendero Luminoso's current insurgency in Peru.

In order to make these determinations, the insurgencies were analyzed through the overall strategy, leadership, and key events of the three revolutions. Information for this analysis was obtained through primary and secondary sources produced by theoreticians, historical analysts, and participants in these insurgencies.

In the final analysis, urban operations were absolutely critical in the successful revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua. In Peru, events indicate that Sendero Luminoso, although a threat to the government, is evolving toward more reliance on operations in the cities despite their fanatical dedication to the concept of a prolonged people's war based in rural regions.

Jones, Jennifer C. (Haaga) SEP 1989

Mexican Opium Eradication Programs of the 1970s

During the 1970s, the US approached Mexico with aid for opium and marijuana eradication programs to help combat the increasing US drug problem. These programs proved very successful in the short term. Through the 1970s, good cooperation between the Mexican federal police and the US Drug Enforcement Administration highlighted the programs and promoted the success of eradication efforts. Besides the eradication campaign, a crackdown by both Mexico and the US on drug traffickers helped stop the supply of heroin to the US. However, the eradication programs were mainly responsible for drying up the "Mexican connection" at the source, and thus, the flow of "Mexican brown" heroin into American cities.

The Mexican eradication programs can provide a short term model for the US to follow with other producer countries, under similar circumstances of cooperation, the lack of a competing drug source, and the means with which to combat production. Mexico's model probably would apply only in the case of drug production, rather than drug transshipment. In other circumstances, however, success cannot be assured, especially if US aid is more restricted than it was in Mexico or if short term efforts are offset by an increase of drug production from another source or country. Amiable political conditions between the US and another country are extremely beneficial as a prerequisite for eradication campaigns, however, they are not absolutely necessary.

Kaynor, Donald G. (Haaga) SEP 1989

Colombian Narco-Insurgency and US Foreign Policy

There is no doubt that Colombian drug cartels and guerilla movements have worked together. These connections have certainly increased the threat each group presents to the Colombian government. Their relationships have been marked by frequent violence between the partners. By all outward appearances, they are simply marriages of convenience, but while the alliances do last, they allow both *narcotraficantes* and insurgents to operate more effectively, and, thereby, increase pressure on Bogota.

The Colombian government has traditionally regarded the insurgents as the greater of the two threats. The dangerous potential of the narco-insurgent ties and growing domestic drug consumption have caused Bogota to worry more about drug lords in the last several years, and there are indications that the Colombian Army will begin to play a more active role in anti-narcotics policy.

The issue of Colombian narco-insurgency has sparked much emotional rhetoric within the US government, but it has resulted in remarkably little substantive policy activity. Although no specific policies have resulted, narcoguerrilla rhetoric has inadvertently helped the fight against both drugs and insurgents by generating increased support for the Colombian government throughout the US and particularly in Congress.

Even with increased support for Bogota, the US lacks a coherent strategy. In the future, the threat of Colombian narco-insurgency will undoubtedly continue to receive attention, but it will only be one element in the overall US policy to fight drugs in Latin America.

La Pierre, Francis J., Jr. (Haaga) DEC 1989

Defining Narcoterrorism and Its Affects on US Policy and Analytical Strategy

This paper addresses the issue of narcoterrorism and its policy provisions for the US. The term is used to describe the involvement of terrorist and insurgent groups in drug trafficking. It has been over five years since narcoterrorism was recognized as a problem, and only recently was it given serious consideration within the US intelligence community. Serious doubts have been raised as to the connotations and completeness of the term narcoterrorism.

The combination of narcotics trafficking and terrorism into a single threat poses a unique problem for enforcement officials. Terrorism, in most cases, is a threat countered with military strategy. Drug trafficking has traditionally been

the responsibility of law enforcement agencies. In the US, the Drug Enforcement Agency and the US Customs Service are heavily involved in interdiction and enforcement. The FBI deals with domestic terrorists and drug trafficking. Additionally, the FBI is becoming more involved with international issues that impact the US. The US intelligence community has become a key player in dealing with this new threat of narcoterrorism.

More specifically, the new threat has challenged the community to create new collection strategies in an attempt to counter narcoterrorism. As the US military becomes more involved with the drug enforcement effort, the involvement of the intelligence community will become critical in aiding the services prior to and during interdiction operations. Drug trafficking and terrorism have both become issues which have steered the reformulation of both the US foreign policy and national security policy.

President Bush will be presenting the US strategy in September, 1989. Narcoterrorism will need to be addressed as a viable threat, as evidenced by recent developments in Colombia. Recognizing narcoterrorism as an international problem will allow analysts to begin a data base of information on which to base predictions and methods of countering the threat.

Manganaro, Anne C. (Harris) JUN 1990

Europe 1992: Scenarios with a Reunified Germany

The next several months will usher in great changes in Europe sparked by the upheaval in the East. Perhaps the most dramatic development will be the reunification of Germany. This paper discusses how a united Germany might affect the European Community's (EC) plans to achieve a single internal market by the end of 1992. Analysis is divided into four sections: explanation of "Europe 1992," its status and problem areas; a description of West Germany's current role in the EC and the role it had anticipated playing in 1992 before reunification became an issue; a practical discussion of what reunification will entail; and four scenarios for a reunified Germany within the context of Europe 1992.

Scenarios range from the rosiest to the most alarming prospects. Although the situation is still evolving, elements of all four scenarios are already emerging, demonstrating that a combination of effects is most likely. The role that Germany will play in the "New Europe" is yet to be determined. No matter how distracted Germany becomes, however, this paper indicates that European integration on some level is inevitable for survival in the global economy.

Manganaro, Anne C. (Reed) AUG 1990

Security in Europe: Changes to Reflect Post-Cold War Realities

Revolutions in Eastern Europe and reforms in the USSR have prompted questions about the relevance of existing military alliances. Government leaders and the popular press have declared that a new system for security in Europe must evolve; the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has been proposed to fill that role. It seems a perfect choice: the mechanism is already established, the interested parties are already participants, and the agenda already includes security issues. However, little analysis has been done on the ramifications of changing the system for protecting security in Europe.

This paper discusses the role of NATO in the post-Cold War era: whether it thinks it has one, and whether its members' publics think it does. It explores the much-heralded but rather obscure CSCE process, providing background on its inception and original goals and how it might be expanded and changed to fulfill current requirements. It also analyzes how these two security organizations might interact, what role the US might play, and how Germany fits in.

NATO still plays a vital role in European security, and the US must continue its strong participation in the Alliance. CSCE can serve as a forum for general security discussions but focus its major efforts in other areas such as human rights and environmental concerns. As long as CSCE maintains its principle of decision by consensus, it will never be the sole policeman of Europe. Commitment of the new Germany to the pan-European ideals of economic, political, and security matters will be the key to the future of a united Europe.

Martinson, Peter (Eisenhaur) SEP 1989

The Army Language Program: It Is Broken?

The purpose of this paper is to examine the US Army intelligence community's historical needs for foreign language skills, to determine how well it fulfilled those needs, and to identify what, if any, lessons were learned. The paper will also describe the reasons for the management failure of the last 15 years and the resulting cadre of under-qualified intelligence linguists. Finally, it will offer a solution to correct this problem.

The study revealed a three-step process which supports the army's intelligence linguist community: initial training, proficiency maintenance, and proficiency improvement. From this triad, three conclusions were reached. Initial language training at the DLIFLC will not provide the Army with a cadre of qualified linguists until the vast majority of basic course graduates meet the school's graduation criteria. Proficiency maintenance as currently conducted is seriously deficient and must be restructured so that part of it is conducted in resident status at regional training centers. Proficiency improvement will not occur until the Army professionalizes this specialty, pays linguists what they are worth, and develops regular career progression.

Without immediate and fundamental changes the Army will find it increasingly difficult to maintain linguistic capability as a combat multiplier.

McConville, James E. (Harris) AUG 1990

CSCE: What It Was, and What It Can Be

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has been an important arms control initiative. From the Helsinki Final Act to the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, the advances in European security cooperation and management made by CSCE have taken a back-seat to the initiatives put forward through more traditional arms control negotiations.

In light of the massive changes currently taking place in the military and political character of the European community, CSCE will grow in importance in comparison with traditional, alliance based, arms control initiatives. Due to its reliance on multinational, cooperative agreement, and not on hard fought negotiations based on the NATO-Warsaw Pact conflict, this paper finds CSCE more capable of managing the peace of Europe in the new multipolar society. In order to continue to thrive, however, it will be necessary for the CSCE member nations to develop alternate strategies for the enforcement of agreements arrived at through the conference. Only by assuming some of the stronger enforcement and regulatory functions vital to traditional arms control initiatives will CSCE be able to overcome its image as a weak and voluntary security forum.

The nations of Europe are moving from a system of collective security to one of common security. The unnatural division of the continent along East-West lines is fading away. While traditional arms control may become an anachronism, CSCE, based on multinational cooperation, will rise in importance in the maintenance of peace in the region.

McConville, James E. (Richstein) SEP 1990

No First Use Policy in the New World

The many changes which have occurred in the international military situation as a result of the breakup of the Warsaw Pact and the disintegration of the Soviet military have called into question the basic notions that underlie all US defense doctrine. Nowhere is this more evident than in the realm of nuclear strategy. Faced with a new set of threats, it is necessary to develop a new strategy to deter, and failing that, defeat those new threats.

By analyzing the logic of nuclear deterrence and the strategy of flexible response, one concludes a new strategy of No First Use would be better able to address the challenges existing in the emerging international order. The diminished conventional threat posed by the USSR and Warsaw Pact, the changing nature of the NATO alliance, revelations about

the lack of military utility in nuclear forces, and the rise of Third World threats all combine to invalidate the reasoning behind flexible response. A new strategy of No First Use of Nuclear Weapons, if adopted by the US, would better address these changes.

A strategy of deterrence must be based on what one is trying to deter. In order to fulfill the requirements of a No First Use strategy, the Strategic Defense Initiative is useful, if not necessary. For this reason, the US should withdraw from the provisions of the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. In terms of other arms control initiatives, no conflict exists between No First Use policy and current arms control initiatives.

McGoogan, J. Thomas (Parker) SEP 1990

From the Same Sheet of Music: Analyzing the Enemy's Infrastructure with New Technologies

Recently, new technologies have emerged to help infuse the realities of a complex battlefield into the Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield (IPB) process. This paper proposes a shift in how the enemy may be detected by better applying emerging technologies and by doing a better job in integrating this information into the IPB process to enhance the efficiency of our operations. This shift will also improve the effectiveness of IPB itself by projecting a far greater amount of accurate enemy situation data into the intelligence analysis.

This paper proposes the use of continuous wide-area radar surveillance to cue more detailed surveillance systems for verification of the target and subsequent entry into target fire control systems. Through continuous detection of the total enemy infrastructure and application of this knowledge to the threat integration phase of the IPB process, it is possible to significantly improve the accuracy of the IPB analysis and support for battlefield decisions.

Continuous, detailed wide area surveillance will allow the commander to view the enemy as he is actually arrayed, not as he is doctrinally templated. This type of detection will help develop an understanding of the actual combat situation and peer through the fog of war to cue target acquisition assets to the enemy's high payoff targets and culminating points. Such an acquisition system, with an emphasis on detecting the enemy as a structure, would allow the analyst to move beyond the templating process and to actually blueprint the enemy.

McGoogan, J. Thomas (Parker) SEP 1990

Secrecy and Surprise: The Entwined Contributions of Deception and Operational Security

Operational Security (OPSEC) and deception have been used together since the beginnings of organized warfare. Certainly, the building of the Trojan horse and the plan for its employment was obscured from the Trojans. Both deception and OPSEC have been used to protect forces, gain initiative, and exploit the enemy's vulnerabilities.

Unfortunately, in terms of integration with the plans of US forces, deception and OPSEC are all too rarely practiced in light of the importance of these elements on the battlefield. To date, a joint manual for the joint use of deception in doctrine has only recently been initiated. The US seems reluctant to embrace deception as it was initially mistrusted by American forces in World War II. Before the utility of deception was seen by example from the British, deception and many elements of OPSEC were placed in the "too hard to do category." With the historical perspective of deception and OPSEC as war winning skills, this reluctance of US commanders is a disturbing trend.

Possibly because OPSEC is somewhat more tangible to commanders, most references to deception are in terms of its support to OPSEC. However, deception is considerably more complicated and useful than just in the form of OPSEC support. A more robust view of deception, if used in tandem with OPSEC techniques, may provide substantial multiplication of US capabilities in combat.

McKinney, Anne Elizabeth Shade (Harris) AUG 1990

Th : Fulfillment of Adenauer's Vision

Out of the defeat and devastation of World War II, West Germany has emerged as an economic powerhouse with profound international influence. The first leader of the Federal Republic, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, made foreign policy decisions which have set West Germany on its course to today's success. Helmut Kohl, 40 years later, is completing Adenauer's postwar agenda by overseeing the last steps towards German unification and the inclusion of a free Germany in a free, united Europe.

Adenauer led his countrymen in confronting their past and in assuming a "special" responsibility to promote peace and ensure war would never again originate from German soil. Kohl has also supported this continuing process of facing the past in order to deal with the present and future; by so doing, he has been able to link Germany to a larger European structure, thus mitigating fears of a resurgence of a strong, hegemonic Germany. Kohl's accord with Gorbachev at Stavropol marked the acceptance of a free, united Germany firmly in the West, overcoming the last remaining obstacle of the Adenauer vision.

This paper examines the contributions of the two Rhinelanders to current prosperity, security, and freedom of Germany and to her future prospects. Franco-German reconciliation and partnership are the core of postwar and contemporary policy. Once the Federal Republic was rooted in the West, Adenauer and his successors turned East and made overtures to Moscow. An opening was achieved and built upon, leading step-by-step to this year's climactic events, with social and monetary German union achieved and political union soon to follow. By creating a European Germany, the two Rhinelanders succeeded in overcoming the past and placing a free, united Germany at the helm of a free, united Europe.

McKinney, Anne Elizabeth Shade (Leighton) SEP 1990

Soviet-German Relations in the 1990s: A New "Rapallo" Spirit?

An ostensibly simple treaty signed by Germany and the USSR in 1922 at the small Italian resort town of Rapallo marked the culmination of an era of Soviet-German pacts. The two pariahs of the day, Bolshevik Russia and defeated Germany, turned to each other for economic, political, and military support. The combination of Soviet size and resources with German industrial and technological strength threatened the security and confidence of the Western powers, and the Rapallo era set into motion the rearming of Germany and acceptance of Bolshevik government into the community of nations.

The historical, cultural, economic, and intellectual bonds between the Russian and German peoples linked them together long before Lenin suggested the "natural alliance" between the two nations. Theirs is a special relationship. The duality of Soviet foreign policy, however, and the shifting alliances of the twentieth century have caused severe repercussions for the USSR, Germany, and their neighbors.

Today, the Soviets are again turning to their strongest neighbor at a time of great uncertainty and need. Soviet ideology is being set aside in favor of practical interests. For their part, the Germans offer assistance willingly, since the Soviets hold the key to German aspirations for full sovereignty and a free and united country. The agreement reached by Gorbachev and Kohl at Stavropol in July 1990 is the key marker of this new era of Soviet-German relations. The partners of Rapallo are again cooperating to their mutual benefit.

McLaughlin, Jena H. (Marsh) SEP 1989

Philippine Insurgency: Overcoming Flaws

The insurgency of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is twenty years old. For a country where insurgency is so revered and so much a part of the nationalist psyche, and where the frustration level of the common man is so high, the CPP is not doing nearly as well as it ought to be. Government forces and services have not improved to an extent

that would significantly affect their efforts against the insurgency, and without major policy changes, the Philippine government will not be able to contain insurgent growth during the next year or the foreseeable future. There are two factors that limit CPP growth and effectiveness: its weaknesses and the peculiarities of the Filipino himself.

Insurgency will remain a viable form of social protest in the Philippines for the foreseeable future, but probably will not endanger the country's survival in its present form unless a new catalyst, similar to the assassination of Benigno Aquino, sparks new growth.

Megill, Todd A. (Richstein) SEP 1990

Competitive Strategies and Conventional Arms Control: Complementary or Conflicting Concepts?

Does the concept of competitive strategies conflict with the aims and objectives of conventional arms control negotiations, or is it a complementary methodology? This paper explores the concept of competitive strategies, starting with a history of its development within DoD. Discussion focuses on the aims of competitive strategies and how this methodology is employed. Concepts are then compared to Soviet strategy formulation methodology, correlation of forces, which is similar.

The Soviets do not like the idea of the US implementing competitive strategies, fearing this will lead to a conventional arms race. The USSR could not compete with the West, due to its deteriorating economic situation and the West's lead in microelectronics. The use of competitive strategies in the intelligence community, the CFE talks, and within the US government is also discussed.

Competitive strategies probably will not be fully implemented in US national security policy formulation. The factors impeding its use are primarily political and perceptional in nature. The greatest use for competitive strategies should be by the intelligence community as an analytical tool. This is an excellent means of focusing analysis and understanding threat perceptions. It is a flexible enough concept that is can help identify projected future threats and trends in national military policy.

Megill, Todd A. (Parker) AUG 1990

Operations Security in the 21st Century: A Working Strategy

Last year's years events forever changed the precepts of international relations that have existed since the end of World War II. The decline of the East-West conflict has allowed a resurgence of other factors in world affairs. International relations and conflicts are derived primarily from three aspects: economics, diplomacy, and military power. With the lessening of tensions between the two dominant superpowers, emphasis upon economic productivity and capability has increased. This emphasis on economic matters is linked with the realization of the interdependence of nation states in the world economy.

To protect information vital to achieving security and national well being, operations security (OPSEC) was developed. Used initially in World War II and rediscovered during the Vietnam War, OPSEC seeks to identify critical information in terms of a specific threat and develop countermeasures to protect the information.

The new world environment calls for new strategies to help achieve policy goals and objectives. OPSEC operates well in this environment because it is a dynamic process rather than a specific strategy. Protecting critical information is crucial to all aspects of international relations. OPSEC has just begun to expand from its traditional support of military operations into protecting technological and economic information. OPSEC requires that the system that seeks to apply the process needs to intimately understand its own operations and how it creates or uses information. Operational Security requires organizational operational efficiency in order to be successful.

Michalke, Wolfgang R. (Marsh) SEP 1990

Gorbachev's Peace Offensive: The Chinese Front

Since 1983, Western scholars noted Chinese and Soviet efforts to improve the openly hostile relationship which has existed between the two countries. Recent expansion of trade and increase in diplomatic exchanges have signalled the end of Sino-Soviet estrangement and the beginning of a new detente.

Despite the promising signs, China continued to be upset at the USSR's refusal to meet its preconditions of peace. Continued Soviet military buildups caused China to view Soviet peace initiatives with distrust. China refuse to shake the hand of the USSR, fearing there was a dagger in the other. Many believed the differences were irreconcilable and would keep the two nations at arms length for the foreseeable future.

In a series of bold moves first outlined in Vladivostok in 1986, Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev met and even exceeded China's demands for normalization. By May 1989, the two countries declared full normalization of relations.

Immediately after the historic Beijing Summit, the Tiananmen Square massacre occurred. Since then, China has gone through a period of retrenchment and return to more orthodox communist doctrine. This is in sharp contrast to the continuing radical political reform in the USSR. Though the widening ideological gulf has again caused problems for the relationship, both have shown a commitment to expand trade, diplomatic, and military ties to resolve conflicts through peaceful means.

Most of the recent studies on Sino-Soviet relations reflect the Chinese viewpoint. This paper stresses the Soviet point of view. The USSR took the initial and key follow-up steps to improve the relationship. The USSR has met all of China's conditions for normalization without imposing any of its own. This successful campaign has been a major foreign policy priority for the USSR.

Morgan, Cheryl (Gross) JUN 1990

Afghanistan: The International Civil War

One year after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, it is apparent that there will be no quick military victory to end what has become an international civil war. Neither the Kabul Regime nor the Mujahideen Resistance is capable of mounting sustained offensive operations. Neither has developed a plan to successfully exploit its enemy's weaknesses. At the same time, neither the US nor the USSR appears ready to significantly reduce arms supplies to the combatants. As a result, the conflict has become a stalemate.

It is evident that the Regime and the Resistance both have military problems; each group's weakest link is its respective political element. The internal politics in Kabul and Peshawar have exacerbated attempts to correct military deficiencies. At the same time, internal political struggles have themselves been exacerbated by international interference and attempts to impose a foreign system of values and an international solution.

These problems and events are not new to the region or country of Afghanistan. By virtue of its geographic position, the people, country, and government have repeatedly been used to achieve international goals. The Anglo-Russian struggle was replaced by the US-USSR conflict. Because of these intrusions by foreign powers, Afghanistan's internal problems have been internationalized. Efforts by outsiders to resolve Kabul's problems have not addressed, but simply aggravated the problem.

The time has passed when either side can expect to win the war. Conflict persists because both sides continue to receive outside logistical support without which neither the insurgents nor the Kabul government can survive. An international agreement by the superpowers to disengage themselves from the war would allow, even force, the Afghans to seek a common goal and a mutual accommodation.

Mustapich, Charles A. (Allen) SEP 1990

Tactical Reconnaissance in South Vietnam: The 460th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing

This paper provides a glimpse into the tactical reconnaissance efforts of the US Air Force during the Vietnam War. Through analysis of unit histories and existing literature, this study provides a recounting of reconnaissance activity during the buildup period of US involvement in Vietnam (1961-1965), when the need for centralized control of USAF reconnaissance assets was identified. The events and issues which shaped the 460th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing, formed as a result of the need described above, are discussed, covering the timeframe of its existence from 1965 to 1971.

The experiences of the wing serve as an example of the problems caused by the lack of unity of command over US forces in Vietnam. Charged with providing reconnaissance products to US Army field commanders, the wing was never properly structured to perform this task. Instead, despite guidance form higher headquarters to the contrary, the US Seventh Air Force continued to organize the wing assets to provide support for the strategic USAF missions over North Vietnam.

Mutell, William J. (Sample) JUL 1990

An Examination of the Iran-Contra Scandal: Its Causes and Lessons Learned

The distortion of truths disclosed during the Iran-Contra investigation revealed a startling and equally alarming debate over whether it is morally or ethically proper to lie to the American people or their elected officials. Americans rallying behind former National Security Council Staff defenders Poindexter and North failed to grasp the seriousness of the larger issue: the violation of Constitutional laws.

Covert operations retain a certain romantic attractiveness. Those who follow these activities recognize their utility but also acknowledge the need for using them sparingly and with proper oversight.

Unfortunately, under President Reagan, chaos reached an apogee. He did not get involved in details and had the highest turnover of national security advisors (six in eight years). The Iran-Contra affair left the impression the NSC staff was an unelected government within a government, responsible to no one.

In testimony before Congress, North acknowledged he had intentionally lied to its members. His testimony and that of Poindexter, raised a fundamental question of military ethics: may an officer lie? If so, under what circumstances, to whom, and about what?

North's deception and his misdirected testimony to Congress do not possess the moral gravity necessary to justify his illegal actions. The Iran-Contra scandal demonstrated how strong convictions can lead to foreign policies of questionable legality and morality and further revealed that even the strictest provisions controlling convert operations inevitably are abused.

Mutell, William J. (Parker) AUG 1990

Operations Security Methodology: Techniques for Protecting US Army Special Access Programs

An operations security (OPSEC) "process model" and an OPSEC "decision onion" are two techniques for evaluating the security of a US Army special access program (SAP). SAPs are primarily composed of highly classified research and development projects and require controlled access. By providing OPSEC support to SAPs, we can preclude technology transfer of a program outside the US and prevent hostile intelligence exploitation of a SAP. This is accomplished by protecting the program's essential elements of friendly information (EEFI).

The OPSEC process consists of identifying the program EEFI and determining critical components to protect; assessing the threat; conducting vulnerability assessments; assessing program risks and weaknesses; applying countermeasures; and following up.

An alternative approach in evaluating the OPSEC condition of a SAP is the "decision onion." A SAP can be depicted as having layers of sensitivity surrounding its critical core. There are various techniques for protecting these layers. The innermost layers contain the most sensitive EEFI and must be protected at all costs. The outermost layers, although less vulnerable, may require the most immediate security response.

OPSEC methods discussed in the paper are intended to familiarize readers with techniques to protect critical US Army technology from hostile intelligence collection. Total security of a SAP is a hopeless effort; however, good OPSEC programs will reduce the likelihood of enemy exploitation of a SAP and guarantee a technological edge on the battlefield.

Naidamast, Edward B. (Eisenhaur) NOV 1989

National Security and the Media

The adversarial relationship that exists between government and the press is a relatively new phenomenon. During World War II, the press was frequently informed of military operations, but withheld this information to protect lives. In post-war foreign affairs, where the identity of the enemy is not always clear, the need for secrecy has become less obvious to the uninitiated.

Acting on its own, the media frequently publishes information that the government and, particularly, intelligence practitioners would prefer to withhold. Applying the public's "right to know," the press vigorously pursues stories pertaining to national security despite a classification system which was created to protect information associated with intelligence and foreign affairs.

Government has few available avenues to pursue against the press. Prior restraint has been attempted, but based on the precedent setting case *Near v Minnesota*, prior restraint has generally been ruled unconstitutional. Despite the government-imposed classification system and restrictions upon certain information, access to daily Government activity is ensured through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Created in 1967, the law enables citizens to solicit information from any federal agency. The law requires each agency to review every request and examine the validity of the classification. The act has been amended to protect intelligence and foreign affairs information.

The government also can restrict information from the public through "executive privilege," a concept first used by President Eisenhower. This concept has subsequently been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Naidamast, Edward B. (Blake) DEC 1989

Polygraphs and the US Intelligence Community

More than 80 years after it was first developed as a medical instrument, the polygraph has become a key tool in the field of US counterintelligence. Despite innumerable arguments, pro and con, polygraph examinations continue to be advocated as a reliable means of pre-screening prospective employees, periodically screening current employees, and exonerating the innocent.

Numerous studies have been conducted, but none have presented conclusive evidence that polygraph testing is a legitimate science. Some studies equate a polygraph examination to a coin flip, and almost all indicate significant false positive and false negative rates.

Studies reveal significant shortcomings that could have serious implications in the daily work environment. Additionally, the infinite number of variables that must be taken into consideration when conducting research prevent a practicable method of duplicating previous studies and results.

It is the dark reputation of the polygraph examination as a humiliating experience that maintains the instrument as an effective counterintelligence tool and promotes its unlimited use by the US intelligence community. The success experienced by federal agencies in eliciting confessions from job applicants and current employees suggests that despite the shortcomings of the polygraph examination, its use should be continued in the strictly controlled program currently established by the intelligence community.

Nelson, Bradford K. (Liptak) AUG 1990

Prospects for a US Drug Cartel: A Comparative Study of the Medellin Cocaine Cartel and US Drug-Trafficking Gangs

Powerful trafficking organizations, such as the Medellin cocaine cartel, have undermined political stability and public safety in Colombia. Moreover, the drug traffickers' influence is being felt throughout Latin America. To the US, the Medellin cartel is a paradigm of illicit power run amok.

Drug-related violence has turned parts of the US into combat zones. For the first time in several years, governmental ability to provide the "domestic tranquility" provided for in the constitution is being challenged. This challenge comes from drug-trafficking gangs who ruthlessly fight for control of the lucrative US drug market. Within the US, drug-related violence has grown from relatively isolated flurries involving dealers and suppliers to wholesale invasion of urban neighborhoods by gangs staking out and fighting for marketing turf.

This paper compares the drug cartels, primarily the Medellin, and the US gangs involved in trafficking drugs. Sociological, political, and motivational similarities of the two will expose the underlying framework that attracts these groups to drug trafficking. A variety of similarities will be presented: sociological aspects of class, ethnicity, legitimacy; the economics of supply and demand and the opportunities of entrepreneurs; the politics of money, influence, status, and power; and the utility of violence and intimidation as a means to an end.

Nestor, Mabelle (Finan) SEP 1989

What Is The Nature of the Peasant Coca Industry in Bolivia and the Outlook for Effective Control?

Coca farming peasants in Bolivia have become increasingly dependant on coca production for their livelihood. Bolivia itself relies on this trade for economic and political stability. Although most of the monies earned from Bolivian coca are illegal, the industry strengthens every year. The coca plant is ingrained in the traditions and culture of this South American society and is a major contributor in its economic survival.

In addition to being a financially lucrative crop, coca is also easy to grow and maintain from an agricultural standpoint. Bolivian coca farmers have formed federations and unions to give them a legitimate voice before the government.

Various attempts to resolve the issue of controlling the coca industry have been implemented in Bolivia with the aid of the US. However, these military oriented strategies, such as crop eradication and law enforcement operations, have had minimal success against this big business, high income industry. The outlook for effective control will remain bleak until the economy and stability of Bolivia rely on something other than coca.

O'Hara, Robert J. (Harris) JUN 1990

Four-Power Treaty Rights and German Reunification: Legal Rights vs. Political Reality

The reunification of Germany is an issue of tremendous importance, not only for West and East Germany, but also for European security and future US-USSR relations. The main protagonists are the FRG, the GDR, and the four World War II victors (US, UK, France, and USSR). The Four Powers still maintain vestigial treaty rights over both West and East Germany, which, if invoked, could threaten the fragile German-German rapprochement. Of particular interest, the status of Berlin is a crucial portion of the reunification debate.

Four-Power treaties and agreements must be examined in order to fully understand the historical post-war division of Germany and the forces still bearing on reunification. The views of Germany's NATO allies, the current thinking on the US side, and the prospects for Soviet agreement are also critical to the debate and are surveyed in detail.

This analysis of post-war and recent agreements and the relationships spawned by them gives the reader useful insight into the history of German division and the prospects for a peaceful transition to a new Germany.

Peshinski, Teresa A. (Harris) JUN 1990

USSR: Gorbachev's Approach to Lithuanian Unrest

Ethnic unrest in the USSR has escalated since Gorbachev's appointment as General Secretary in 1985. With the advent of his economic and social reforms have come perestroika, glasnost, democratization, and decentralization of power. These changes have increased public awareness of and support for local nationality issues and given rise to ethnic activism.

The problems Gorbachev is experiencing as a result of the new openness are numerous. This paper concerns itself with the ethnic and nationality problem on the smaller scale of Lithuania, and examines the historical background to aid in understanding the deep-rooted resentment of the Lithuanian people toward their "voluntary" incorporation into the USSR. Related factors impacting on the current unrest, the local action to achieve reform, and Gorbachev's approach to resolving the problem are addressed.

The eruption of the nationalities problem in Lithuania has occurred due to publication of the truth about events leading up to its loss of independence in 1939. Compounding the problem is the inability of Lithuania and Gorbachev to reach a common language. Lithuania's demands for economic, political, and social sovereignty are not reaching Gorbachev with the same meaning and intent. The situation is unlikely to move toward genuine resolution until one side or the other is willing to make the first move: concession.

The lack of action by the USSR is the underlying problem in escalating the Lithuanian ethnic unrest. Gorbachev has a hard job ahead of him. It appears that for perestroika to succeed, he must first quell the unrest. He must provide the various nationalities a solid program with definite goals for implementation. Even if he does, the question remains open whether it will be enough to quell the aspirations for freedom from Moscow's centralized control of people who see themselves as illegitimately joined to the USSR.

Powers, John J., Jr. (Haaga) SEP 1989

Targeting the Narcodollar: An Analysis and Critique of US Money Laundering Policy

The drug trade, by some accounts, is the fastest growing industry in the world. It has created a breed of shadowy billionaires who are as direct and canny in their business dealings as they are ruthless in executing deals, rivals, police, and judicial officials. They stay abreast of market conditions, change their methods to avoid arrest, and invest much of their earnings in legitimate enterprises.

This paper will first examine the various money laundering techniques and the methods which have been developed to combat them. It will then offer an analysis of these anti-laundering measures from the micro-prospective of whether they can halt money laundering activities; then from the macro-prospective concerning whether or not the curtailment of these activities, specifically money laundering, will be able to cripple drug trade within the US.

This is a war against economics. Money launderers are adept, inventive, and agile. They constantly devise new means of asset concealment and are able to shift their operations and techniques rapidly to take advantage of breaches in law enforcement defenses. Innumerable arrests and seizures in no way inhibit this lucrative business nor do they serve to extinguish this plaque that has invaded our society. Curtailment of the drug epidemic that has inflicted such agony on our nation lies in our ability to stop the narcodollar before it is reinvested.

Pruitt, Joni G. (Eisenhaur) SEP 1989

Impact of Separate Technical and Management Career Tracks on an Organization: A Case Study

The production of effective, timely and accurate intelligence depends on individual technical skills which cannot be mass produced. In recent years, due to changes in the work force, the target, and management philosophy, the preservation and cultivation of individual technical skills have become pressing concerns to the intelligence community. If these skills as analysts, collectors, processors, and other specialists diminish significantly, the quality of intelligence products can be expected to deteriorate to at least the same degree, and perhaps geometrically.

Several approaches are being taken to address this problem. One path involves the increased use of automation, especially of artificial intelligence (AI) techniques and expert systems. Another option involves organizational and training approaches, that is, the establishment of separate but interdependent technical and management career tracks for personnel development. This program was implemented by the National Security Agency at the major office level in the mid 1980s.

While it is still too early to tell if the program has been totally successful, results thus far have been promising, though there were a number of pitfalls which revealed themselves both during planning and implementation.

Quigley, William Joseph (Swenson) SEP 1990

The Role of National Intelligence Officers in the Intelligence-Policy Relationship

The most important aspect of the intelligence business is the relationship in has with its customers. The National Intelligence Officer (NIO) system was developed in 1973 to improve the intelligence-policy relationship by fostering greater interaction. It was established out of concern that the old system, the Office of National Estimates (ONE), had become irrelevant due to its self-imposed isolation.

This paper examines whether the NIO system has accomplished its primary goal. It outlines the reasons why the ONE was established, why it was abolished in favor of the NIO system, the principles upon which the NIO system is based, and the success of the NIO system.

Overall, the NIO system has accomplished its primary goal. NIOs have helped educate policymakers about how intelligence is collected, how judgements are made, and the types of intelligence products they can expect. NIOs have also helped improve the timeliness and relevance of National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs). Furthermore, as intelligence-policy mediators, they have managed to maintain their objectivity.

NIOs have been less successful in other areas, such as helping intelligence analysts gain access to important policy initiatives. In addition, placing NIOs under the NIC has forced NIOs to divide their allegiance between this parent organization and their role as intelligence-policy mediators.

The success of the NIO system has always depended on the people involved. The system allows the NIO a great deal of latitude and initiative, and there have been significant differences in how each NIO has performed his or her job because of different personal styles and energy levels. On the other hand, if the users of intelligence do not understand or appreciate the importance of close relations between intelligence and policy, no amount of effort by NIOs will be effective in bringing the two closer together.

Quigley, William Joseph (Vanderburg) AUG 1990

UNITA's Use of Terrorism as an Insurgent Tactic

Since 1975, a bitter and destructive civil war has been raging in Angola between the pro-Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the insurgent group National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi. With heavy Cuban and Soviet backing, the MPLA has been able to rule two-thirds of

the country and establish control of the government. UNITA has been confined to guerilla camps in the southeast part of the country, waging an insurgent campaign against the MPLA which has included the use of terrorism.

UNITA's use of terrorism has been designed to influence four audiences: the MPLA regime, the Soviet and Cuban military forces in Angola and their governments, international business and aid organizations, and the Angolan citizens. UNITA's campaign of terrorism has been only one of its tactics in the war against the MPLA, used to exaggerate the effectiveness of its overall guerilla strategy. It has been used as a violent form of coercion designed to hurt and intimidate its victims as a substitute for open military force.

Conditions in war-torn Angola have allowed UNITA to conduct terrorist attacks throughout the country with relative ease. The rebel group has clearly demonstrated that the MPLA government is too weak to protect the citizens of Angola. They live in constant fear of violence and starvation. However, as UNITA moves closer to its goal of forcing the MPLA into reconciliation, it will certainly face severe political repercussions from the hardships and brutalities it has visited on the people.

Reed, Joel Alan (Cigar) SEP 1990

Drifting Toward the Devil: Jordanian Politics and Superpower Cooperation

This paper addresses the Middle East policies of the US and USSR and how they may have influenced the stability of Jordan. Specifically, the paper addresses Jordanian support for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and examines some of the domestic issues and superpower policies which influenced Jordan's support of the action. The relative stability of Jordan's economy, politics, Islamic religion, and military are examined in some detail.

The paper concludes that both domestic considerations and superpower policies have caused a growing domestic instability in Jordan. Because Jordan's tacit support for Iraq may threaten its economic and political survival, Jordan's fate as an Arab democracy may well rest with its ability to play a central role in negotiating a peaceful settlement to the current Persian Gulf crisis.

Rice, Tina L. (Sample) JUN 1990

Ethics, Leadership, and Lithuania

Mikhail Gorbachev is credited as the leader responsible for promoting the sweeping democratic changes which have shaken Eastern Europe and the USSR. This moral man, as he has been described, is intent on enforcing a more humane and democratic form of socialism. Perestroika, glasnost, democratization, and "new political thinking" have invigorated independence movements across the continent of Europe.

This wave of self-determination which crested over Europe did not stop at the Soviet borders. The Baltic Republics and, in particular, Lithuania, implemented Gorbachev's reforms with fervor. Lithuania restructured its economic and political systems to conform with the tenets of perestroika. Glasnost enabled the Lithuanian people to speak their mind on previously taboo subjects and exposed the illegal pact and protocols of 1939 which resulted in the forced annexation and occupation by the USSR. Democratization, coupled with perestroika, enabled opposition groups to become institutionalized through elections. Gorbachev's advocation of self-determination in "new political thinking" served to fuel nationalist sentiment and promote hope for Lithuania's independence. Thus, the Lithuanian drive for independence was mandated by Gorbachev until the 11 March 1990 Lithuanian declaration of independence. From this point on, Gorbachev's actions toward Lithuania have taken a markedly different approach.

Despite the fact that his reforms were ultimately responsible for encouraging Lithuanian claims for self-determination, this Soviet leader chose to use military force and economic sanctions to coerce Lithuania into suspending its declaration of independence.

Clearly, Gorbachev has chosen an immoral approach to the Lithuanian crisis, and his behavior can only be described as unethical. Yet, Gorbachev in not alone in responding unethically to the Lithuanian declaration of independence. President Bush has responded in an equally immoral manner in failing to support the Lithuanian cause.

By granting Lithuania little more than moral support and refusing to take action against the USSR, the US has violated it own foreign and domestic policies.

Fortunately, a moral solution for both the USSR and US does exist to this situation and could conceivably be implemented should these superpower leaders opt to do so. The key to this moral approach is a realization by Gorbachev and Bush that Lithuania (along with Estonia and Latvia) must be granted independence. Once this is understood, Gorbachev must take the necessary steps to accomplish this, and Bush must do what is required to ensure he does.

Rice, Tina L. (Reed) JUN 1990

Reunification Issues from the German Perspective

The recent course of world events, for many, has turned long held dreams into realities. This is particularly true in the case of the Germans. The German question, *die deutsche frage*, has finally been answered. With the reunification of East and West Germany rapidly approaching, the German peoples have been confronted with an array of political, economic, security, and social issues as a by-product of reunification. For most Germans, the initial euphoria experienced by the breaching of the Berlin Wall has been replaced with fear, anxiety, and resentment.

Unfortunately, the pace of reunification has forced many Germans to confront a plethora of issues for which most were unprepared. The issues of reunification indeed cover the spectrum, yet they tend to focus on two major themes. Of primary importance to all Germans is the level of personal sacrifice which will be required for the reunification cause. In essence, they fear a drop in their current standard of living. Secondly, East Germans are particularly concerned that the haste of reunification will result in an absorption of East Germany into the West, thus producing the loss of the "East German soul." They are resentful of their perceived status as second-class citizens in a reunified Germany. These concerns have brought about the fears, anxiety, and resentment that many of today's Germans are currently experiencing.

Opening the German border has opened the eyes of many Germans to the differences between East and West and the realities of reunification. The once warm West German welcome provided to those crossing from the East has all but disappeared. Even though reunification is just around the corner, it is not likely that these issues of concern will disappear. It will be a while before all Germans can say, "Wir sind ein volk (We are on people)," and truly believe it.

Riley, Kerry N. (Gross) JUN 1990

The Impact of the Iran-Iraq War on Iranian Demographics: Consequences for the Iranian Economy and Military, 1979-2000

Soon after the Islamic revolution in February 1979, Iran engaged Iraq in a war over territory, water, and ideas that lasted eight years. The strategy and tactics used by the Iranian armed forces demanded large numbers of soldiers and resulted in heavy casualties. As a result, the demographics of Iran drastically changed to a very young population with a large difference in numbers of males and females. The Iran-Iraq War caused large migrations; many professional, wealthy Iranians emigrated from Iran while many unskilled, poor refugees immigrated to Iran. While the Iran-Iraq War changed demographics greatly, the change in demographics through population growth is even more significant.

Because of Islamic laws and values regarding family and marriage, the population explosion, urbanization of society, and the decline in the male population of Iran, the Iran-Iraq War will have a smaller impact on the demographics of Iran. Islam will help accommodate the effects of the war on the economy and the military.

Nevertheless, changes in population will significantly effect the economic and military strength of Iran. Because the Iran-Iraq War took a large part of the young, male population and because many professional, educated Iranians left Iran, economic demands for skilled labor and professionals will exceed the supply within the population of Iran. Hence, the economy of Iran will be weakened. Also, the lack of young males will lessen the ability of the Iranian military to defend the nation because fewer men can assume positions of leadership.

The consequences of the war and population growth on the economy during the 1990s will be significant because resources are limited, yet the demand for recovery is great. Economic and military recovery will be slow, and Iran will likely not be a strong economic or military power in the region until the beginning of the 21st century.

Roberts, Douglas (Haaga) JUL 1990

Implications of Peruvian Drug and Guerilla Movements on the United States War on Drugs

Collusion of drug and revolutionary/terrorist interests and activities are a direct result of Peru's approach, under US pressure, to attack both problems simultaneously. The partnership of drug and revolutionary organizations will severely test the political strengths and economic capabilities of the Peruvian government. Without long-term, massive economic assistance, it is doubtful Peru can achieve more than a standoff against the combined forces of drug and terrorist organizations in the near term.

Revolutionary organizations attempting to destabilize and overthrow the government are the greatest threats to the Peruvian government. Peru would prefer to attack the two problems sequentially rather than simultaneously. Anti-drug campaigns have resulted in an alliance between drug growers and guerrillas of Sendero Luminoso and MRTA (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amru), expanding the terrorists' political base and economic resources and providing drug growers with protection from the Peruvian government.

Government efforts to end the farmer's lucrative source of income without providing an equivalent source of livelihood will further estrange the peasant growers from central government control. An effective eradication effort in Peru would probably cause growers to move to other areas in Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

Ruff, George R. (Finan) SEP 1989

The USSR in Latin America: Ideology and Methods for Soviet Expansionism

For the greater part of the past century, Latin America has existed under the predominance of US influence. In the last few decades, however, US hegemony has eroded while Soviet influence has increased. The strategic importance of Latin America to the US causes this to be a concern to US planners and policy makers.

Although not a primary objective of Soviet foreign policy, Latin America is the recipient of Soviet efforts toward expansionism. Soviet ideology in regards to Latin America has allowed for the evolution of effective methods to increase Soviet influence. The Soviet effort is opportunistic yet consistent. Methods are pragmatic, low key, and significantly successful.

While the USSR has evolved a successful Latin American strategy, US efforts in the region have faltered. Despite being the world's leading democracy, the US experiences great difficulty in resolving critical Latin American issues and influencing democracy in the region.

With the continuing impact of Gorbachev, perestroika, and the potential for a realigning of the world's strategic balance, it is critical that the Soviet role in Latin America be understood. This paper examines Soviet ideology regarding Latin America, their methods of expansionism, and implications for the US.

Scott, Mark B. (Parchomenko) MAR 1990

Soviet Military Doctrine in the 1990s: Implications for the US-Soviet Military Balance

The military rivalry between the US and the USSR is undergoing an historic transformation. The scope and pace of change in Soviet society and in the military have been of such a fundamental nature that the Soviet military has been effected at all echelons and in all areas. The result has been a widening disparity between doctrine and force structure.

This paper will address the historical evolution of Soviet military doctrine over the past four decades; the catalysts for changes that emerged in the 1980s which resulted in a Soviet reassessment of their national security policies; and the parameters of current change in the Soviet armed forces. Finally, a discussion of what the decade of the 1990s may portend as the Soviets attempt to assimilate change and reconcile their doctrine with the new political thinking sweeping their country.

This paper draws three major conclusions. A combination of political, economic, and military factors forced the Soviets to implement significant changes in each of these areas. Whereas force structure and weapons procurement

formerly derived from analysis of military capabilities of potential Western adversaries and changes to doctrine, this process has been disrupted. Change in military doctrine is not keeping pace with the politically and economically motivated changes in the force structure and defense industry. The decade of the 1990s will see the Soviets seek to test, refine, and reconcile these changes to fit their new perceptions of security.

Seitz, Michael E. (Parchomenko) AUG 1990

The Aral Sea, USSR: A Case Study in the Failure of Soviet Environmental Policy

The Stalinist policies of industrialization and expansion have failed to bring prosperity to the people of Central Asia. This paper examines the errors of Soviet environmental policy using the ecological disaster of the Aral Sea as its prime example.

Soviet environmental policy was fatally flawed from the time of the Revolution, with Marxist ideology and Brezhnevite greed both contributing to the destruction of the Aral Sea. This paper evaluates Western and Soviet opinion on the region, drawing the conclusion that the sea can be saved. However, the Soviet government, faced with monumental ecological problems, needs to take radical, decisive, and immediate actions to stop the destruction. If it does not, Central Asia may not be producing any crops early next century, which would further exacerbate Soviet economic problems.

Seitz, Michael E. (Cobb) AUG 1990

Converting the Soviet Military-Industrial Complex to Consumer Production: Destined to Failure or Potential Success?

The USSR's program of defense industry conversion has been a series of uncoordinated, and in some ways, half-hearted steps. This paper assesses the conversion process of Soviet military industry assets to production of consumer goods. It evaluates the program and the pitfalls awaiting the conversion effort, while providing a history of the Soviet conversion venture through June 1990. It concludes that the lack of a formal program will slow any conversion effort.

Without accompanying radical reforms in other areas of the economy, the program has little chance of success. Without true leadership at the top, conversion will not become a reality in the USSR, and instead will fall into the grave of Soviet economic reform.

Smith, George J. (Sample) JUN 1990

Duty, Honor, Country: Linebacker II, "The Christmas Campaign"

Not often are unsound or incompetent commands so clearly discernable as those given the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava. Unlike Balaclava, where the fault was so plain and the defeat so complete, Linebacker II represents a resounding strategic and operational victory achieved at an acceptable tactical cost. This victory was not won in spite of, but rather because of, the planning, preparation, and execution of the commanders, staffs, and aircrews. Equally clear, however, is the fact that the initial operations orders and command reluctance to modify them "on-the-fly" almost surely resulted in needless losses. At the aircrew level, concern was understandable and the resistance that followed, perhaps, justified.

Because the action occurred on many levels and over an extended period of time, Linebacker II serves as a better case study than any other battle where incompetence was obvious and subordinate failure to act so compelling. The moral duties of the participants are assessed on five levels: the Commander-in-Chief, the Strategic Air Command, the Eighth Air Force, the pilot, and the individual crew member.

The requirement for American servicemen and women to be able to assess situations, make informed decisions, and take independent action is indeed a strength of our system and a hallmark of our leaders. They must be able to make decisions which are at times contrary to the commands which they receive. While obedience is a military virtue, blind obedience is not. All decisions of our military leaders must arise from an internal commitment of the values embodied in the military ethic and be executed by responsible professionals acting for the good of society.

Smith, George J. (Blake) AUG 1990

The Executive, the Legislature, and National Intelligence Relationships Within the Treaty Making Process

Unchecked arms races have led to unwanted and disastrous wars. Since the end of World War II, virtually all of Europe has become an armed camp divided between democratic and communist forces. Compounding this problem is the threat of nuclear escalation. Both sides of the ideological fence control armaments which could trigger not only a European but a worldwide holocaust.

In the US, constitutional responsibility to negotiate and conclude all treaties, including those for the control of armaments, rests with the president. Within the executive branch, there are several individuals and organizations upon whom the president relies for advice and support in this process. Acting throughout treaty formulation, ratification, and execution, the US intelligence community plays a central role in the arms control process.

Congress also plays a major role in this process. Beyond providing advise and consent as provided for in the constitution, Congress exercises its "power of the purse," the ability to raise and allocate the funds required to support arms control measures which may arise as a result of arms agreements. As in the executive branch, members of Congress rely for support on a number of committees and staffs.

While the relationships of the executive and legislative branches acting in the arms control process can, in practice, be quite complex, the fundamental relationship rests upon the intent of the framers of the Constitution to provide a system of checks and balances within our government.

Snider, David B. (Kauppi) SEP 1989

Islamic Fundamentalist Insurgency Strategy: Does One Exist?

Perhaps the most logical solution to defeating an insurgency lies in developing a counterinsurgency strategy that applies the insurgents' own principles in reverse. Inherent in that solution is the ability to discern the insurgents' strategy. Islamic fundamentalist insurgency strategy is examined by applying the O'Neill framework to case studies of Tunisia, Egypt, and Lebanon. Popular support and the role of the government are recognized as the most important parts of this strategy.

Sperry, Martin W. (Finan) SEP 1989

What Are the Nature and Magnitude of the Effects of Central American Migration Patterns on US Foreign Policy?

Since shortly after Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba, the US has experienced a nearly continuous wave of Central American migration. The effects of the wave have been felt in all sectors of American society. The extent and magnitude of the effect on US foreign policy and the workings of US society has been marked, especially in the southern states.

Poverty and war are the twin culprits responsible for the migration. They have reduced the ability of most of the peoples of the area to contend with their situation and the society into which they were born. Unless the feudalistic cycle is broken, the tide of immigrants will continue until it becomes overwhelming, and the US will be forced to attempt

to completely close its borders, step up deportation efforts, reduce or eliminate social services for illegals, and/or eradicate the causes of immigration from Central America.

Stauffer, John D. (Blake) DEC 1989

TIARA: Who Does It Serve?

This paper will look into the evolution of an intelligence process known as "Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities" (TIARA). This budget management tool was created by the Congress during the 1970s to help them better understand the management and acquisition of tactical intelligence systems.

Intelligence activities became more of a public issue during the 1970s due to the events in Southeast Asia and the activities of the CIA. Congress began to investigate key areas of intelligence activities and expenditures. Most national level programs received enough visibility to allow adequate oversight by the Legislative Branch. What was discovered, however, was that a vast array of Service and Agency level intelligence activity was taking place with little or no Congressional knowledge.

A management category called the Intelligence Related Activities, or IRA, was recognized and placed upon the Department of Defense (DoD) to help the Congress better understand these tactical oriented programs.

As the 1970s drew to a close, numerous programs were flagged under the new heading of IRA, and by 1980 the process became known as TIARA. Although not a tactical duplicate of the national budget process because TIARA dollars cannot be fenced, TIARA still goes through the same reviews, coordination, and oversight. This requires considerable effort on the part of the service level program managers to work together; something the Congress was trying to accomplish.

As the first decade of TIARA draws to a close, the greatest concern may be the growing difficulty in distinguishing the difference between national and tactical programs. As advanced technology causes more sophisticated systems, weaponry, and communications; and pressure increases to slash military spending, the service level managers will have an increasingly difficult time protecting those tactical level intelligence systems which are so vital to an effective war fighting capability.

Strahan, Roy Lee (Collins) DEC 1989

Space and National Security: Consequences of Expanding US ASAT Capabilities

Both major space powers have become increasingly dependant on satellites which are the eyes, ears, and commanding voices of modern armed forces. Under the Reagan administration, the US pursued the development of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons over arms control proposals. President Bush has taken no action to indicate a change in this policy. If the US continues this policy without considering arms control proposals, the eventual deployment of a modern ASAT system may initiate an arms competition with the Soviet Union.

US policy makers must soon consider the advantages and risks of pursuing ASAT weapons development and rejecting arms control proposals. Their challenge is not to decide whether to pursue ASAT development or an arms control agreement, but to decide what mix of the two approaches will best serve the national security interests of the US. If current trend continues into the next decade, it will become increasingly difficult to change direction.

Swartwood, Dan Thomas (Eisenhaur) SEP 1989

Dual-Use Technology Control: US Involvement Since 1940

Technology transfer (also known as T2 or tech-transfer) is a major issue facing the US. A current Administration survey concluded that more than one third of US policymakers' global concerns involve T2 issues ranging from nuclear proliferation to the problem of dual-use technology. Dual-use technologies have both military and civilian application.

Because T2 is such a broad area of concern, this paper deals only with the dual-use issue and the intelligence community's assistance in stemming the hemorrhage of US critical technologies to our adversaries and competitors abroad. The technologies involved are commonly called dual-use, strategic or critical technologies because, although they were originally designed for civilian use, they can also have significant military application. Fred Bucy, the principal author of a 1970s DoD report on T2, defines these technologies as militarily critical when they can directly contribute to the development of an adversary's weapons system. DoD expands that definition to include technologies that would make a significant contribution to any country's military capability and which may prove detrimental to the security of the US. Technologies that clearly fall into these areas are nuclear, munitions, chemical/biological, and weapons systems.

Tarbutton, Adalea P. (Swenson) MAY 1990

The Amazon Basin in the International Limelight: Greed, Environment, Politics

Environmentalists have succeeded in making their concerns for the survival of the planet an international political issue. As such, it is not surprising that the largest rainforest in the world today is receiving a large amount of attention in an attempt to stop development that has been taking place in the last three decades.

The Amazon rainforest comprises one third of the world's surviving rainforests. Since the first explorers ventured into the region, myths have abounded about its fertility, mineral wealth, contribution to the world's level of oxygen, and, recently, its role in the greenhouse effect.

Brazilian leaders have expressed the fear that the international movement to save the rainforest is actually a plot to internationalize the region and take control away. Myths about the region, compounded by a lack of conclusive scientific evidence, unproven computer models, competing economic interests, and political ambitions have all played a part in creating an atmosphere of international crisis.

This paper will discuss the origins of Amazon myths, reasons for continuing Brazilian efforts to develop the Basin and harvest its mineral resources, scientific arguments over the Basin's contribution to the world's climate, and the international political problems that have arisen as a consequence of Amazon development.

The environmental problem of the Amazon Basin is very complex. Development which has already taken place is irreversible and will continue to stimulate more in the region. Amazon Basin development has had and will continue to have significant international impact, particularly on relations between the United States and Brazil.

Toohey, Sean F. (Narog) MAR 1990

International Law of the Sea: Applicability of Utilizing the Law of Piracy to Combat International Terrorism

The law of piracy, a cornerstone of the international law of the sea, is designed to protect the right of all nations to free trade on the high seas. The current definition of piracy, as prescribed by recent international conventions, is based on an eighteenth century interpretation of the crime. The law does not serve as an effective deterrent against modern acts of terrorism on the seas.

Maritime terrorism, with its great potential for disruption of international commerce, remains a viable alternative for terrorist groups. The *Achille Lauro* hijacking serves to highlight this fact.

As the international community continues to search for ways to combat and deter terrorist acts, many nations have shown a recent willingness to turn to legal solutions. The US has made legal alternatives a pillar of its counterterrorism program. In this search for legal responses, the international law of pi[illegible] has gone largely unnoticed. Much confusion concerning the law of piracy exists, primarily because the law is [illegible] under both international law as well as the laws of respective nations.

The international law of piracy could be an effective tool in the fight against terrorism. It offers the unique benefit of universal jurisdiction over the perpetrator. The resources of all nations could be focused against maritime terrorists, without concern for the sensitive issue of extradition. Minor changes to the law could be made to remove its archaic provisions, and the law or piracy could again serve as an effective deterrent against those who would attempt to disrupt free trade and travel on the high seas. In an attempt to combat terrorist-related activity, no legal options should be overlooked.

Toohey, Sean F. (Blake) DEC 1989

US National Security Export Controls: The Threat to National Security Versus International Economic Competitiveness

The USSR and Warsaw Pact have continued to expend considerable resources in the attempt to illegally acquire Western high technology. To counter the threat posed by these acquisition attempts, the US has set up a far-reaching export license program. While very few can argue against the need for export controls, the problem centers around the fact that the US has sought to control a very broad range of technology. The export control program has reached the point where it controls an inordinate proportion of US exports. In many instances, the system controls low level technology that is readily available in Free World markets. While national security should always be a major consideration, it appears the system has no regard for the competitiveness of the US high technology industry. One of the results is excessive delays in license processing, which has often contributed to lost business.

The present export system must be carefully reviewed, with an eye toward reducing the list of controlled items. Increased emphasis must be placed on furthering multilateral controls. The US must focus controls on those technologies that are truly critical to national security, rather than a broad range of technology.

Treu, William D. (Haaga) SEP 1989

US-Bolivian Goals and their effect on Anti-Cocaine Efforts in Bolivia

Since the 1985 election of Victor Paz Estenssoro as president, Bolivia has been engaged in a massive program of reform which has impacted almost all aspects of political, economic, and social life and institutions. Among the most important of the new efforts has been the initiation of serious anti-cocaine programs. The primary objective of the US in Bolivia today is eradication of the cocaine trade at any cost--any cost, that is, except additional funding.

Although both governments are pursuing widely divergent national objectives, Bolivia and the US have an interest in developing successful anti-drug programs in Bolivia. Bolivia has preferred programs which will combine economic aid from the US with a steady reduction in coca production to limit the negative effects on the economy caused by decreased profits. Despite the fact that this could eliminate most coca cultivation, the US has rejected full funding, citing domestic spending concerns as well as negative implications for future US policy.

This paper demonstrates that the most promising solutions to the Bolivian cocaine problem cannot be implemented fully, if at all, because the national goals of the US and Bolivia are mutually exclusive.

Urrutia, Linda R. (Collins) DEC 1989

Arms Control Verification: A National Security Risk?

This paper examines the possible exchange of national security interests, especially those concerned with internal security, for more intrusive verification provisions in arms control agreements. Since the Baruch Plan, the first attempt at arms control in the nuclear age, arms control agreements have all had at least some sort of verification provisions worked into their respective charters. Over the years, verification provisions have advanced along with technology. In addition, monitoring has also changed, from relying solely on national technical means to inclusion of on-site inspections in the INF treaty.

The negotiators must consider their countries' national security concerns and balance them against verification provisions being worked out in negotiations. Ultimately, at the negotiation table, both countries try to maximize their national security interests while attaining a treaty that is verifiable. However, a review of past treaties and their compliance issues make it quite clear that the policy makers have **not** managed to maximize both national security interests and arms control verification, but have instead sacrificed one for the other.

Arms control cannot work in a vacuum. A reduction in arms can sometimes mean an increase in threat: likewise, an increase in arms can sometimes yield an increase in security. Ultimately, policy makers have the responsibility to ensure both internal and external national security. Only by objective evaluation of the trade-offs between national security, especially internal, and arms control issues which are involved in the formulation and verification of arms control treaties, can policy makers successfully carry out their charge.

Urrutia, Linda R. (Atkeson) DEC 1989

Changing of the Guard in Red Square

Soviet doctrine and strategy since the post-World War II portion of the Stalin Era has followed a ten-year cycle between significant changes. This ten year cycle, which includes two distinct five-year periods, can be broken down as planning for the upcoming ten-year cycle, and testing and revamping for the next ten-year cycle.

Along with examining overall Soviet doctrine and strategy, it is imperative that we also examine the different military leaders who are associated with these cycles. Different faces have appeared in high-level leadership positions. For example, there are generals in power who did not fight in World War II but were taught by those schooled in the Ogarkov era.

The new doctrine and strategy presaged by new faces as well as the beginning of a new ten-year cycle may be a refinement of ideas expressed by Ogarkov since 1977. It could also result in major, dramatic changes. An understanding of the impact of the leadership changes will be important in our ability to analyze and understand the fundamentals of Soviet doctrine and strategy.

Vert, Richard F. (Vernon) MAR 1990

Frunze's Mixed System of Organization: A Model for the Future?

The USSR is in the midst of a period of radical changes under the leadership of President Gorbachev. The entire social, political, and economic order which had existed since 1917 is being scrutinized by an increasingly critical and vocal populace. Economic reforms must be paid for, however, and one source of potential revenue is the military.

Gorbachev's efforts in the international arena to lessen tensions with NATO by emphasizing conventional arms control negotiations and unilaterally reducing the Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe will enable further cutbacks in the size of the Soviet armed forces to be made. A debate is being conducted within the Soviet military and academic circles about how to best provide for the security of the USSR with fewer resources available for defense. The combination of diminishing international tensions and severe economic need that exist today resemble the situation that Soviet leaders faced in the 1920s.

Although technology has increased the time necessary to train the modern soldier, the solution to the military problems of the 1920s may be applicable to the 1990s. The Red Army of 1924-1933 was a small, professional cadre to be fleshed out in wartime by trained reservists. Military training, while important for political and social reasons, was to be limited in order to provide manpower to rebuild the Soviet economy. Assuming that conventional arms control agreements are reached, the Soviet military may return to its 1924-1933 organization.

Warsocki, Michael L. (Blake) DEC 1989

Crossing the Line: The September 1983 US Decision to Commit Fire Support to the Lebanese Armed Forces

This study explores the constant friction that exists between policy makers and the intelligence officers. For various reasons, decision makers (those who make policy), and operators (those who execute policy), fail to listen to, or just plain ignore intelligence officers (those who estimate the threat to policy). This paper discusses this break in confidence as it occurred in Lebanon, and what the consequences were.

The first step in analyzing the problem was to define the optimal relationship between policy maker, operator, and intelligence officer. With this as a base, the next step was to identify some basic reasons for policy makers to use the available intelligence. These reasons were then used as reference points to the events in Lebanon between 20 September 1982 and 19 September 1983 to show how intelligence was generally not used in the US decision making process.

The results of this analysis reveal how tenuous the link is between policy makers and intelligence officers. The study shows how operators achieve a prominent position in the flow of information to decision makers, even though the information provided is often shaded by the operators' desire to achieve success. The decision maker who fails to balance the information received from the operator with an objective threat assessment by the intelligence community is unlikely to make effective policy.

The conclusion is quite simple. Intelligence must not only be accurate and timely, it must be effectively used by the decision maker if he hopes to achieve success.

Warsocki, Michael L. (Atkeson) DEC 1989

Operational Leaps: Soviet Operational Art in an Invasion of Iran

This study focuses on the role operational art plays in Soviet doctrine. The Soviets continue to believe that success on the battlefield remains dependent on aggressive operations at the operational art level of war.

Gorbachev's defensive doctrine is not his alone, but was established as early as 1980. There is a thread of continuity in Soviet military doctrine, operational art.

With continued Soviet emphasis on theater operational warfare, the US should remember that although the Soviets are currently preaching a defensive strategy operationally and tactically, they still believe in the offensive.

White, Jeffrey J. (Eisenhaur) SEP 1989

Forging New Relationships Between Government and Business: Economics Intelligence

Although the US no longer exerts the degree of hegemonic influence over the global economy it once did, it continues to maintain extensive economic interests worldwide. Naturally, America's economic interests cannot be separated from its national security interests because the two are intrinsically linked. To be effective, government must concentrate less on statements and more on action. After all, turning goals and objectives into reality is what effective government is all about.

Concerns over American international "economic competition" and US industrial "competitiveness" have been familiar political buzzwords in the late 1980s. During all the hoopla, however, it has not yet recognized that the days in which national economic goals, national security, and private business policies can coexist and interact independently of each other are gone.

As America approaches the 21st century, new and more forceful ideas must emerge which will enable US industries to compete more effectively in world markets. To do this, old rules which have limited close government-business interaction must be cast aside. New, more flexible policies must be developed. For nations and business with global interests, having access to a broad analytic base on the international political-economic system will be imperative.

This paper examines several internal and external political-economic issues which, if left unattended, could threaten American political and business opportunities in the future. To show why the US Government should consider a closer relationship with American industry, this paper analyzes how Japan uses coordinated government-business policies and economic intelligence gathering techniques to their mutual benefit. Although there are a number of potential conflicts which may arise from fostering closer government and business relations, an attempt must be made to find workable solutions in order to avoid serious problems.

Wible, Benjamin F. (Marsh) SEP 1989

The Growth of the Nationalism in the Philippines and Its Impact on the Status of US Bases

Philippine nationalism, the call for a more independent nation and the removal of US influence and military presence throughout the country, is a unique phenomena of US-Philippine relations. This nationalism, tinged with anti-American sentiment, was virtually non-existent in the mainstream of Philippine society a decade ago. Today Philippine nationalism will have strong affects on both the US and Philippine governments.

This paper focuses on the growth of nationalism in the Philippines from the early days of Spanish occupation to the current wave of anti-US and anti-base protests. It outlines the development of this consciousness among the Filipino people and its manipulation by the revolutionary leaders, leftists, communists, and even the Philippine government itself for their own particular agendas. It also addresses the unique use of Philippine nationalism as a rallying point to achieve political support and popular sanction for various movements and issues in the Philippines.

More importantly, this paper deals with the US commitment in the Philippines and how Filipino nationalism is altering US-Philippine relations and increasing the call for the removal of all US forces and bases from the Philippines. Of particular significance is the current anti-nuclear sentiment in the Philippines, its support in the Philippine government, its manipulation by the left, and the impact it will have on the upcoming base negotiations set for September 1991. It also provides an in-depth review of the Communist Party of the Philippines, its historical roots, structure, strategies, and tactics that use Philippine nationalism to disrupt US-Philippine relations in an attempt to dislodge the US presence in the archipelago.

Wollam, Arthur J. (Atkeson) DEC 1989

Change in Soviet Force Structure, Tactics, and Operational Capabilities Resulting from Adoption of a Defensive Strategy and Doctrine

The Soviet Union's reformation of military doctrine gives for the first time priority to war-prevention. As a result, Soviet military-technical requirements for ground forces and their capabilities are changing.

The reorganization of the Western Group of Forces (WGF) and of its subordinate maneuver divisions are analyzed for their impact on Soviet operational and tactical capabilities. The divisional reorganization is judged most significant, resulting in more balanced combined arms units and subunits as well as increases in infantry, combat vehicles, and artillery to offset loss of tanks.

Overall, the new WGF becomes more defensive, yet retains greater counteroffensive power. The new WGF is judged non-provocative only in comparison to an un-reduced NATO force. A program is outlined to transform the WGF into a genuine defensive force, but the required measures are assessed as too costly for the Soviet Union this century.

Wollam, Arthur J. (Harris) DEC 1989

A European Defense Force and European Security in the Next Decade

This paper discusses the creation of a European Defense Force (EDF) to satisfy the future security and political needs of the major West European members of NATO. The near-term environment facing Europe is an era of Warsaw Pact and NATO force reductions, major withdrawals of Soviet and American troops from Central Europe, a drive toward European equality and even dominance of NATO, a need to bind the FRG more closely to its European allies, and a general need to reduce defense spending while getting more from the investment.

The history of the EDF idea is examined through discussion of the European Defense Community treaty effort of the 1950s. The role of modern institutions of the EC in formation of an EDF is discussed.

A future force structure for the Warsaw Pact and NATO would be based on extrapolation of current arms reduction proposals. An EDF could form from restructured European-NATO national contingents. Present day Franco-German developments, including the Council for Security and Defense and the Franco-German Brigade are examined as models for EDF organization. Lastly, the implications of reduced, restructured Warsaw Pact-NATO forces for the nature of a future war in Europe are explored.

Zajak, Wayne D. (Stevens) JAN 1990

Ethnicity and the Future Integrity of Ethiopia

Ethiopia faces severe stability problems because of ethnic unrest. The country contains four major ethnic groups and many other smaller groups. The diversity of languages also presents challenges; there are more than 70 different languages spoken in Ethiopia, of which five are the primary ones. Attempts to impose Amharic as the national language have met with great resistance.

The history of Ethiopia is one of empire building. From its beginnings in the northern regions, Ethiopian emperors expanded the empire to the south and east largely by conquest. Nearly 70 percent of present-day Ethiopia is territory obtained by military force during the last part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Attempts to create one nation from many diverse ethnic groups were few, meager, and unsuccessful.

A feudal system existed well into this century where subjugation and exploitation of the peasant farmers and nomadic tribesman was common. Most of the ruling class were Amharas, and most of the exploited were from other ethnic groups. It was a situation that reinforced already existing differences between peoples of different language, religion, and culture.

Options for resolving the current conflicts include disintegration of the country, the military solution, and federation. The federation option is seen as the alternative most likely to be acceptable to both government and insurgent leaders. With a military solution unlikely, federation offers something for each side yet is not total capitulation. It thus represents a political solution rather than a military one, which is not likely for either the insurgents of the government.

Instability and continued conflict are most probable for Ethiopia unless ways are found to reduce the underlying ethnic distrust and animosity existing throughout the country. The future political integrity of Ethiopia is thus at serious risk.

Zajac, Wayne D. (Haaga) SEP 1989

The War on Drugs: The National Guard Role

The National Guard is waging a portion of the US war on drugs. Congress provided $40 million in fiscal year 1989 for use by the National Guard in supporting law enforcement agencies waging this war. This is probably only the first step towards more involvement by the National Guard in this effort by the United States to defeat the drug threat.

Current guidelines and legislation limit the National Guard to supporting law enforcement agencies in their efforts to interdict the supply of illegal drugs into the United States and to enforcing drug laws. Support missions being

conducted include aerial searches for cultivated marijuana, inspections of vehicles and containers at border entry points, radar operations to detect and track aircraft attempting to enter the US, and transportation of agents and materiel.

The drug support mission is being conducted under state control using plans approved and funded by DoD as authorized by the 1989 Defense Authorization Act. Total resources used by the National Guard constitute only a small portion of their potential capability.

Measuring the effectiveness of the National Guard role in drug interdiction will be difficult. Support functions are inherently difficult to evaluate and the diverse nature of the National Guard support will make such measurement even harder. Support provided by the National Guard has increased the capabilities of drug law enforcement agencies. Ultimate effectiveness will be measured by national surveys and studies that accurately measure drug availability, drug use trends, and attitudes of the public toward drug use. Technical improvements in these studies are needed before they can be considered reliable and indicative of the real situation.

The present level of support provided by the National Guard is not adversely affecting their preparedness for war-time missions. However, any significant increase in the level of effort is likely to affect US contingency planning and military strategy because of the heavy reliance upon the National Guard in defense planning.

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*This list incluses only those Faculty associated with papers included in this volume.