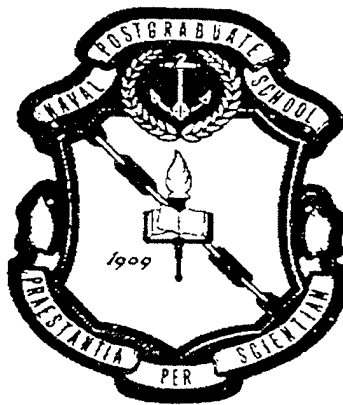


Naval Postgraduate School  
Monterey, California 93943-5138

NPS-09-02-012



***SUMMARY  
OF  
RESEARCH  
2000***



**Department of National Security Affairs**

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**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL**  
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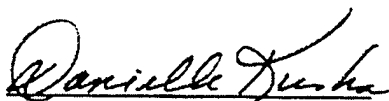
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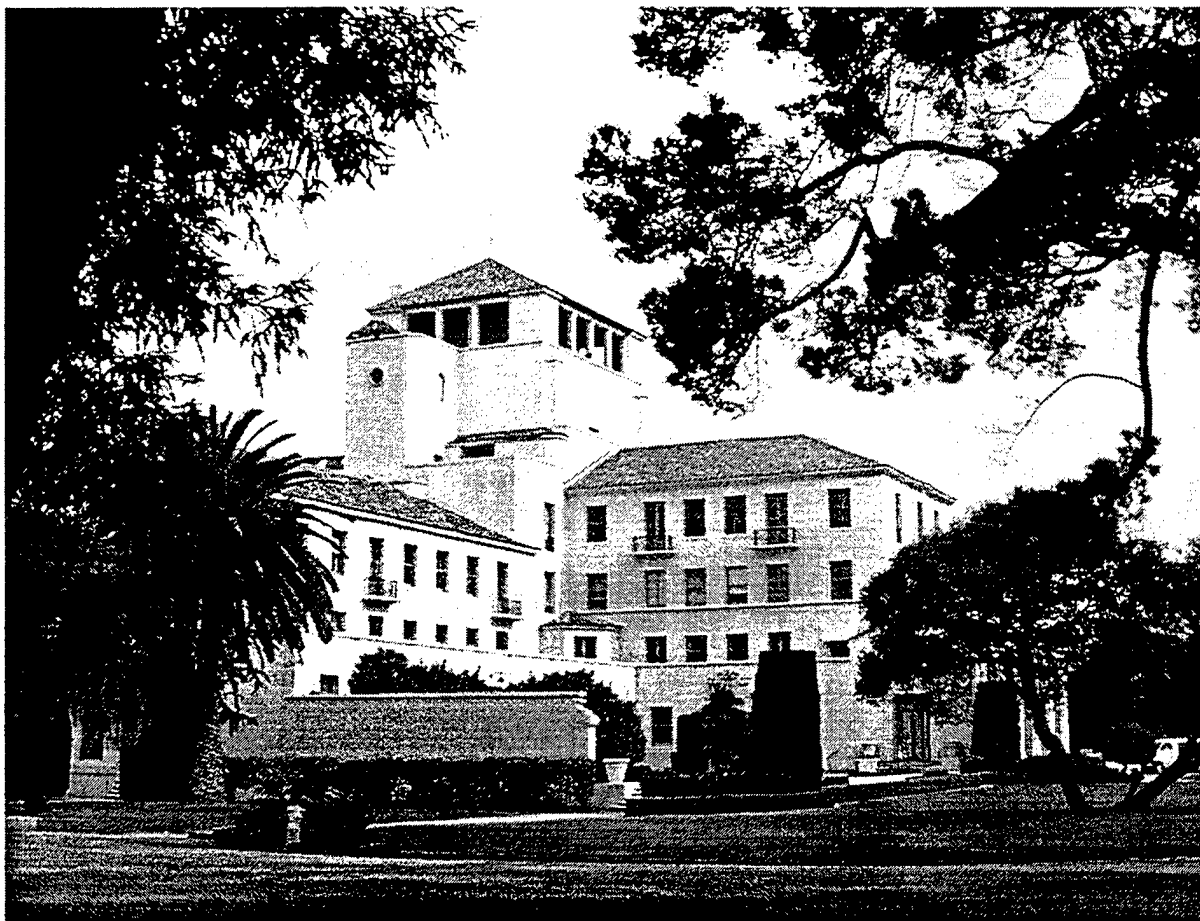
**REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE**Form approved  
OMB No 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

<b>1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)</b>		<b>2. REPORT DATE</b> December 2001	<b>3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED</b> Summary Report, 1 October 1999-30 September 2000	
<b>4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE</b> Summary of Research 2000, Department of National Security Affairs			<b>5. FUNDING</b>	
<b>6. AUTHOR(S)</b> Faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School				
<b>7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b> Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			<b>8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER</b>  NPS-09-02-012	
<b>9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b> Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			<b>10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER</b>	
<b>11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES</b> The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or U.S. Government.				
<b>12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT</b>  Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited			<b>12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE</b>  A	
<b>13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words.)</b>  This report contains project summaries of the research projects in the Department of National Security Affairs. A list of recent publications is also included, which consists of conference presentations and publications, books, contributions to books, published journal papers, and technical reports. Thesis abstracts of students advised by faculty in the Department are also included.				
<b>14. SUBJECT TERMS</b>			<b>15. NUMBER OF PAGES</b> 83	
			<b>16. PRICE CODE</b>	
<b>17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT</b> Unclassified	<b>18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE</b> Unclassified	<b>19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT</b> Unclassified	<b>20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT</b> Unlimited	

## THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MISSION

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



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## PREFACE

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Research at the Naval Postgraduate School is carried out by faculty in the four graduate schools (School of International Graduate Studies, Graduate School of Operations and Information Sciences, Graduate School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and Graduate School of Business and Public Policy) and three Research Institutes (The Modeling, Virtual Environments, and Simulation (MOVES) Institute, Institute for Information Superiority and Innovation (I2SI), and Institute for Defense System Engineering and Analysis (IDSEA). This volume contains research summaries for the projects undertaken by faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs during 2000. The summary also contains thesis abstracts for those students advised by National Security Affairs faculty during 2000.

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

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

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

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

# INTRODUCTION

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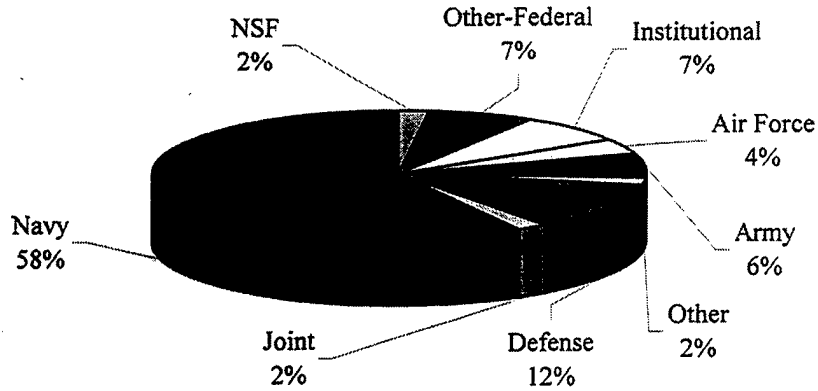
The research program at the Naval Postgraduate School exists to support the graduate education of our students. It does so by providing military relevant thesis topics that address issues from the current needs of the Fleet and Joint Forces to the science and technology that is required to sustain the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

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

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

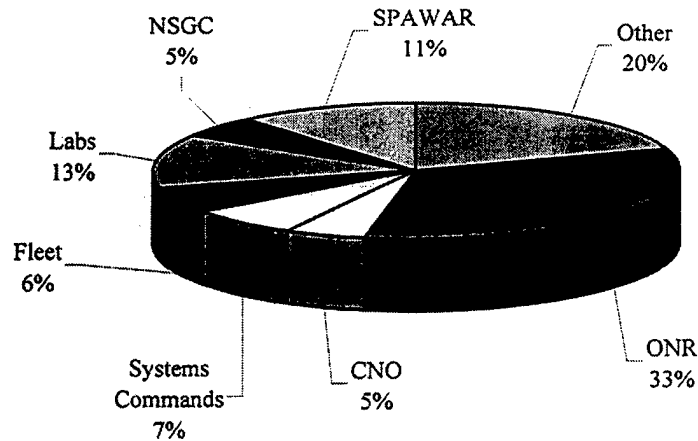
In 2000, the level of research effort overall at the Naval Postgraduate School was 137 faculty work years and exceeded \$43 million. The reimbursable program has grown steadily to provide the faculty and staff support that is required to sustain a strong and viable graduate school in times of reduced budgets. In FY2000, over 93% of the research program was externally supported. A profile of the sponsorship of the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program in FY2000 is provided in Figure 1.

## INTRODUCTION



**Figure 1. Profile of NPS Research and Sponsored Programs (\$43M)**

The Office of Naval Research is the largest Navy external sponsor. The Naval Postgraduate School also supports the Systems Commands, Warfare Centers, Navy Labs and other Navy agencies. A profile of external Navy sponsorship for FY2000 is provided in Figure 2.



**Figure 2. Navy External Sponsors of NPS Research and Sponsored Programs (\$25M)**

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

DAVID W. NETZER  
Associate Provost and Dean of Research

December 2001

**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**JAMES WIRTZ  
CHAIR**

## DEPARTMENT SUMMARY

---

### OVERVIEW:

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

### CURRICULA SERVED:

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

### DEGREE GRANTED:

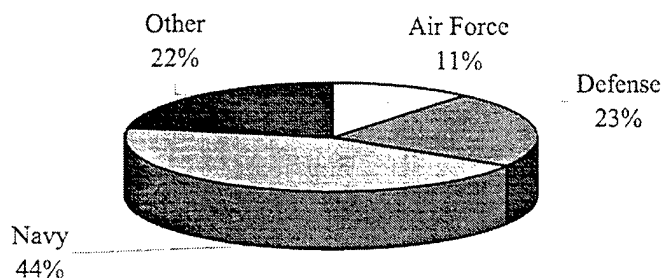
- Master of Arts in National Security Affairs

### RESEARCH THRUSTS:

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

### RESEARCH PROGRAM-FY2000:

The Naval Postgraduate School's research program exceeded \$43 million in FY2000. Over 93% of the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program is externally funded. A profile of the external research sponsors for the Department of National Security Affairs is provided below along with the size of the FY2000 externally funded program



Size of Program: \$927K

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### COUNTERPROLIFERATION

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

**OBJECTIVE:** During FY 2000, Dr. Lavoy took leave from the Naval Postgraduate School and served in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction, most recently acting as Principal Director for Requirements, Plans and Counterproliferation Policy. From June 1998 to June 2000, Dr. Lavoy served as Director for Counterproliferation Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

**SUMMARY:** At the Pentagon, Dr. Lavoy oversaw a staff that was responsible for developing policies to improve U.S. military capabilities to successfully deter, combat, and defend against the use of nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons and missiles, and to help allies and coalition partners to prepare their armed forces and populations to counter NBC threats. He served as Co-Chair of the Deputy Secretary of Defense Working Group on Readiness Standards and Reporting, Steering Committee Co-Chair of the NATO Senior Defense Group on Proliferation (DGP), U.S. Chair of the U.S.-Israel Counterproliferation Working Group, and Co-Chair of the U.S.-Kuwait, U.S.-Bahrain, U.S.-Oman, and U.S.-Jordan Cooperative Defense Steering Committees. In addition, he participated in the Department's war plans review and in its efforts to craft U.S. policy toward India and Pakistan in the wake of their nuclear tests. For these efforts, Dr. Lavoy received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Strategy, Threat Reduction)

**KEYWORDS:** Counterproliferation, Nuclear Weapons, Chemical Weapons, Biological Weapons, Ballistic Missiles

### ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF NAVAL FORWARD PRESENCE/CRISIS RESPONSE

**Robert E. Looney, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Chief of Naval Operations (N81)**

**SUMMARY:** This study extends the analysis of the economic benefits of naval forward presence undertaken by the Naval Postgraduate School for QDR97. The first study developed an operational methodology to quantify these benefits. Drawing on that methodology, significant economic benefits were found associated with naval operations in the Arabian Gulf. The current study expands the QDR97 effort in several important regards. First, event analysis is introduced to link naval activity with price movements in key commodity, exchange, and share markets. Second, several cases, one not directly involving oil, are developed to assess the generality of our findings. The findings of the first study are confirmed with, naval forward presence/crisis response shown to produce extensive economic benefits for the US economy in each of the cases examined. Taken together, the two studies suggest that the economic benefits associated with naval forward presence/crisis response occur in a wide variety of situations and geographic locations.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Forward Presence, Crisis Response

### THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE GRAND STRATEGY, 1550-PRESENT

**Lyman Miller, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Smith Richardson Foundation and Stanford University**

**OBJECTIVE:** To place China's present and possible future strategic outlook in the historical context of the evolution of the international system, the evolution of the Chinese state, and successive revolutions in military affairs.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

---

**SUMMARY:** During the reporting year, intensive research proceeded on the six case study periods that are the core chapters of the book project.

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

**KEYWORDS:** China, Revolution in Military Affairs

### **THE PEOPLE IN ARMS: MILITARY MYTH AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION**

**Daniel Moran, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation**

**OBJECTIVE:** To produce a comparative study of mass social mobilization for war, in particular revolutionary war, from the end of the eighteenth century to the present.

**SUMMARY:** The topics of study, with contributors' names in parentheses, is provided below:

- Introduction: *The Legend of the levée en masse* (Daniel Moran, Naval Postgraduate School)
- *La patrie en danger*: The French Revolution and the First *levée en masse* (Alan Forrest, University of York)
- The Historiography of the *levée en masse* of 1793 (Owen Connelly, University of South Carolina)
- Arms and the Concert: The Nation in Arms and the Dilemmas of German Liberalism (Daniel Moran, Naval Postgraduate School)
- The American View of Conscription and the German "Nation in Arms" (John Whiteclay Chambers II, Rutgers University)
- Defining the Enemy: War, Law, and the *levée en masse* from the 1870s to the 1920s (John Horne, Trinity College, Dublin)
- Insurrectionary Warfare: The German Debate on the *levée en masse* in October, 1918 (Michael Geyer, University of Chicago)
- The *levée en masse* from Russian Empire to Soviet Union, 1874-1938 (Mark Von Hagen, Columbia University)
- From Jaurès to Mao: The *levée en masse* in China (Arthur Waldron, University of Pennsylvania)
- In Lieu of the *levée*: Mass Mobilization in Modern Vietnam (Greg Lockhart, Australian National University)
- The Inversion of the *levée en masse*: The Algerian War, 1954-1962 (Douglas Porch, Naval Postgraduate School)

#### **PUBLICATION:**

Moran, D. and Waldron, A., eds., *The People in Arms: Military Myth and Political Legitimacy Since the French Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

#### **PRESENTATION:**

Moran, D., "The Nation in Arms in Revolutionary Europe," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, January 2000.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Mobilization)

**KEYWORDS:** Mobilization, Conscription, Nationalism, Total War

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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**WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**  
**Daniel Moran, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Unfunded**

**OBJECTIVE:** This project analyzes the basic patterns of revolutionary warfare in the twentieth century, with particular attention to the period since 1945.

**SUMMARY:** Topics covered include: Introduction: Nations in Arms, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Algeria, Africa and South Asia, Latin America, Israel, Vietnam, and The End of the Tunnel.

**PUBLICATION:**

Moran, D., *Wars of National Liberation*, London and New York: Cassell, forthcoming (April 2001).

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (War)

**KEYWORDS:** Revolutionary War, Nationalism, Low-Intensity Conflict

**GERMANY IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR**  
**Daniel Moran, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Unfunded**

**OBJECTIVE:** To survey the recent historical scholarship on Germany during the First World War.

**SUMMARY:** This essay appraises the recent historiography (in English, French, and German) on the First World War in Germany. It is part of a general handbook and reference work on the war, and is intended to provide up-to-date guidance on the current literature, outstanding problems of historical interpretation, and so on. The target audience is advanced graduate students and scholars working in allied fields of historical study. Approximately 250 titles are discussed in each chapter.

**PUBLICATION:**

Moran, D., "Germany," in Higham, Robin, ed., *A Handbook on World War I*, New York: Greenwood Press, forthcoming.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (World War)

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, World War I

**THE 1997-99 ECONOMIC CRISES' IMPACT ON U.S. ALLIANCES IN NORTHEAST ASIA:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR TAIWAN'S SECURITY**

**Edward Olsen, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation**

**OBJECTIVE:** Assess the impact of East Asia's economic crises on the variability of U.S. Defense relations with Japan, Korea and Taiwan.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Taiwan, U. S. Alliances

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### THE U.S. ARMED FORCES AND THE EMERGING REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

CAPT Frank Petho, USN, Military Instructor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval War College

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project is to provide methodological support of a survey of officers attending U.S. Professional Military Education (PME) facilities.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Revolution in Military Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Revolution in Military Affairs, RMA, Military Doctrine, Technology

### MILITARY-MEDIA RELATIONS

Douglas Porch, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

**OBJECTIVE:** To analyze the evolution of relations between the media and the military in the United States to determine the sources of media/military friction and the prospects for a future evolution.

**SUMMARY:** The report takes issue with the view that media-military soured as the result of the Vietnam War. On the contrary, media-military relations have always been tense in the United States. The difference between Vietnam and previous wars is that Vietnam ended in defeat, sending a portion of the forces and the political elite on a search for scapegoats to explain the absence of victory. Although the media "stab-in-the-back" in Vietnam is a myth, it is one that continues to cast a long shadow on attempts of the press to cover military operations, and of the military to exclude them. The report traces the shifting relationship through operations since the 1980s. It concludes that it is almost impossible for the military to exclude the media from OOTW missions. Attempts by the military to exclude them from other operations, such as the Gulf War and Kosovo, simply force the press to find other sources of information, notably by going to the enemy. This, in turn, deepens distrust for the media in the military who accuses them of bias and of undermining the war effort. The article concludes that advances in technology will facilitate in future media access to information and make censorship a thing of the past. At the same time, the media is a business that needs access to the military to sell its stories. Therefore, the military should take advantage of this situation to tell its story. An article based on this report has been accepted for publication by the *Naval War College Review*.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Media, OOTW

### ORIGINS OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC WAR

Maria Moyano-Rasmussen, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

**SUMMARY:** This article looks at the origins of the Malvinas/Falklands war of 1982, reviews existing explanations for the onset and development of war, and argues that these explanations are unsatisfactory. The paper presents an alternative explanation, focusing on the organizational dynamics of a politicized military regime.

#### PUBLICATION:

Moyano-Rasmussen, M., "Problems in Law Enforcement," CCMR Occasional paper, available online.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (War)

**KEYWORDS:** Malvinas/Falklands War, Politicized Military Regime

### PROBLEMS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Maria Moyano-Rasmussen, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: U. S. Agency for International Development**

**SUMMARY:** This article looks at the role of the military in law enforcement missions, points out some problems, and reviews lessons from the management of public order in Western democracies in the last 20 years. These lessons indicate that the most effective way to police public order is through a combination of specialized and generalist police, and not to resort to the military.

#### **PUBLICATION:**

Moyano-Rasmussen, M., "Problems in Law Enforcement," CCMR Occasional paper, available online.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Law Enforcement)

**KEYWORDS:** Law Enforcement

### DECENTRALIZATION IN THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: U. S. Agency for International Development**

**OBJECTIVE:** To produce an evaluation of and strategy for political decentralization in the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Gaza. This report is expected to provide the basis for an anticipated 3-5 year project by USAID in this sector.

**SUMMARY:** The six-member team spent varying amounts of time during fall 1999 working in the Palestinian Ministry of Local Government in the West Bank to produce the report on effective decentralization. Fieldwork was conducted at the municipal level throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip. USAID (Tel Aviv office) was given an oral presentation of findings in December 1999. Findings were then written in 2000, compiled by ARD, Inc., the USAID contractor for this project, and submitted to USAID in April 2000. Technical report findings then utilized the academic paper/conference proceedings on the same subject.

#### **PRESENTATIONS:**

Robinson, G.E., "Decentralization in Rentier States: The Case of Palestine," Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Orlando, FL, November 2000.

Robinson, G.E., "Decentralization in Rentier States: The Case of Palestine," Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, American Political Science Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA, September 2001.

#### **PUBLICATION:**

Robinson, G.E., "Decentralization in Rentier States: The Case of Palestine," to be submitted for publication during CY 2001.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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

**KEYWORDS:** Decentralization, Rentier States, Palestine, Palestinian Authority

### PALESTINE FUTURES

**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Central Intelligence Agency**

**OBJECTIVE:** To construct plausible scenarios for the future of Palestine. Scenario building was based on our analyses of pertinent constraints and issues, including peace negotiations, governance issues, economic performance, and political succession in Palestine.

**SUMMARY:** Team of 10 scholars and practitioners met three times during 2000 at CIA headquarters in Virginia to build plausible scenarios of Palestine's future. Each participant submitted three written analyses in preparation for the meetings, and conducted web-based discussion and scenario building between the meetings.

### PUBLICATIONS:

Robinson, G.E., "Palestine After Arafat," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Autumn 2000).

Robinson, G.E., "The Result of Hegemonic Peace: Instability for Both Israel and Palestine," IB No. 47, Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 12 September 2000.

Robinson, G.E., "Israel and the Palestinians: Bitter Fruits of Hegemonic Peace," *Current History: A Journal of Contemporary World Affairs*, Vol. 100, No. 642 (January 2001).

Robinson, G.E., "Palestinian Politics" in Joshua Ruebner, ed., *Middle East: Domestic Politics and the Peace Process - Proceedings of a CRS Seminar*, CRS Report for Congress, 13 December 2000.

### PRESENTATIONS:

Robinson, G.E., "The Changing of the Arab Guard and the Peace Process," Annual Glickman Lecture, Lipinsky Institute for Judaic Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA, 7 May 2000.

Robinson, G.E., "Succession in Palestine," Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, Washington D.C., 12 December 2000.

Robinson, G.E., "Palestinian Politics and the Middle East Peace Process," Congressional Research Service, Washington D.C., 13 December 2000.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Succession, Palestinian Authority, Middle East Peace Process

### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE

**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Unfunded**

**OBJECTIVE:** To produce a book-length manuscript examining the relationship between economic liberalization, democratization, and the Arab-Israeli peace process in the Levant.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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**SUMMARY:** Research on this book manuscript has occurred episodically over the past four years. The manuscript includes a theory chapter and case studies on Jordan, Israel, Syria, and the Palestinian Authority. Three of the five main chapters are completed; earlier versions of these chapters were published as journal articles during 1997-98. It is anticipated that the finished manuscript will be submitted to a university press for publication

### **PUBLICATIONS:**

Robinson, G.E., "Civil Society and Local Government: An Assessment of Civil Society in Relation to Prospects for Local Government Decentralization in the West Bank and Gaza Strip" in ARD, Inc., *Shaping Local Government Decentralization: Prospects and Issues for Local Government Decentralization in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, Report to the U.S. Agency for International Development, April 2000.

Robinson, G.E., "Palestinian Politics" in Joshua Ruebner, ed., *Middle East: Domestic Politics and the Peace Process – Proceedings of a CRS Seminar*, CRS Report for Congress, 13 December 2000.

### **TUNISIA 2010: DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS STUDY**

**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Navy Education, Training and Security Assistance Field Activity**

**OBJECTIVE:** The primary objective of this project is to produce a defense requirements study for the country of Tunisia looking ahead to the year 2010. The study, requested by Tunisia through DoD, is being funded by NETSAFA and supervised by OASD/ISA. The research team is comprised of the PI and five Naval Postgraduate School officers at the 03-04 ranks. The study includes three weeks of fieldwork in Tunisia.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Tunisia, Military Assessment, Security Environment, Maghrib

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

**Mikhail Tsypkin, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity and Naval Postgraduate School**

**OBJECTIVE:** This multi-year research process directly supports DON mission. The PI provides the sponsor with reports on various aspects of the problem being investigated as required. An annual conference on Russian security policy is conducted, and papers presented there are given to the sponsor.

**SUMMARY:** The research on military policy of Russia, funded by NIWA and NPS, has allowed the PI to conduct three research trips to Russia, and to organize a conference (an annual event since 1994) on Russian Security Policy After Yeltsin, with participation of leading Russian and Western experts (more than two dozen top experts from government and academia, including DON, State Department, CIA, DIA, Stanford, Harvard, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, etc).

### **PUBLICATION:**

Tsypkin, M., "Military Reform and Strategic Nuclear Forces of the Russian Federation," *European Security*, (Spring 2000), pp. 22-40.

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### PRESENTATION:

Tsyarkin, M., "The Russian Military, Politics and Security Policy in the 1990s," Conference on the Russian Armed Forces at the Dawn of the Millennium, U.S. Army War College, 7-9 February 2000.

### THESES DIRECTED:

Wright, E., "Russian Decision-Making And Options Regarding U.S. National Missile Defense," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2000.

Wagner, T.E., "Potential Russian Nuclear Contingencies in the Caucasus: Implications for NATO," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Servello, C.S., "U.S. National Missile Defense and its Effect on U.S. - Russian Arms Control," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Grams, S.A., "Evaluating the Accomplishments of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

Kelly, M.W., "Grozny and the Third Block Lessons Learned From Grozny and Their Application to Marine Corps' MOUT Training," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, Military

### ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE: FUTURE ISSUES

James Wirtz, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Navy International Program Office

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project is to provide support to the Navy International Program Office by responding to a series of research questions related to arms control compliance.

**SUMMARY:** This project included a variety of activities and deliverables related to national security and arms control issues of interest to the Navy International Program Office.

### PUBLICATION:

Wirtz, J.J., "Counterproliferation, Conventional Counterforce and Nuclear War," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, March 2000.

### THESES DIRECTED:

Rasmussen, D., "Credible Nuclear Deterrence for Japan," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2000.

Hubbard, C.L., "Engaging North Korea: Prospects for U.S. Counter Proliferation Policy," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Murphy, D.E., "Responding to Saddam: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq Since the Gulf War," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Wesley, K.R., "Triangular Deterrence: A Formidable Rogue State Strategy," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 1999.

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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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Geick, J.L., "Nuclear Weapons and the Revolution in Military Affairs," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons)

**KEYWORDS:** Arms Control, ABM Treaty, START Talks, Nuclear Deterrence, Proliferation, Counterproliferation

### **REVISING THE ABM TREATY: SEEKING STRATEGIC STABILITY IN A WORLD OF NUCLEAR DANGER**

**James Wirtz, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Defense Threat Reduction Agency and United States Air Force Headquarters**

**OBJECTIVE:** This project will explore potential international military and political developments produced by revision of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

**SUMMARY:** To accomplish this task, we will assemble a diverse group of experts on arms control. Missile defense, regional studies and deterrence theory to explore the possible consequences of ABM Treaty Revision and American Adoption of some form of National Missile defense. Together, these analysts will not only explore the origins of contemporary interest in revising the ABM Treaty, but also will explore how the strategic and policy landscape might change following the introduction of missile defense.

#### **PUBLICATION:**

Wirtz, J.J. and Larsen, J.A., eds., *National Missile Defense and Strategic Stability: Consequences for the ABM Treaty*.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Nuclear Deterrence)

**KEYWORDS:** Arms Control, ABM Treaty, National Missile Defense Nuclear Deterrence, Proliferation, Counterproliferation

### **STRATEGY IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: A WORKSHOP ON GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND ENDURING CONCEPTS**

**James Wirtz, Associate Professor  
Department of National Security Affairs  
Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity**

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

**SUMMARY:** To accomplish this task, we will assemble a diverse group of experts on arms control. Missile defense, regional studies and deterrence theory to explore the possible consequences of ABM Treaty Revision and American Adoption of some form of National Missile defense. Together, these analysts will not only explore the origins of contemporary interest in revising the ABM Treaty, but also will explore how the strategic and policy landscape might change following the introduction of missile defense.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Strategy)

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

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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

James Wirtz, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Defense Threat Reduction Agency

**OBJECTIVE:** The project is intended to preserve the body of knowledge about nuclear weapons and strategy generated during the Cold War, adapt and apply this theory and practice to the evolving international security environment and to supply the next generation of officers and policy makers with the expertise needed to manage the U.S. nuclear arsenal well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**SUMMARY:** Dozens of students at the Naval Postgraduate School, U.S. Naval Academy and U.S. Military academy visited Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and U.S. Strategic Command.

#### **PUBLICATION:**

*Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons*, Wirtz, J.J., Sagan, S.D., and Lavoy, P.R., eds., (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

#### **THESES DIRECTED:**

Fogarty, J.J., "Evaluating Strategies for Countering Nuclear-Armed Terrorist Groups," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

Greenough, J.M., "Will Democracy Bring Peace across the Taiwan Strait?" Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Geick, J.L., "Nuclear Weapons and the Revolution in Military Affairs," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Rasmussen, D.C., "Credible Nuclear Deterrence for Japan," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2000.

Low, J.R., "De-Alerting the U.S. and Russian Nuclear Arsenals: An Unlikely Method of Arms Control," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 1999.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Nuclear)

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

### EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

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

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

**SUMMARY:** Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. The key new technologies at the current juncture include information systems to gather, process, and disseminate data; extended-range, advanced conventional munitions; and simulations techniques to prepare and train forces and to develop new types of capabilities and operational concepts. The issues under investigation in this project also

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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include the future of nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence and force planning, possible NATO expansion, missile defense, Combined Joint Task Forces, developments in Russia and Ukraine, Mediterranean and North African security, and European security and defense identity.

### PRESENTATION:

Yost, D.S., "British and French Views on U.S. National Missile Defense," presented at the Conference on International Reactions to U.S. Ballistic Missile Defenses, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, 4 March 2000.

### THESIS DIRECTED:

Geick, J.L., "Nuclear Weapons and the Revolution in Military Affairs," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

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

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

### ALTERNATIVE FUTURES FOR NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: United States Air Force Headquarters

**OBJECTIVE:** The purpose of this project was to analyze Russia's incomplete and uncertain transformation into a cooperative and democratic partner for the Alliance. The research focused on the following questions: *What* are the scenarios for Russia's future, given unfavorable domestic political trends and unpredictable internal dynamics? What could these scenarios and trends signify for U.S. and NATO security interests, notably with regard to conventional and nuclear arms control agreements and NATO-Russia cooperative endeavors? What policy options are open to the Alliance to attempt to influence trends in Russian society and politics? To what extent can the Alliance influence these trends? How can the Alliance promote constructive relations with Russia?

**SUMMARY:** Russia's future will be the main determinant of the scope and nature of NATO-Russia relations, because NATO's interest in pursuing constructive dialogue and cooperation with Moscow will persist. Indeed, the NATO Allies have tremendous incentives to continue to try to keep the Russians committed, to the maximum extent possible, to cooperation in the management of international security challenges. NATO's ability to influence, much less shape, Russia's future is nonetheless limited by the magnitude and complexity of the task. The obstacles to effective Western influence include corruption in Russia's government and society, the continuing great-power aspirations of the Russians, and Russian perceptions of past Western activities. The Russians nonetheless have significant incentives to work with the West — their own economic and security interests. Prescriptions for future Western policies include hedging against setbacks in Russia's relations with the West; upholding democratic principles, public morality, and the rule of law; instituting closer surveillance, with more conditionality, in aid programs; organizing focused dialogues with the Russians on international security questions; and lowering expectations about the West's ability to influence Russia's future course.

### PRESENTATIONS:

Yost, D.S., "Alternative Futures for NATO-Russia Relations," presented at the Conference on Post-Yeltsin Russia at the Conflict Studies Research Centre, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Camberley, England, 27 June 2000.

Yost, D.S., "Russia and Arms Control for Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces," presented at the Conference on Dealing with Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons, Airlie House, Warrenton, VA, 2 November 2000.

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### THESES DIRECTED:

Moyer, A.J., "Prospects for NATO Enlargement: Examining the 'Big Bang' Approach," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

Grams, S.A., "Evaluating the Accomplishments of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

Wright, E.K., "Russian Decision-Making and Options Regarding U.S. National Missile Defense," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, March 2000.

Snell, B.A., "Dismantling Russia's Northern Fleet Nuclear Submarines: Environmental and Proliferation Risks," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Wagner, T.E., "Potential Russian Nuclear Contingencies in the Caucasus: Implications for NATO," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Mostoller, E.C., "U.S. Assistance in the Destruction of Russia's Chemical Weapons," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

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

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

### EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

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

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

### PUBLICATION:

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

### PRESENTATION:

Yost, D.S., "ESDI and the European-American Capabilities Gap," presented at the Conference on The Transformation of NATO and the Question of European Unity, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, 5 May 2000.

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### THESIS DIRECTED:

Fogarty, J. J., "Evaluating Strategies for Countering Nuclear-Armed Terrorist Groups," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

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

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

### NATO'S NEW ROLES IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: United States Institute of Peace

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

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

### PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "Collective Defense and Collective Security After Kosovo," in Rob de Wijk, Bram Boxhoorn, and Niklaas Hoekstra, eds., *NATO After Kosovo* (The Hague, The Netherlands: Netherlands Atlantic Association, Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael," and the Royal Netherlands Military Academy, 2000), pp. 19-41.

### THESES DIRECTED:

Sharov, Y.P., "U.S. Strategic Approaches to Ukraine," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Walsh, T.F., "Operation Allied Force: Setting a New Precedent for Humanitarian Intervention?" Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

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

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

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### NATO'S NEW ROLES: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. NAVY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Chief of Naval Operations (N-81) and Naval Postgraduate School

**OBJECTIVE:** The objective is to advance understanding of the implications for the U.S. Navy of NATO's new roles beyond collective self-defense, officially defined by the Alliance as partnership and crisis management. The partnership role is intended to promote cooperation and dialogue with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic region with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence, and the capacity for joint action with the Alliance. The crisis management role has included combat operations (such as Deliberate Force in 1995 and Allied Force in 1999) and peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Kosovo.

**SUMMARY:** In fulfilling NATO's new roles, U.S. and Allied naval forces have performed standing tasks of long duration as well as combat operations. The combat operations (Deliberate Force in 1995 and Allied Force in 1999) involved multiple missions, including air defense suppression and power projection. The prolonged standing tasks, virtually continuous since 1992, have included intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance; embargo enforcement; and no-fly-zone enforcement. Another standing task has been contributing to the Strategic Reserve Force for the rapid reinforcement (or, in a grave emergency, the extraction) of the peacekeeping forces on the ground — IFOR/SFOR in Bosnia since 1995, and KFOR in Kosovo since 1999. NATO European military and naval capabilities are unlikely to be substantially improved in the coming years, despite the impression of political will conveyed by the European Union's definition of a "headline goal" for enhanced military forces. The political leadership responsibilities of the United States — and the military-operational burdens on the U.S. armed forces — are therefore likely to remain essentially unchanged in the foreseeable future.

#### PUBLICATION:

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

**KEYWORDS:** Strategy, Europe, NATO, Crisis Management, Crisis Response Operations, Peacekeeping

**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**2000  
Faculty Publications  
and Presentations**

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**DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**Thesis Abstracts**

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION AND NEGOTIATING POSITIONS OF CYPRUS' REGIONAL CONFLICT AFTER THE 1974 TURKISH INVASION: OBSTACLES AND PROSPECTS TO A SETTLEMENT**

**Konstantinos Alexopoulos-Captain, Hellenic Army**

**B.S, Greek Army Academy, 1987**

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

**Advisors: Dana Eyre, Department of National Security Affairs**

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

Cyprus represents one of the most enduring and problematic regional conflicts. Since Cyprus' independence in 1960, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots have been in conflict, culminating in the arrival of the UN Peacekeeping Force (UNFICYP) in 1964 and the 1974 Turkish invasion. The regional concerns of Greece and Turkey and their proclivity to protect and advance the interests of their related ethnic communities on the island have played serious roles in the maintenance of the conflict. The thesis illustrates the weakness of the international mediation effort and the obstacles to a settlement. Although third parties, such as the UN, the USA and the EU, are pressing the issue, a solution ultimately depends on the four key actors, the two Cypriot communities and Greece and Turkey, coming to a mutually acceptable agreement. More recently, the EU has become involved in the issue because of the intended accession negotiations for Cyprus, and its special relations with Greece – an EU member – and Turkey, as an EU-membership candidate following the 1999 EU summit in Helsinki. Both the EU and USA calculate that a political federal solution of Cyprus' problem will benefit both Cypriot communities, improve Greek-Turkish relations, and formalize Turkey's European status.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Cyprus, Security, International Mediation, Conflict Resolution, Ethnic Conflict, UN, EU, USA, Greece, Turkey, Foreign Policy

### **THE WAR IN BOSNIA, 1992-1995: ANALYZING MILITARY ASYMMETRIES AND FAILURES** **Gheorghe Anghel-Lieutenant Commander, Romanian Ministry of National Defense**

**B. A., Romanian Higher Military Academy, 1991**

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

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

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

This thesis analyzes the three key failures by the leading external powers in their efforts in 1992-1995 to manage the crisis in Bosnia and impose a settlement. Except for Russia, these leading powers were the so-called NATO Quad: Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. When these powers initially intervened, they failed to comprehend the origins and dynamics of the Yugoslav crisis. These powers successively failed to prevent the outbreak of the fighting, then to properly contain it, and finally to achieve a stable and enduring settlement when the chance presented itself in 1995.

The thesis concludes that the failures stemmed from incorrect assessments, a lack of political will, and organizational shortcomings. Because of these failures, the Bosnian conflict remains unsettled, and the current stalemate hinges on continuing political-military commitments by the external powers.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (The 1992-1995 War in Bosnia)

**KEYWORDS:** Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnians, Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims, IFOR, SFOR

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA**

**bin Md Delin Azizan-Lieutenant Colonel, Malaysian Army**

**LL. B., MARA University of Technology, Malaysia, 1996**

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

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

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Indonesia, the fourth most populated country in the world was among the last countries in Southeast Asia that embarked into democracy. Prior to democratization, the Indonesian military had played a significant socio-political role since the independence struggle against the Dutch. The revolutionary struggle shaped general Indonesian acceptance of the authoritarian rule. However, by 1997 Indonesia's authoritarian rule was faced with a serious problem of legitimacy and governability.

This thesis suggests that authoritarian rule cannot last in Indonesia. Socio-economic change has reshaped its social structure and encouraged democratization. For half a century, authoritarianism was dominant in Indonesia, but like all dictatorships, Indonesia subsequently had to return to democracy. Pressures from within the authoritarian government and Indonesian society dictated the democratization process. However, the long term prospects for unstable democracy remain unclear.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Military Socio-Political Role, Civil-Military Relations, Socio-Economic Change and Democratization, New Democracy

### **FACTORS INFLUENCING DEFENSE EXPENDITURES – A HUNGARIAN PERSPECTIVE**

**Attila Balla-Captain, Hungarian Army**

**M.A., University of Economics Budapest, 1995**

**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 2000**

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

**Peter Frederiksen, Defense Resource Management Institute**

This thesis attempts to explore the economic, political and military factors influencing defense expenditures in general and in particular for the case of Hungary. The description of the empirical models leads to an analysis of the Hungarian defense expenditures and a forecast of the tendency of Hungary's military spending in the near future.

The level of defense expenditures is a function of at least two variables: how threatened a government (or a society) feels and how much security that government (or country) can afford. Therefore, the determinants of defense spending stem from a combination of security policy (dealing with threats to vital national interests) and fiscal policy (the allocation of societal resources).

Economic strength is a factor contributing to the determination of military spending. Another significant driving force behind military spending is the power and leverage of the armed forces relative to other national actors. The degree of transparency in military outlays is also important. The size of the military budget is conditioned by geo-strategic concerns both at the regional and international levels. Finally, increases in military expenditures reduce the availability of funds for socio-economic development projects (guns vs. butter trade off).

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

**KEYWORDS:** Defense Budget, Military Expenditures, Hungary, Military Alliances, NATO, Public Goods, Statistical Modeling

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **POLISH ARMED FORCES OF 2000: DEMANDS AND CHANGES**

**Artur A. Bogowicz-Captain, Polish Army**

**B.S., Infantry Military Academy, 1993**

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

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

**Second Reader: Bert Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis provides some recommendations for the professional improvement of the Polish Armed Forces while maintaining a conscript type of military. Much of the literature suggests that some countries transform their militaries into an all-volunteer force to achieve a better quality of military and to solve the problem of manpower as well as lack of society's acceptance. This thesis begins with the case studies of countries that have transitioned their militaries to an all-volunteer force e.g. the United States, Holland, and others. It also addresses a country that did not, Germany. The next part of this thesis examines the historical overview of the civil-military relationship in Poland, and focuses on the problems that Polish Army confronts today. First, analysis indicates that the countries that transitioned to an all-volunteer force did not achieve their goals; they still maintain their manpower shortages and lack of society's acceptance. Second, even if an all-volunteer force was achieved, Poland would not be able to economically maintain it. Based on this analysis, this thesis concludes that the Polish Armed Forces should maintain a conscript type of the military, while increasing the quality and professionalism of its staff, as indicated by the German Army.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Draft, All-Volunteer, Transformation, Modernization

### **PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA**

**Shawn J. Cardella-Captain, United States Army**

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

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

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

Upon unification, a new Korea will review its various security policies. One of the critical issues to be reviewed will be the future of U.S. forces in Korea. This thesis identifies, evaluates, and summarizes the courses of action (COA) the United States and Korea might pursue after unification. A recommendation of reducing ground forces, maintaining air assets and increasing a naval presence off the peninsula appears to solve both U.S. and Korean post-unification security/stability concerns.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Korea, Unification

### **INDO-RUSSIAN MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS**

**Jerome M. Conley-Captain, United States Marine Corps**

**B.A., College of the Holy Cross, 1990**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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

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

This thesis analyzes the history of Indo-Russian military and nuclear cooperation. The "special" Moscow-New Delhi relationship during the Cold War, the thesis concludes, was based upon Indian needs, American ambivalence and Soviet opportunism. In the post-Cold War era this relationship has persisted due to continued American ambivalence, short-term Indian military needs, and Russian economic needs. This

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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bond, therefore, may be fractured by an eventual improvement in Indian military self-reliance or a deepening in Indo-American military cooperation. India's strategic culture, rooted in Indian history, geography and political culture, has created an Indian strategic mindset impervious to American nonproliferation efforts. This thesis finds, moreover, that there are no short-term "silver bullets" to cure the current Indo-American rift, which flows from causes in addition to India's nuclear weapons tests in 1998. While short-term measures can be taken to improve the bilateral relationship, the historical rift that has emerged between the two states cannot be easily mended. The United States, therefore, must strive to ensure that Indian nuclear expansion is conducted in a controlled, safe and limited manner.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Indo-Russian, Russian Arms, India, South Asia, Proliferation

### **THE EVOLUTION OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN VENEZUELA: TESTING RATIONAL CHOICE, CULTURAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL THEORIES**

**José Luis Cortés Flores-Commander, Venezuelan Navy**

**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1983**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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

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

This thesis analyzes the extent to which civil-military relations in Venezuela have deteriorated in the past decade. The thesis's central theme is that the civilian control over the military in Venezuela is far from ideal. The relations between the armed forces and the decision-makers are based only on the interactions of the President with the military. There are no other civilian institutions involved in the control of the military. However, the armed forces of Venezuela have shown very strong democratic principles and any increase in the presence of the armed forces in the political and economic arena is the result of civilians' request. The armed forces of Venezuela have not sought to tilt the balance of power in their favor. In addition, the thesis addresses how well each of the three major approaches of comparative politics to explain the Venezuela situation.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Western Hemisphere Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Political Parties, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Coup d'etat Attempts, Civilian Control Over the Military, Military Professionalization, Rational Choice, Culture, Institutionalism

### **THE AEGEAN DISPUTE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. POLICY**

**Dimitrios Dotas-Captain, Hellenic Army**

**Hellenic Military Academy, 1987**

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

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

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

The Greek-Turkish dispute over the Aegean encompasses several distinct, yet interrelated, factors: 1. Sovereign rights over the Aegean continental shelf; 2. Territorial waters limits within the Aegean claimed by each side; 3. Jurisdiction over airspace zones; 4. Sovereignty over certain or unspecified (*gray areas*) Aegean islands.

The Greek-Turkish dispute threatens peace and stability in the region. Moreover, the tension has disrupted the cohesion of NATO and jeopardizes the ability of the Western alliance to influence events in the Middle East and the Balkans. This thesis maintains that U.S. policy after World War II strongly influenced domestic politics in Greece and Turkey and, consequently, contributed indirectly to the dispute itself. American diplomacy's relative ineffectiveness on this issue and future implications must therefore be considered.

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## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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Generally, United States and NATO objectives, initiated by the Cold War priorities, transformed during time the regional policies of Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, these priorities created an imbalance in Aegean, and, consequently, Turkish objectives became wider in spectrum.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Regional studies, Balkans)

**KEYWORDS:** Aegean Dispute, U.S. Policy, Security, NATO

### **MODELING INFLUENCES AFFECTING INDIA'S USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

**David W. Dry-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

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

**Master of Science in Systems Engineering-September 2000**

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

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

Since India and Pakistan became nuclear weapon states, the threat of a nuclear confrontation in South Asia has increased. Continuous fighting between the two countries for over fifty years involving the Kashmir region has raised the question of whether or not nuclear weapons will be used to settle their differences. Both countries have demonstrated the ability to produce or acquire nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. Crossing of the Line of Control in Kashmir by either India or Pakistan and the possibility of escalation associated with conventional war has increased the chance of a nuclear war.

Utilizing a computer program known as Situational Influence Assessment Module (SIAM), an influence net model is constructed to ascertain the likelihood of India using nuclear weapons. The model is then validated by theater intelligence agencies. SIAM is used to identify critical influences known as pressure points, which may be vulnerable to manipulation as part of an Information Operations (IO) plan. This manipulation could affect India's decision to use nuclear weapons.

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

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

### **THE UNITED NATIONS SMALL ARMS POLICY, THE SECOND AMENDMENT, AND THE FUTURE OF U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS**

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

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**Kenneth Hagan, Department of National Security Affairs**

The title of this thesis suggests that there are diametrically opposed philosophies on the subject of small arms in the hands of civilians. Those concerned about the issue are divided between those who support civilian small arms possession as stated in the Second Amendment of the U.S. Bill of Rights, and those who wish to control any civilian small arms possession.

This thesis will investigate some of the original arguments by America's Founding Fathers as they sought to determine the appropriate wording, if wording was even required in a Bill of Rights guaranteeing its citizens the right to keep and carry small arms. It will also investigate the meaning of "Militia," and "Well regulated Militia" as they are used in the Second Amendment, and will study the effect of an influential media in shaping public opinion toward small arms, and include modern studies on the use of small arms by citizens.

This thesis will then investigate the origins and practices of the UN small arms policy, of which, will be argued are found in a U.S. Department of State document. Culminating its study, this thesis will compare the two philosophies to determine their effect on future military operations, as citizens bearing

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small arms is the condition increasingly encountered by our armed forces. Additionally, it will critically evaluate these encounters in other nations to its own constitutional principles.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Small Arms Proliferation)

**KEYWORDS:** United Nations, Small Arms, Second Amendment

### **ENTANGLED IN SOUTHERN LEBANON: ISRAEL, IRAN, SYRIA AND HIZBOLLAH**

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**Terry D. Johnson, Department of National Security Affairs**

Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978 and 1982 with the intention of destroying the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) infrastructure. Hizbollah has attempted to fill the vacuum that was created by the removal of the PLO from Lebanon. In an effort to neutralize Hizbollah and obtain a secure northern border, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) has undertaken many military operations that in the end have appeared to be counter-productive. These operations have only served as a catalyst for reciprocal battles between the IDF and Hizbollah. The purpose of this thesis is to examine and analyze why Israel's military efforts in southern Lebanon have failed to achieve a secure and peaceful northern border and argue it is time to end the Israeli-Lebanon conflict via diplomatic efforts.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Middle East Regional Studies, Peace Process, Terrorism)

**KEYWORDS:** Lebanon, Israel, Iran, Syria, Hizbollah, Middle East Peace Process

### **THE CHANGING APPLICATION OF NORMS TO FOREIGN POLICY IN U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS: AN ALLIANCE BASED ON "SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS"**

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On 17 April 1996 President Clinton and Prime Minister Hashimoto announced the *U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security: Alliance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. The Declaration stated that the U.S.-Japan relationship in the post-Cold War era is based on "shared values and interests." The values "shared" are listed in the Declaration: "the maintenance of freedom, the pursuit of democracy, and respect for human rights." These values, or norms, have different meanings in the United States and Japan. The varied interpretations of these norms are investigated to determine their actual contribution to the U.S.-Japan relationship.

A theoretical framework based on the concept of the national interest is employed to measure the relative contribution that norms made to foreign policies of the United States and Japan in four major turning points for the relationship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While interests were the dominant factor in policy development, norms demonstrated an impact that varied in each of the turning points and showed cyclical characteristics over the broader period examined. The four applications of norms to policy observed are characterized as moral idealism, moral prudence, moral uncertainty, and moral skepticism. Foreign policy options for the United States and Japan are analyzed using these four categories.

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

**KEYWORDS:** United States, Japan, U.S.-Japan Relations, Norms, Change, Ideals, Interests, Cycles, National Interest, Foreign Policy

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### NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

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James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

Much of the discussion surrounding the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) presupposes that modern weapons will be able to locate and strike targets over great distances with a degree of precision that eliminates the need to retain nuclear warheads. The widespread notion that U.S. conventional weapons can replace nuclear weapons for all operational and deterrence purposes is ill-founded. Nuclear weapons will continue to play an indispensable role in U.S. national security policy. Indeed, the primacy of nuclear weapons may actually increase, in spite of the RMA, in three important ways: as a hedge against shortcomings in conventional weaponry; as a means to deter or counter advanced conventional weaponry; and as political-military instruments that, due to more advanced designs, may become more usable. Today, the U.S. armed forces have a commanding advantage in military capability, at least in some circumstances; but it is far from clear that this advantage will be sustained over the long term. Choices influenced by assumptions about the RMA will determine how U.S. forces are armed and prepared to fight for years to come. These choices should take into account the continuing significance of nuclear weapons in international security affairs.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), Nuclear Weapons, Technology, Precision Weaponry, Security, Asymmetry, Deterrence, International Security

### PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL TRANSITION IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

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More than fifty percent of Iran's sixty million citizens were born after the Islamic revolution. As these baby boomers take their place in Iranian society, they are straining the country's social, economic, and political infrastructure. This has given rise to a pro-reform political movement that rejects the authoritarian policies of the ruling clerics. The movement began in 1997 with the landslide election of pro-reform candidate Muhammad Khatami. Since then, President Khatami has implemented democratic reforms that have infuriated the conservatives but delighted the masses. Recently, pro-reform forces have united and as such they are able to challenge the existing political power structure.

This thesis argues that the Islamic Republic of Iran is currently in the midst of a political transition that will force the ruling clerics from power. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the prospects for that political transition by evaluating three key arenas in Iran: political society, economic society, and civil society.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Iran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Velayat-e Faqih, Democratic Transition, Political Society, Economic Society, Civil Society, U.S. Foreign Policy

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### **THE CHIMERA OF THE ASEAN REGIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY**

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In recent years, it has become fashionable for scholars to characterize the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the first pluralistic security community to emerge outside the Western Hemisphere. In the light of this characterization, this thesis seeks to establish whether the institutionalization of ASEAN has facilitated and encouraged sufficient qualitative and quantitative transactions among its member states to qualify it as having attained the status of a tightly coupled regional security community.

While much evidence may be offered of the successes of the organization, a more critical investigation into intra-ASEAN trends and transactions in the political, military, and economic dimensions raises doubts as to the extent and nature of perceived inter-relationships. Although, over the thirty years of the organization's history, the regional institutional context and inter-state transactions have become denser and hence more consequential on individual state behaviors, this thesis concludes that ASEAN is, at best, a fragile loosely coupled regional security community. Much remains to be accomplished before ASEAN can claim the distinction of being a tightly coupled, pluralistic security community worthy of serving as a model for other aspiring communities.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Regional Studies)

**KEYWORDS:** Southeast Asia, ASEAN, Security Community

### **WILL DEMOCRACY BRING PEACE ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAIT?**

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The Taiwan question is the most important issue in US-PRC relations. A decision by the PRC to resolve the issue militarily would jeopardize major U.S. interests in the East Asian region. Drawing largely on democratic peace theory, which asserts that democracies do not go to war with one another, some assessments of the Taiwan question argue that peaceful resolution of the reunification issue must rest on the transformation of the PRC's authoritarian political system into a democracy. This belief also has been an implicit premise of the U.S. approach to engagement with the PRC. The U.S. policy of engagement focuses on democratic peace as a panacea for the Taiwan question, assuming that a democratic China will not forcibly reunite Taiwan with the mainland. This thesis questions that assumption and argues that there are solid grounds for suspecting that were the PRC to become a democracy, the Taiwan issue may not be any more amenable to peaceful resolution. Resolution, in fact, may be even more difficult to achieve between two Chinese democracies.

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

**KEYWORDS:** China, Taiwan, Foreign Relations, Taiwan Strait, US-China Policy, Engagement

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### **BRITISH POLICIES REGARDING THE EUROPEAN UNION'S EMERGING DEFENSE DIMENSION**

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

This thesis provides an analysis of the evolution and prospects of post-1945 British policies regarding multinational European security institutions, particularly the European Union (EU), the Western European Union (WEU), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Specifically, this thesis analyzes the factors behind the Blair government's 1998 proposal to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and endow the EU with a defense dimension. This policy offers certain advantages for Britain's foreign and domestic policy agendas. Most of the other member nations of the European Union have responded favorably to the British policy shift since it has given a new impetus to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This thesis examines the Blair government's initiatives in European defense, and assesses the ramifications of the December 1998 St. Malo Declaration by Britain and France. In addition, it addresses how building the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) may strengthen both NATO and the European Union and assist in making the EU's CFSP a reality.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Britain, NATO, European Union, Western European Union, European Security and Defense Identity

### **U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SUDAN: BLINDED BY ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM?**

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Sudan is currently ruled by a government that was put in place by a 1989 military coup that overthrew a democratically elected government. The US considers Sudan an Islamic Fundamentalist regime because National Islamic Front (NIF) members hold key positions in the government. In 1993 the US imposed unilateral diplomatic and economic sanctions against Sudan for allegedly harboring terrorist organizations.

This thesis assesses US policy towards Sudan with respect to terrorism. It reviews current policies and argues that key strategic interests are being neglected. The US tends to equate Islamic Fundamentalism with its more radical element, terrorism, which significantly influences US policy towards Sudan.

Currently the terrorism policy of the US is based on countering state-sponsored terrorism while the more significant threat is from a new breed of well-funded terrorists who operate independently of states. Instead of isolating Sudan for harboring such individuals, the US should take advantage of Sudan's influence with loosely knit Islamic groups. America's inability to effectively deal with the evolving terrorism threat, as reflected in its policy toward Sudan, represents a serious vacuum in its ability to provide for its national security.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Sudan, Islamic Fundamentalism, United States Terrorism Policy, Sanctions, National Islamic Front

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### **INDONESIA: DEFINING NEW OPTIONS IN THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES**

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The purpose of this thesis is to analyze civil-military relations in Indonesia since independence in 1949 through the resignation of President Suharto in mid-1998. It will examine the military's exercise of power by using the prerogatives and contestations as defined by Alfred Stepan. The Indonesian Armed Forces (*TNI*) has been deeply involved in socio-political roles since the struggle for independence against the Dutch. Most scholars consider the New Order regime (1966-1998) to have been one dominated by the *TNI*. Suharto resigned in May 21, 1998 and brought an abrupt end to Indonesia's 32-year-old New Order regime and started the process of redrawing the country's political map. The *TNI* as the most powerful political institution has started to decline. A number of the civilian reformist leaders campaigned for the military to return to the barracks immediately and relinquish its political responsibilities. This thesis will argue that the level of the military's socio-political participation has declined in recent years. Therefore, the *TNI* should define new options of its socio-political role in order to fit the harmonious relationship with the Indonesian society in the future.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Socio-Political Role)

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia, Socio-Political Role

### **MALAYSIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS: CAUSES, EFFECTS, RECOVERY ACTIONS, AND LESSONS LEARNED**

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Malaysia and several East Asian economies have been caught in the grip of the currency crisis that started in July 1997. At the start of the crisis, Malaysia adopted a tight fiscal and monetary policy in response of the economic environment prevailing at that time. It was obvious that the initial policy package resulted in severe economic contraction and deterioration in the health of the financial system. In response, the Government unveiled the National Economic Recovery Plan (NERP) which recommended a complete reversal of key policies. The NERP called for an easing of fiscal and monetary policy, an increase in government spending, corporate debt restructuring, and establishment of special vehicles to purchase and recapitalize non-performing loans from banking institutions. On September 1, 1998 the Government introduced capital controls and pegged the exchange rate to the U.S. dollar, in order to insulate the domestic interest rate from continuing pressure and volatility in the foreign exchange market. This thesis explores the measures taken by the Malaysian Government to cope with the recent economic crisis and describes the effects and lessons learned. The proper implementation of the selective capital control has given Malaysia a breathing space to pursue its on-going economic related programs.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Malaysian Economic Crisis

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### **CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND MALAYSIA**

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**Adv. Dip. in Security and Strategic Studies, National University of Malaysia, 1995**

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

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

The armed forces of Pakistan and Malaysia, after their independence, inherited many of the common characteristics of the British armed forces, including but not limited to the implicit acceptance of civilian supremacy. However, in the subsequent years, frequent coups in Pakistan (the latest being the military coup on October 12, 1999), and their absence in Malaysia has touched off a scholarly debate. This thesis examines the experiences of Pakistan and Malaysia respectively with regard to civil-military relations. Specifically, this study will focus on the causes of military intervention in the politics of Pakistan in contrast to that of Malaysia.

This thesis argues that the recurrent military interventions in Pakistan are mainly due to its weak political institutions, which led to its inability to govern effectively. Malaysia, on the other hand, has a bigger advantage over Pakistan in that it has relatively mature political institutions with strong leadership and political elites. In addition, civilian control of the military is fully entrenched in the Malaysian political system and culture.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Military Intervention, Professionalism, Legitimacy, Political Institutions, Military Institutions, Socio-Economic Conditions

### **WHAT SHOULD THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD BE IN THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF?**

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**Second Reader: Jon Czarnecki, Defense Resources Management Institute**

The Cold War has ended and the role of the National Guard has evolved from a strategic reserve force to an integral part of today's Total Force. The National Guard's representation in the joint environment however is still representative of its Cold War mission and could present risk if it is not updated to reflect the new roles and missions of the National Guard. The new roles and missions of the National Guard require it to operate seamlessly in the joint environment, a role that was traditionally covered by its active counterparts. This evolution in roles and missions requires the National Guard's role in the Joint Chiefs of Staff to increase to accurately represent and plan for Guard involvement in joint operations. This thesis reviews the new roles and missions of the National Guard, as identified in the Reserve Component Employment 2005 Study, and the directorates within the Joint Staff that directly influence them. Specific areas within each directorate that influence National Guard integration are identified and then prioritized. The result is a recommendation of current and proposed positions within the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in priority order due to anticipated resource constraints, that will best support seamless integration of the National Guard into joint operations. The thesis concludes with specific recommendations on the selection and management of National Guard personnel assigned to Joint Staff positions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Force Structure)

**KEYWORDS:** Joint Chiefs of Staff, National Guard, Goldwater-Nichols, Reserve Component Employment Study

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### **HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN NORTH KOREA**

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In an effort to maintain peace and stability in the East Asia region, and more specifically on the Korean peninsula, the U.S. faces an enormous challenge. The collapse of the Soviet Union, repeated natural disasters, and gross regime mismanagement of economic and social resources have left thousands of North Koreans starving, while at the same time the DPRK spends exorbitant amounts of money on its military. To maintain both its legitimacy and security, the Pyongyang regime purposely and willfully commits many human right violations against its own citizens.

Current U.S. foreign policy toward North Korea is centered on the nuclear "Agreed Framework" and the perceived military threat that the DPRK poses to South Korea and the region. To date, human rights issues have not been a viable part of U.S. foreign policy toward North Korea. In response, this thesis proposes foreign and security policies that clearly address the connections between human rights issues and the North Korean military threat.

**DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Human Rights, Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Human Rights, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Republic of Korea (ROK), Foreign Policy

### **ENGAGING NORTH KOREA: PROSPECTS FOR U.S. COUNTERPROLIFERATION POLICY**

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The United States almost went to war with North Korea in 1994 to halt its nuclear weapons program. U.S. counterproliferation policy at the time used the methods of coercive diplomacy and engagement in an attempt to respond to the crisis. This thesis uses the case study method to investigate the motives driving the North to acquire a nuclear program. The United States use of coercive diplomacy and engagement in shaping the outcome of the crisis are examined. The effectiveness of the agreed framework and the long-term U.S. counterproliferation effort in North Korea also will be assessed. The findings are that the North Korean nuclear program exists to ensure the survival of the regime. Coercive diplomacy was a flawed approach in dealing with the North because it failed to eliminate North Korea's nuclear motives. The agreed framework failed due to the lack of U.S. implementation. Only an engagement policy aimed at eliminating the North's nuclear motives can reduce the DPRK's dependency on its nuclear program. This thesis calls for a "revised framework," in which the United States must demonstrate its renewed commitment to engaging North Korea and eliminating the critical economic, military, and political dilemmas facing the nation.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program)

**KEYWORDS:** North Korea, Republic of South Korea, Counterproliferation, Coercive Diplomacy, Engagement, Regime Survival, Precedent, Agreed Framework, Implementation

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### **THE ROLE OF THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD IN STRATEGIC SHAPING**

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This thesis asks whether the Army National Guard is a capable instrument for strategically shaping the post-Cold War environment to meet United States foreign policy objectives. Further, it examines foreign policy and military benefits of Guard participation in strategic shaping missions. It focuses on the National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) and the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, although it also refers to National Guard peace operations deployments to Bosnia.

The thesis provides background on SPP and PfP and discusses assets the National Guard possesses for strategic shaping, including force structure, expertise, and institutional culture. It addresses effects strategic shaping missions have on the National Guard's traditional dual missions of providing a disciplined force ready to respond to local and state emergencies and providing properly trained and equipped units for mobilization in response to war and national emergencies.

This thesis compares and contrasts two similar case studies of strategic shaping: a current study of the SPP *Partner Challenge 1999* and the NATO PfP *Baltic Challenge 1998* exercises. The case studies illustrate capabilities and benefits of the National Guard in strategic shaping. Finally, the thesis presents recommendations for studying and improving the National Guard's effectiveness in strategic shaping.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Strategic Shaping, Army National Guard)

**KEYWORDS:** United States Army National Guard, United States National Guard, Strategic Shaping, NATO Partnership for Peace, National Guard State Partnership Program, Bosnia Peacekeeping

### **LIFE AFTER UNSCOM: THE REGIONAL RESPONSE TO AN UNSUPERVISED IRAQI WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD) PROGRAM**

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**Ahmed Ghoreishi, Department of National Security**

On 16 December 1998, United Nations arms inspectors were evacuated from Iraq. DESERT FOX commenced as the United States and Britain began an aerial attack as punishment for Iraq's repeated violations of UN resolution 687. While Iraq was punished, the resulting situation left an unsupervised Iraq to reconstitute its WMD program. This thesis examines the regional response of Iraq's neighbors to such a threat. Specifically, the reactions of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel during the nine months following DESERT FOX are examined under a "balance of threat" model as posited by Stephen Walt. External responses such as realignments and internal responses such as WMD proliferation are sought to determine if "balance of threat" is a valid model to predict a state's behavior. This thesis determines if there has been a significant response from the region and if it requires a U.S. policy change. Finally, policy implications for the United States are discussed and new recommendations are proffered. Data used to write this thesis was strictly open source. Classified data could certainly alter the conclusions of this study.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Persian Gulf, UNSCOM, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), Alliances

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### **THE ROLE OF THE TATMADAW IN MODERN DAY BURMA: AN ANALYSIS**

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

The *Tatmadaw* (Burmese Army) has dominated Burma's politics since the Japanese and British occupation of Burma until today. Its role in Burma has received international attention, especially while other countries in Southeast Asia have seen the decline of military power, the most recent that being Indonesia. The *Tatmadaw* seems unshaken with all the recent development affecting the military institution in Southeast Asia. This study is significant in that it attempts to understand how the *Tatmadaw* can continue to play an important role in the politics of Burma despite popular opposition. From this study, much will be learned about how Burma's military managed to sustain its rule. It also tries to provide an answer as to why the *Tatmadaw* has become what it is today.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Burmese Military, Coup d' etat, Authoritarian Rule, Repression and Burmese Socialism

### **THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN EUROPE: DESIGNING A NEW FORCE STRUCTURE FOR A NEW ERA**

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**B.S., United States Military Academy, 1990**

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

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**Second Reader: Bert Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

The current structure of the United States Army in Europe (USAREUR) reflects the drawdown of the force after the end of the Cold War. It consists almost exclusively of heavy forces that are difficult to deploy and sustain, but provide excellent tactical mobility and firepower. The vast changes in the international security environment and the increasing advances in information technology since the early 1990s have invalidated many of the planning factors and assumptions that were used to construct the current force in 1990-1992. This thesis argues that USAREUR needs to be restructured with a mixture of heavy, medium, and light combat forces. This structure would allow USAREUR to accomplish any limited mission across the entire conflict spectrum in its area of responsibility, either with NATO allies or unilaterally, without reinforcement from forces stationed in the United States.

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

**KEYWORDS:** U.S. Army in Europe (USAREUR), U.S. Army, U.S. European Command, NATO, Revolution in Military Affairs, International Security Environment, Force Planning, Military Bureaucracy

### **VIETNAM AND THE SPRATLY ISLANDS DISPUTE SINCE 1992**

**Tong Hum Kang-Ministry of Defense, Malaysia**

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The sovereignty dispute over the Spratly Islands and jurisdiction in the South China Sea remains an important issue in Asia-Pacific security today. The race to establish the validity of claims has increased diplomatic discord and resulted in armed conflict. Hanoi's behavior in the Spratlys has implications for its

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relations with Vietnam's neighbors and for regional arrangements generally. This thesis examines Vietnam's approach to the Spratlys dispute since 1992. It concludes that: Hanoi's wooing of ASEAN has helped restrain China and the other claimants in the dispute; that Hanoi's rapprochement with Beijing has helped to limit China from seizing areas in the Spratlys occupied by Vietnam; that Hanoi's diplomacy has slowed Chinese expansionism in the Spratlys, while Hanoi's military build-up since 1992 has not; and Hanoi's dispute in a peaceful manner, Hanoi must collaborate with the ASEAN states, Taiwan, and the larger Asia-Pacific community to prevent Beijing from dominating the Spratlys and the South China Sea.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Area Studies)

**KEYWORDS:** Vietnam, Spratly Islands, South China Sea, Chinese Hegemony, ASEAN, International Law, UNCLOS, Southeast Asian Regional Security

### **DEVIRIMCI SOL: A STUDY OF TURKEY'S REVOLUTIONARY LEFT AND ITS IMPACT ON UNITED STATES INTERESTS, 1968-1999**

**Michael J. Kenville-Captain, United States Air Force**

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

**Advisor: Maria Jose' Moyano-Rasmussen, Department of National Security Affairs**

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

Using the evolution of *Devrimci Sol*, this thesis analyses leftist terrorism against U.S. interests in Turkey between 1968 and 1999. During this period, leftists committed 81 percent of the terrorism-related murders of U.S. citizens. In the 1970s, leftists began targeting U.S. interests, including military personnel. By 1980, the left had killed ten Americans. Although severely crippled following Turkey's 1980 coup, *Devrimci Sol*—the most prominent group—re-emerged in 1990 and dramatically increased attacks against U.S. interests during the Gulf War, perpetrating 75 percent of all terrorist-related U.S. deaths in 1991. Although devastating Turkish security operations and an internal group schism following the Gulf War drastically reduced the organization's violent activities, the late 1990s witnessed *Devrimci Sol's* renewed interest in targeting the U.S.

This thesis explains leftist development and violence against U.S. interests, suggesting Turkey's rapid modernization and the resulting instability provided fertile ground for the extreme left's emergence. By the 1970s, following periods of increased political liberalization, the rise of Marxist-Leninist ideology coupled with government intolerance to opposition groups elevated terrorism to the sole perceived avenue of change. External support, political amnesties, and reports of government oppression in Turkey support *Devrimci Sol's* continued survival. It remains a threat.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Çayan, *Dev Genç*, *Dev Sol*, *Dev Yol*, *Devrimci Sol*, DHKC, DHKP-C, Karata, Leftist, Marxist-Leninist, MLAPU, MLSPB, Revolutionary Left, Terrorism, THKO, THKP-C, TPLA, TPLF, Turkey, Urbanization, Yaman

### **KOSOVO - THE END OF THE BEGINNING, OR THE BEGINNING OF THE END? EFFECTS OF THE KOSOVO WAR ON NATO'S VIABILITY, U.S. COMMITMENTS TO NATO, AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION**

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**Ph.D., Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Loránd Eötvös University of Sciences, Budapest, 1998**

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

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

NATO's humanitarian intervention in Kosovo had a positive impact on long-term viability of the Alliance because it confirmed that NATO was able to redefine itself not only as the core of an enlarged and reshaped

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security community, but also as a suitable tool for crisis-management in the Euro-Atlantic region. Furthermore, the experiences of the humanitarian intervention demonstrated that the Alliance remains and should remain the central element of the European "security architecture."

The Kosovo War reaffirmed the United States' commitments to NATO, and reinforced the positions of the US in the new transatlantic bargain with its European NATO allies. Moreover, in spite of the emergence of the ESDI in NATO and the CFSP in EU, the U.S. remained one of the most crucial players in Europe, on which NATO's credibility is founded.

On the other hand, political and military experiences of the multilateral peace operation called attention to the importance of NATO's further internal and external adaptation. The above experiences gave new impetus to debates on a more appropriate future distribution of responsibilities, costs and risks among NATO allies; called for a more pragmatic division of labor between multiple institutions of the European "security architecture" (NATO, OSCE, WEU, EU), and raised new demands for revision and further improvement of basic principles of the ESDI and the CFSP.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Command, Control, and Communications, Electronics Warfare, Manpower, Personnel, and Training

**KEYWORDS:** Balkan, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), European Union (EU), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States (U.S.); Western European Union (WEU)

### **JAPAN'S COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION'S COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: CONVERGENCE TOWARDS GLOBAL COOPERATION?**

**Carsten Klenke-Commander, German Navy**

**B.S., Federal Armed Forces University, Germany, 1983**

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

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

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

Since the end of the Cold War, the world poses a new, multipolar, political environment. Japan, a major economic power, embarked on multilateralism in the 1970s, when the unquestioned and unlimited United States' support for Japan's one-sided economic foreign policy diminished. This process revealed cultural and traditional shortcomings in Japan's foreign policy conduct. The concept of Comprehensive National Security, created in 1980 was utilized to overcome these shortcomings, but did not succeed substantially.

The European Community created European Political Cooperation (EPC) to match economic and politic influence. An immobile bureaucracy and the tendency of EU member states to retain certain sovereignty rights rendered EPC relatively unsuccessful. The European Union (EU) sought to overcome these problems with the new Common Foreign and Security policy (CFSP). However, changes in decision making were marginal and consequentially did not improve CFSP in comparison to EPC.

EU-Japan economics as well as political cooperation suffered from incompatibilities between the EU and Japan in the conduct of policy making.

Only major reform attempts by both, leading to a higher degree of compatibility and the limitation on moderate goals offer the chance of successful cooperation. Global cooperation seems only achievable in the long term.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Comprehensive National Security, CFSP, EU, Japan, WEU, Economic Cooperation, Political Cooperation

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### **CZECH-GERMAN SUDETEN RELATIONS: RECONCILIATION PROCESS BETWEEN TWO NATIONS**

**Jaroslav Kocovský-Captain, Czech Republic Army**

**Dipl. Eng., Military Academy Brno, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, 1991  
Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2000**

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

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

This thesis focuses on the present relationship between the Czech Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the post-World War II transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia to Germany. The new approach to this issue appeared after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1989. The Sudeten German issue started to be openly discussed again, and both countries tried to solve this issue by negotiating and creating the Czech-German Declaration; however, this did not bring the reconciliation process to the end.

This thesis describes the common life of Czech and German nations within the Central European region since the thirteenth century and shows some important events of their common history. The thesis discusses the problem of nationalism, which started to increase from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and became a widespread political problem.

In 1998, both the German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and Czech Prime Minister Miloš Zeman backed the 1997 declaration statement by agreeing their countries would not encumber their relations with the past. However, German opposition, as well as the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft, opposed these statements and conditioned the European Union membership for the Czech Republic by solving Sudeten German issue which remains still unsettled.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Nationalism, Sudeten German, Habsburg Empire, Velvet Revolution, European Union, Political Party, Elections

### **HASHEMITE SURVIVAL STRATEGY: THE ANATOMY OF PEACE, SECURITY AND ALLIANCE MAKING IN JORDAN**

**M. Akif Kumral-Lieutenant, Turkish Land Forces**

**B.A., Turkish Military Academy, 1993**

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

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

**Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs**

Peace, security and alliance making have all been important focuses of international relations and Middle East studies. The primary goal of this study is to address the general question about the likelihood and durability of peace with special reference to the pattern of inter-state behavior. In particular, this thesis examines the relationship between the "change in threat perceptions in regards to regime survival" and the "change in foreign policy" in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. More specifically, it gives special attention to the factors that determined the regime's alignment choice within the peace process.

Because of the rare nature of cooperation and the accepted normality of conflict in the Middle East, it is intuitively believed that peace, perhaps as its own reward, reinforces security by reducing the degree of threats to state survival. Jordan's peace case challenges this conventional wisdom. After the peace, Jordan simply eliminated the Israeli threat, realigned solidly with the U.S., and "balanced" the regional threats to its survival. Paradoxically, however, peace did not "omnibalance" the internal threats. In conclusion, the Hashemite survival strategy did not bring security to the regime because of both the existing domestic political predicaments and the reality of socioeconomic problems in Jordan.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Middle East Politics and Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Alliance Making and Peace Process in Jordan, External/Internal Threats and Hashemite Regime Security, Survival, King Hussein

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**PALESTINIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND ISRAEL, 1948-1993**  
David A. Levy-Lieutenant, United States Navy  
B.S., State University of New York, Maritime College, 1995  
Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000  
Advisors: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs  
Jeanne K. Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines political violence by Palestinian groups against Israel and endeavors to determine if this political violence was a necessary component of Israel's decision to agree to the Oslo accords and subsequent peace process initiative. Through the analysis of four separate time periods in Palestinian history (1948 to The Six Day War, The Six Day War to the *Intifada*, the *Intifada* to the Oslo Accords, and post-Oslo Accords) it was shown that three separate forms of political violence were used (guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and civil unrest). It is argued that the political violence brought by Palestinian groups was a hydra. When one form of political violence was ended another formed. Though Israel was experiencing great external pressure to come to an understanding with the Palestinians it would not have been enough to force Israel to make a deal. Even today US as well as EU pressure are not enough to compel Israel to complete the land for security deal without the appropriate security guaranties being offered by the Palestinian Authority. Being a democracy, Israel required strong internal support for peace to bring about the peace process. This internal support was created by a demand for personal security and is seen in the creation of new political parties and movements. This security could only come about by ending random violent acts by Palestinian groups, and this could only be achieved by negotiating a peace with the Palestinians. In short, this thesis demonstrates through argument and evidence that Israel is engaged in a land for security peace deal with the Palestinians primarily because the Palestinians had engaged in political violence.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Counter-terrorism)

**KEYWORDS:** Israel, Palestine, Palestinians, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Political Violence, Terrorism, Counter-terrorism

**DE-ALERTING THE U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR ARSENALS:  
AN UNLIKELY METHOD OF ARMS CONTROL**  
James R. Low-Commander, United States Navy  
B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1982  
Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999  
Advisors: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs  
David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Non-governmental organizations and observers have suggested that deteriorating conditions in Russia's nuclear weapons system could lead Russian decision-makers to order a nuclear missile launch on warning, thereby precipitating nuclear war between the United States and Russia. False or ambiguous early warning system alerts, combined with Russian fears of attack and readily available missiles, are held to create a dangerous mix of operating conditions. The proposed de-alerting measures would either disable the nuclear launch platforms or the missiles, thus extending the time required for launching an ICBM or SLBM. The thesis suggests that the proposed de-alerting methods are physically feasible but could have detrimental effects upon crisis stability and national security. Verifying de-alerting measures also presents additional problems. The assumptions employed by de-alerting proponents are inaccurate, and their scenarios are implausible. Other arms control methods are being pursued (such as U.S.-Russian cooperation in jointly operated early warning centers) that should be more effective at reducing the chances of an accidental nuclear exchange while preserving Russian and American national security.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Nuclear Weapons Policy, De-alerting Arms Control

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### **HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS' PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE INSTITUTIONAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF A POLITICAL PHENOMENON**

**Wismar Ali Sarmiento Lylo-Lieutenant Colonel, Venezuelan Air Force  
B.S., Venezuelan Air Force Academy, 1983**

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

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

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

This thesis analyzes the rise of a political outsider in Venezuela, a country previously dominated by candidates from a strong and consolidated democratic party system. This thesis examines three dimensions institutional, economic, and cultural to find interrelated elements that explain the Hugo Chávez Frías' presidential victory in 1998. The findings suggest that the Venezuelan political culture constantly fosters military participation in politics. For many years, this impulse was contained by an institutionalized party system. However, poor economic performance by political leaders led to the decreasing governability and political instability in the 1990s, and the decay of the institutionalized party system, which created the opportunity for Hugo Chávez Frías to win the 1998 presidential election.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Western Hemisphere Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Party System, Political Parties, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Civil-Military Relations, Coup d'état Attempts, Civilian Control Over the Military, Military Professionalism, Culture, Institutionalism, Economy

### **TUNISIA: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ARMED FORCES STRUCTURE TO 2010 (U)**

**Leon A. McIlvene-Major, United States Marine Corps**

**B.S., Appalachian State University, 1984**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

**and**

**Sean M. Salene-Captain, United States Marine Corps**

**B.A., Boston College, 1991**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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

**Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs**

The information contained in the special abstract is classified SECRET.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs, International Security and Civil-Military Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Tunisia, Tunisia-Military, Tunisia-Armed Forces, Tunisia Security

### **THE VISIBLE HAND: THE GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIP AND ITS EFFECTS ON TRANSATLANTIC ARMS COOPERATION**

**Jeffrey R. McNichols-Ensign, United States Navy**

**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1999**

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

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

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

The economic realities of declining defense budgets and a smaller global arms market have, in recent years, forced governments to look beyond their own national borders when purchasing new armaments. This new global approach by governments in both the United States and Western Europe has resulted in an unprecedented consolidation of defense industries on both sides of the Atlantic. The key to understanding these events and what the future will hold is found in an examination of the government-industrial

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relationship, national corporate governance systems, the direction of the consolidation process in Western Europe, obstacles to future consolidation, and the prospects for transatlantic cooperation.

An analysis of corporate profit data from British, French, and German defense companies was completed to study the effects of government involvement in industry and ownership concentration. While no direct connection between corporate performance and these issues is possible, both government involvement and ownership concentration are shown to play a significant role in determining the national composition of mergers and investments. Cross-border mergers of defense firms are currently obstructed, however, by a state focus on employment issues, foreign investment restrictions, industrial security regulations, and arms export controls. An understanding of these issues and the will to enact reforms is necessary for the future of transatlantic cooperation.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Defense Industry)

**KEYWORDS:** Defense Industry, Globalization, Consolidation, Privatization, Corporate Governance, Transatlantic Cooperation

### **THE DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MONGOLIAN ARMED FORCES: THE STATE IH HURAL**

**Jargalsaikhan Mendee-Major, Mongolian Army**

**B.A., Mongolian Military University, 1994**

**M.A., Mongolian National University, 1996**

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

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

**Second Reader: Archie D. Barrett, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis analyzes the new civilian control mechanism of the Mongolian Armed Forces, focusing on the State Ih Hural (the Mongolian Parliament) and its defense-related committees, as well as the civilian Defense Minister. It identifies possible challenges to this mechanism. It will demonstrate that the legislative branch of the Mongolian government does not have sufficient defense expertise and information and there is an urgent need to establish a training system for civilian defense experts. It examines how the U.S. Congress participates in the defense decision-making process, and how it provides defense expertise and information for legislators. This thesis further suggests ways to improve the defense expertise and information for the Mongolian Parliament, its defense-related committees and the civilian Defense Minister in order to have an effective civilian control mechanism over the Mongolian Armed Forces.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Civilian Control, Defense Expertise and Information, Civilian Defense Expertise, U.S. Congress, Mongolian Parliament, Defense Committees

### **IMPLICATIONS OF GERMANY'S DECLINING DEFENSE SPENDING**

**Jürgen Merrath-Major, German Air Force**

**M.B.A., University of the German Armed Forces Munich, 1987**

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

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

**Second Reader: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

With its reunification on October 1990, Germany regained its full sovereignty and stands now in a position of greater global responsibility. Faced with dramatically increased demands on and expectations for Germany's armed forces, it must answer the question of how much it is willing to invest for safety and stability in Europe and for protection of peace in the world. In determining the level of commitment behind Germany's foreign and security policy, defense spending is an important indicator.

This thesis demonstrates that Germany's defense expenditure seems to be inconsistent with its foreign and security policy objectives, and its professed willingness to bear new responsibilities. While

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substantiating this judgment with facts about Germany's declining defense spending, it examines the reasons for and effects of Germany's shrinking defense budget and suggests solutions to cope with challenges and problems arising from this phenomenon. The thesis recommends a further downsizing of the Bundeswehr, improving military cooperation, and the establishing of convergence criteria for defense within the framework of a European Defense Budget. Finally, the thesis forecasts that if Germany does not reverse the trend of declining defense spending it will probably decrease its political significance in Europe and in the world.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (German Defense Issues)

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, Defense Spending, Defense Budget, Military Expenditures, Peace Dividend, Burden-Sharing, European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI), Convergence Criteria for Defense

### **THE BALKANS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: CHALLENGES FOR GREECE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY INSTITUTIONS**

**Adamantios Milas-Captain, Hellenic Air Force**

**Hellenic Air Force Academy, 1989**

**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 2000**

**Advisors: Williams R. Gates, Department of Systems Management**

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

The changes that occurred in the Balkans since 1991, following Soviet Union's dissolution and the breakup of Yugoslavia, revived the violent history of the Balkan Peninsula. The Kosovo War in 1998 aggravated the situation and increased fears among countries in the region for more ethnic strife, military operations and a massive exodus of refugees. As a Balkan country, Greece was affected by the evolving situation, which was reflected in its foreign security policy towards its northern neighbors during the 1990s. Greece has to redefine its role in the area and make use of its membership in both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU) to facilitate stability in the Balkans and solve its security dilemmas with its northern neighbors.

Security concerns reflect both the defense and economic aspect international relations. Political and economic stability are the primary goals of the Balkan states. These states cannot solve their problems without external help from Western European countries and European security institutions, like the EU, NATO and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Inevitably the European security institutions' engagement in the Balkans raises questions of enlargement in the Balkans. However, enlargement for both EU and NATO involves more than simply accepting new members.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Regional Studies, Balkans)

**KEYWORDS:** Balkans, Economics and Security, Greece's Security Concerns, EU, NATO, OSCE

### **STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF EXPANDED TURKISH-ISRAELI MILITARY RELATIONS**

**Spyridon Mimikos-Lieutenant, Hellenic Navy**

**B.S., Hellenic Naval Academy, 1987**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

**Advisors: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs**

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

The Oslo prospects for a new dawn of economic, social and cultural friendship in the Middle East never came true. Instead, in the post-Cold War era the Middle East region became more complicated and it is rapidly sorting itself into new regional power blocs. Turkey and Israel, two countries that in many ways are natural partners, constitute the core of the first and most powerful one.

This thesis will argue that the expanded Turkish-Israeli military relations has affected decisively the balance of interests within the region, as well as the context of strategic relations in the Middle East and the

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Eastern Mediterranean. The incentives and motivations that have driven both countries to realize security co-operation with each other can be detected and justified by the historical and geographic context in which both countries find themselves, as well as their relations with their regional neighbors. However these factors have also created stumbling blocks to their cooperation. Furthermore, it would be not an exaggeration to counter such cooperation as the outrider of NATO's enlargement in the area, or a strong incentive for Turkey's acceptance from the European Union. Nevertheless, the alliance's prospects for the future are definitely good.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Middle East Area Studies)

**KEYWORDS:** Strategic Implications and Objectives, Turkish-Israeli Military Relations, Security in the Middle East and East Mediterranean

### **AN EVALUATION OF BOTSWANA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH**

**Zibo Mmolawa-Lieutenant, Botswana Defense Force**

**Bcom., University of Botswana, 1993**

**Master of Science in Management-June 2000**

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

**Second Reader: Roger D. Evered, Department of Systems Management**

This thesis examines the critical factors that contributed to Botswana's economy moving from being among the poorest in the world to be among the fastest growing economies in the world. The study was conducted by comparing Botswana's policies to those of other African countries. Unlike most former British African colonies, when Botswana became independent in 1966, it had no infrastructure in place. African countries, save for Botswana, have rarely had sustained economic growth during their independence era. The methodology used in this thesis consisted of an analytical assessment of literature and critical synthesis of a model of economic growth relevant to Botswana. Throughout the research the focus is on how Botswana has differed from other African countries in approaching its economic development. The study found that because of political stability, sound management of the country's resources, timely changes to economic policies and appreciation of foreign aid Botswana was able to perform better than most African countries.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Military Expenditure)

**KEYWORDS:** Economic Growth, Foreign Aid, Market Economy, Economic Policy, Gross National Product

### **NEGOTIATING FOR CIVILIAN CONTROL: STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK) IN THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**Lekoa S. Mollo-Colonel, South African Army**

**B. Juris, University of Western Cape, 1993**

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

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

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

South Africa offers an important model of how nations can make the transition to democracy. The experience of South Africa reflects its own unique history and political circumstances, which differ from those of other nations. Nevertheless, the history of the establishment of democratic civilian control in South Africa offers potentially valuable lessons for other nations to adapt and apply to their own challenges. This thesis examines and analyzes how civilian control over the South African National Defense Force was established, especially over the functions of defense budgeting and policy. It seeks to describe how the leadership of the Umkhonto we Sizwe: meaning the "Spear of the Nation" (MK - the military wing of the African National Congress), pursued those negotiations with their counterparts in the South African Defense Force. I would argue that the military might of the apartheid regime, SADF, was still very powerful and the regime could have still exploited that power to overwhelm MK in the

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negotiations on the future of South Africa. The SADF also posed a major risk, as it possessed the potential to stage a coup in post-apartheid South Africa. To remedy this ostensible imbalance, ANC concluded that for the negotiations to be fruitful and successful, the political playing field had to be leveled. To do this, all parties participating in the negotiation needed to have equal status, especially the government and the ANC as the two major role-players. This, the ANC argued, would ensure that the apartheid government was not a referee and a player at the same time.

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

**KEYWORDS:** African National Congress, Balance Model, Civilian Control, Civil-Military Relations, Defense Secretariat, Leveling the Political Playing Fields, Negotiations, Referee and Player, South Africa, South African National Defense Force, South African Defense Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe

### **RESPONDING TO SADDAM: U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAQ SINCE THE GULF WAR**

**Daniel E. Murphy-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1991**

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

**Advisor: Daniel J. Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

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

This thesis is an analysis of U.S. policy toward Iraq since the Gulf War. UN Security Council Resolution 687 was the formal cease-fire agreement ending the Gulf War, required the elimination of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and created the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM). Attempts to gain Iraqi compliance with Resolution 687 consumed U.S. Iraq policy for nine years. In 1999, UNSCOM was disestablished without fulfilling its mandate. The Security Council then adopted Resolution 1284 in an attempt to introduce a new inspection regime into Iraq. This thesis examines the factors required to successfully compel Iraqi compliance with Resolution 687 and now Resolution 1284. The findings of this research conclude that current U.S. policy toward Iraq does not contain elements needed to successfully compel Iraqi compliance. The thesis then offers three policy options to deal with Iraq. The advantages and disadvantages of each are discussed. The thesis concludes that although current policy does not support the re-entry of a viable inspection regime, current policy does support the overall U.S. objective of containing Iraq. It is argued that current policy should be maintained in the near-term while the United States fully develops regime change as a long-term strategy.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Iraq, United Nations, Security Council, Sanctions, Weapons of Mass Destruction, UNSCOM, UNMOVIC

### **SECURITY-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE BALTIC SEA REGION: AN ESTONIAN PERSPECTIVE**

**Jaani Murumets-Civilian, Ministry of Defense of Estonia**

**B.A., University of Tartu, 1992**

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

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

**Second Reader: Bert Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

Countries in Baltic Sea the region represent all combinations of political approaches to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union, democracy, and a market economy. The region, hence, is a focal point and testing ground of problems and challenges for Europe to face in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a whole. The success or failure of this region depends on the adequacy of foreign policy of each country in this key area.

A comprehensive analysis of key elements of foreign and security policy of ten countries in the region suggests that Estonia's foreign policy generally accords with the foreign policies of other countries in the region. Two minor disagreements concern the conditions of enlargement of the Alliance - with Finland -

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and policy towards Russia - with Germany. Discrepancies between the foreign policies of Estonia and Russia are fundamental. However, there is also some common ground. Taking into account the above-mentioned discrepancies, Estonia should continue to pursue its present course of policy and strategy.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Security Policy, NATO, European Union, Baltic Sea Region, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden

### **POLICIES CONTRIBUTING TO THE SOLUTION OF ILLEGAL LARGE-SCALE MIGRATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

**Ivo Musil-Lieutenant Colonel, Army of the Czech Republic**

**Dipl. Eng., Military Academy of Ground Forces, 1984**

**Master of Science in Management-June 2000**

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

**Dana Eyre, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the phenomenon of illegal large-scale migration in Central Europe after 1989 when the world communist system disintegrated. Large-scale illegal migration appeared as one of side effects of the development towards democracy and free market economy. This thesis identifies the impact of different policies in areas of the legal and social environment, humanitarian aid and international development aid as well as measures in the area of international politics related to large-scale migration. Identification of solutions in terms of cost-effectiveness and political acceptability is one of the conditions identified for future enlargement of European structures, especially adaptation of Central European countries by the European Union. Based on its nature, large-scale migration raises a number of challenges for public policy: refugee support and administration, crime control, labor market regulation with respect to the foreign labor force, and integration of increasingly diverse categories of migrants. The social and economic conditions of the transit countries such as the Czech Republic create a favorable environment for migrants coming from Eastern European and third world countries. However, there is still no successful and comprehensive official migration policy because of a lack of experience of the Central European governments with migration, which has still more transit character rather than genuine immigration.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Migration, Central Europe, Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Central Europe, Czech Republic, Illegal Migration, Humanitarian Aid, International Development Aid, Asylum Policy

### **THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA AND NATO - PARTNERSHIP AND INTEGRATION**

**Nina Nikolova-Civilian, Ministry of Defense, Republic of Bulgaria**

**M.A., University of Sofia, 1988**

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

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

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

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

The transformations of the political relations in Europe at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in deep changes in the concepts of security and redefining the existing systems for collective defense in Europe. NATO becoming the security and defense framework of Europe had to deeply reconsider its *raison d'etre* and to enlarge.

In this connection the Republic of Bulgaria deeply reconsidered its political and strategic position in this new environment, started profound reforms in its security institutions and continues to consolidate the democratic statecraft. This thesis analyzes the process of NATO enlargement and advocates the possibilities of membership for Bulgaria at the next 2002 NATO Summit. Bulgaria needs a quick entrance, not only for its strategic geopolitical position in Southeastern Europe, but for its efforts to

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participate in the building of united Europe and to support the Alliance as a reliable partner, committed to contribute and to preserve the peace and stability in the region and Europe and to promote the democratic values. The membership will strengthen the process of European integration and create a better climate for economic growth and prosperity in Europe.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Bulgaria, Security, NATO, Enlargement, Strategic Threat, Civil-Military Relations, Civilian Control, President, Ministry of Defense, Foreign Policy, Military Reform, U.S., Russia, Kosovo

### **BAPTISM BY FIRE: HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION IN NATO'S KOSOVO CAMPAIGN**

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

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

Hungary's unique situation in the Kosovo crisis of 1998/9 stemmed from the country's geographic and strategic position as the only NATO member adjacent to Yugoslavia; further important was the sensitivity regarding Belgrade's behavior toward the national minorities in Yugoslavia in view of the 350,000 ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina; finally, also vital was Hungary's briefest tenure in the Alliance before the onset of a severe crisis. The dilemma of Hungary at the end of the century approximates that, in a way, of Germany in the Cold War. That is national division (of a kind) as well as being situated on the front-line of a conflict. Central and Eastern Europe has been the land of repressed national and ethnical conflicts for almost two centuries. These unresolved conflicts have meant constant threat to European security since the collapse of the communist bloc and still can endanger it. The primary objectives of Hungarian foreign policy after 1989 had been gaining membership in the EU and NATO and maintaining good relations with the bordering countries. The sheer irony of Hungary's participation in the Kosovo conflict is that having achieved one of its main objectives - joining NATO - it became a participant in the war against one of its neighbors.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Strategy and Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Hungary, Security and Defense Policy, Hungary, Domestic Politics, NATO, Strategy and Policy, European Security Policy, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts in Europe, Kosovo, Vojvodina, Yugoslavia

### **WAR POWERS: REFORMING THE LAW WITH CASE STUDIES OF U.S. MILITARY ACTION IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND HAITI**

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**B.S., Chilean Army Academy, 1973**

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

**Advisors: Frank Teti, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs**

The thesis studies the U.S. legal framework on war powers, concluding that it has not allowed the President and Congress to work together on war powers issues. From the constitutional viewpoint, this lack of friendly environment arises from the fact that the Constitution shares war powers between the presidency and the Congress, producing the conflict. From a political viewpoint, this dispute is explained by the presidential willingness to use the war powers without congressional authorization. In addition, every time lawmakers have sued the president for violations of the War Powers Resolution, the judiciary has ruled that this is a political question. Legally speaking, this conflict could end in a constitutional conflict. Politically speaking, this dispute could also have an important impact on the role that the United States plays within the community of nations and on the U.S. national security goal of promoting democracy abroad. In order

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to offer a possible solution, the thesis proposes legal changes that would strengthen the consultation process established by both the War Powers Resolution and the National Security Act of 1947.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Constitutional Principles, War Powers, National Security Council

**CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENCE FOR JAPAN**  
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**Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs**

The role that nuclear weapons play in U.S. strategy has changed since the end of the Cold War. How has this affected the credibility of the U.S. nuclear umbrella for Japan, and what level of credibility is appropriate now to help maintain a healthy alliance and best achieve U.S. regional objectives of nuclear non-proliferation and stability? These questions are the focus of this thesis. If U.S. credibility is weak, the Japanese may be compelled to seek nuclear protection under some other power, claim neutrality, or seek independent nuclear forces. If it is too strong, they may become alienated from the alliance or fear entanglement in a U.S. precipitated nuclear conflict. Any of these scenarios would weaken the U.S.-Japan alliance or cause it to collapse, encouraging nuclear proliferation and threatening regional stability. This thesis explores another dimension of the U.S.-Japan nuclear alliance as well. It remains difficult for the United States to extend nuclear deterrence to Japan. The United States and Japan have very different views concerning nuclear weapons. The United States is the only country to have ever attacked another with nuclear weapons, and Japan was the target. This stark reality affects the strategic cultures of both nations and has affected the U.S.-Japan alliance in many ways. This thesis explores ways to reassure Japan of U.S. nuclear commitments without provoking domestic Japanese opposition. Finally, this thesis recommends that the United States increase its efforts to improve the perception of U.S. commitment to Japan while continuing to pursue ballistic missile defenses and modest nuclear arms reductions. These measures can effectively counter misperceptions about a lack of U.S. commitment to the nuclear defense of Japan without overly provoking either the Japanese public or potential adversaries.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Alliance, Deterrence, Japan, Nuclear Weapons, United States

**BULGARIA AND NATO's MILITARY INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA**  
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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**  
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**Second Reader: Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines Bulgarian political and economic issues regarding NATO's military intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999. It studies: Bulgarian policy regarding Kosovo crisis; the domestic political attitudes and discussions over NATO's military intervention and over government's foreign policy on this issue; the impact of the war in Yugoslavia and post-war order on Bulgarian economy and Bulgarian domestic and foreign politics. The thesis attempts to evaluate some cost-effective assessments about short and long term consequences for Bulgaria.

In spite of the initial highly negative and catastrophic expectations of the Bulgarian public, the country gained significant political dividends. Bulgarian prospects for EU and NATO membership now seem to be much more realistic than ever in the past.

At the same time, NATO intervention and the postwar settlements have not solved the ethnic,

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political, military and economic problems on the Balkans, but complicated them and posed serious new risks for Bulgaria and for the Balkans in general. The war also brought certain negative ecologic effects. The intervention in Yugoslavia and its support by the Bulgarian government complicated Bulgarian-Russian relations, which most probably will have long-term negative effect on Bulgarian economy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (NATO, Bulgaria and Balkan Stability)

**KEYWORDS:** Bulgaria, Kosovo, Yugoslavia, Balkans, NATO, IMF, Military Intervention, War, Impact, Consequences, Balkan Stability Pact

### EXPLORING THE "WEIMAR RUSSIA" ANALOGY

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The "Weimar Russia" analogy is based on the comparison between the failures of the Weimar Republic in Germany (1918-33) and the current problems of post-Soviet Russia. The premise of the analogy is that initial advances toward democracy and economic stabilization might fail and that an authoritarian leader might assume power, rearm, and destabilize the Eurasian continent.

The comparison has been the subject of academic conferences, books, journal articles, news stories, and miscellaneous comments. This thesis examines the following elements of the comparison: Defeat in War; Revolution as the Internal Cause; Loss of Territory and Resources; Economic Turmoil; Political Systems, Governments, and Leaders; Decline of the Military; The Diaspora and the Desire for an Ethnically-based Nation-State; Revanchism and Irredentism; and Fascism and Anti-Semitism.

While some analysts question the validity of the comparison, the "Weimar Russia" analogy commands attention from experts in Russian affairs and government officials concerned with the future of Russia.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Weimar Russia, Russia, Post-Soviet Russia, Fascism, Nationalism, Historical Comparison

### GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL APPROACH

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Second Reader: Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs

Before colonialism, the Rwandese lived together in harmony. They spoke the same language, shared the same culture and geographical territory, intermarried, and belonged to the same clans. Yet, in a period of less than three months in 1994, about one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed by their Hutu neighbors in one of the most horrific genocides ever witnessed. This thesis reviews the definitions of ethnicity and theories of ethnic conflict in the literature. It critically examines how ethnicity was constructed in Rwanda, and how it became rigid, ranked, and polarized. The thesis also examines the roles and interests of the two major actors in the Rwandan genocide: the elite and the masses.

Although the ideology of the Rwandan genocide was propounded and popularized by the Hutu extremist elites, its intensity can be explained largely by analyzing the interests and fears of the masses, and why they responded to genocide ideology and elite incitement.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Genocide, Ethnic Conflict, Ethnic Groups, Rwandese, Elites, Masses, Extremists, Moderates, Ethnic Ranking, Dual Ethnicity, Cohabitation, Resources, and Rational

### **THE EVOLUTION OF NATO: THE ALLIANCE'S STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND ITS PREDECESSORS, 1945-2000**

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A review of European and transatlantic history since World War II suggests that the Cold War largely determined the foreign and security policies of Euro-Atlantic nations and of such international organizations as NATO. In the late 1980s, dramatic changes in Europe put an end to the Cold War deadlock and caused the transformation of NATO.

NATO's origins reside in the era of 1919-1948. Formed in 1948/49 as a collective defense institution, NATO's purposes, procedures and capabilities were adjusted to deter the Warsaw Pact threat. Since 1990 the organization appears to be the sole one still capable of dealing with current and future risks and threats of the transition processes. The thesis analyses NATO's path from confrontation to cooperation in view of NATO's evolution, beginning with NATO from its Cold War strategies, through the revolutionary changes due to the Alliance's New Strategic Concept (Rome, 1991), and ending in the present with the outcome of the Alliance's Strategic Concept (Washington, 1999). The thesis assesses NATO's potential for further improvements and NATO's future role as an organization shaping the security environment in the Euro-Atlantic area.

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

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, North Atlantic Treaty, Strategy, Doctrine, Strategic Concept, Primacy of Political Authority, Deterrence, Détente, Art.5, Massive Retaliation, Flexible Response, Harmel, Cold War, Security Environment, Washington Summit, DCI, ESDI, WMD, P&P

### **U.S. NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE AND ITS EFFECT ON U.S.-RUSSIAN ARMS CONTROL**

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This thesis provides an analysis of the proposed and potential security functions of a United States National Missile Defense system and determines what implications the construction of such a system would have on current and future U.S.-Russian arms control agreements. This research is critical for understanding the evolution, both domestically and internationally, of ballistic missile defense systems and their link to nuclear strategy and arms control. This thesis will also explore the policy debates and political trends in both the United States and Russia concerning U.S. NMD, in an attempt to better explain each country's position.

Compromise between the two countries on arms control issues involving both offensive and defensive systems is only possible if post-Cold War realities are accepted. The current arms control regime that governs both offensive and defensive systems is based on a political and military reality that no longer exists. If the two former adversaries still desire to participate in bilateral arms control, the basis of that arms control needs to represent current realities, and change its focus from limitation and restriction to inspection and confidence building.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Arms Control, Nuclear Weapons)

**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Russian Relations, National Missile Defense, NMD, BMD, START, ABM Treaty, Arms Control

### **U.S. STRATEGIC APPROACHES TO UKRAINE**

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

This thesis examines U.S. strategic approaches to Ukraine in three major periods: World War I; World War II; and the Cold War; and since Ukraine's independence in 1991. Several key factors and tendencies related to U.S.-Ukrainian-Russian relations are reviewed throughout these three periods. The main emphasis is on post-1991 American strategic approaches to Ukraine. The thesis attempts to define possible future U.S. approaches regarding Ukraine and possible challenges in the bilateral relationship. It concludes that the strategic partnership that the United States and Ukraine reached in the 1990s, after almost a century of American indifference toward Kyiv, is in decline because American strategic approaches toward Ukraine lack a properly balanced economic dimension. Moreover, changes in Russia's leadership, the U.S.-Russian arms control agenda, and U.S. foreign aid trends as well as negative internal political and economic factors in Ukraine are combining to lower Kyiv's place among the priorities of U.S. strategic policy. However, new business and economic initiatives, analogous to NATO's Partnership for Peace, could provide solutions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States, Ukraine, Strategy, Russia, Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** United States Ukraine, Foreign Policy, Russia, Strategy, Nuclear Disarmament, World War I, World War II, Cold War, American-Ukrainian Diaspora, NATO

### **FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE IDENTITY**

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

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

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

The concept of a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within NATO is as old as the proposal made in 1950 by French Prime Minister René Pleven to form a European Defense Community (EDC) that would integrate French and German military forces into a common European army. However, the differences between French and German strategic culture have hampered efforts to establish an ESDI. One of the most critical dilemmas stems from the clash between (a) the German belief that United States engagement is essential to European stability and should not be undermined and (b) the long-standing goal of French leaders to develop a Europe that is more independent of American influence. Another key dilemma has involved French efforts to reconcile the Gaullist legacy of preserving national autonomy with an ever-increasing commitment to European integration and France's growing role in the integrated defense and security architecture of Europe. As long as French leaders continue to be influenced by de Gaulle's approach to foreign and national security policy, many obstacles to furthering the development and strengthening the capabilities of an ESDI will persist.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Western European Union (WEU)

**DISMANTLING RUSSIA'S NORTHERN FLEET NUCLEAR SUBMARINES:  
ENVIRONMENTAL AND PROLIFERATION RISKS**

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**Rodney K. Minott, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the 1986 Chernobyl accident and its consequences as the basis for an analysis of the possible dimensions of the nuclear catastrophes that could occur during the dismantlement process of Russia's Northern Fleet nuclear submarines. It assesses the potential demographic, ecological, and economic consequences of a nuclear accident. Given the systemic problems at Russian nuclear facilities, the risks of a catastrophic event in the poorly maintained and operated submarine yards housing over 100 operating nuclear reactors are significant. A major nuclear accident at these facilities could cause damage to the environment of global proportions. This thesis considers the potential environmental impact of a nuclear accident during the nuclear submarine dismantlement process and discusses the environmental damage that has already occurred as a result of Soviet and Russian practices. This thesis also evaluates the risk of diversion of nuclear materials to proliferators or terrorists. Lastly, this thesis examines how the United States, the European Union, and perhaps others could assist Russia in reducing the environmental and proliferation risks in this dismantlement process.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Submarine Dismantlement )

**KEYWORDS:** Dismantlement, Nuclear Submarines, Russia, Environment

**LEGITIMIZING INTRA-STATE MILITARY INTERVENTION ON BEHALF  
OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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Human rights have in recent years become a key justification for outside powers to intervene in conflicts within states. NATO's intervention in Kosovo in March to June 1999 is but one important example of this rationale. Despite the allied "victory," NATO's decision making was muddled and burdened by convoluted rhetoric and hesitancy and cannot serve as a model for any similar future engagements. It is out of the need to find a constructive way forward that the thesis argues for a rational course of action based on ideals but tempered with realism. International norms regarding state sovereignty, human rights, and intervention as propounded in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are discussed and critiqued. Kosovo is critically analyzed as a case study highlighting practical constraints and illuminating the need for reasserting clear definitions and guidelines that are philosophically well-grounded and legally viable. Philosophical obstacles to achieving clarity and formulating universal norms are briefly assessed. The thesis proposes a philosophical framework and norms that may well serve as the foundation for revised international guidelines. The conclusion argues for tempered international enforcement of clear and coherent guidelines that uphold specified, universally acknowledged human rights.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Military Intervention)

**KEYWORDS:** Military Intervention, Human Rights, State Sovereignty

### **SWITZERLAND AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTIONS**

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

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**Second Reader: Bert Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

Switzerland was a member of the League of Nations, but has never joined the United Nations (UN). Switzerland nonetheless works closely with the UN, and the Swiss are active in the OSCE. The Swiss never tried to join NATO, but there is a growing engagement in Partnership for Peace (PfP). Switzerland is an island surrounded by the European Union (EU), and still resists membership. The Swiss Government wants to join the UN and the EU, but the Swiss public, in 1986 and in 1992, said "no" to such entries, because it wants to remain neutral and to keep its political rights.

The thesis examines the proposition that the new policy of "Security through Cooperation," as written in several governmental reports, is compatible with Swiss neutrality. Therefore, the thesis examines Swiss history, the country's system, and its relationship to the UN, the OSCE, NATO, and the EU. In every step, where the Swiss Government followed the Swiss history of the Good Offices, the Swiss public said "yes," in all other steps "no." The thesis shows the reasons for this development.

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

**KEYWORDS:** United Nations (UN), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty (NATO), Partnership for Peace (PfP), European Union (EU), Swiss History, Swiss Neutrality, Swiss Democracy, Neutrality, Democracy

### **WOMEN AND THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

**Elie J. Tucker-Ensign, United States Navy**

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**Second Reader: CAPT Fredrick Rocker, USN, Department of National Security Affairs**

The Palestinian women's movement in the Occupied Territories has emerged as an undeniable force on the domestic political scene over the past thirty years. During the Intifada, women seized the opportunity to demonstrate their significance as participants in the struggle for national independence through socio-political organizations that had been developing since the 1970s. Today, these organizations provide a platform from which women address issues beyond those concerned solely with Palestinian statehood, challenging existing societal norms regarding the rights of women.

Beyond the argument that women comprise roughly half of the world's population, there lies a need for comparative studies of women's movements as a viable political force. The politicization of the gender issue in many developing countries is a great cause for concern. The ability of women as a social group to generate support and potentially impact the political infrastructure has gained attention as a vehicle to induce regime change. When women are given the opportunity to pursue university education, a generation of well-educated, professional women amasses over time. These women have the ability to generate the strength to sustain a feminist movement in parallel to, yet independent of, a national movement, as evidenced in the Palestinian case.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Area Studies, Middle East)

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Women, Palestinians

**U.S. STRATEGIC NUCLEAR POLICY AND FORCE STRUCTURE:  
THREE ANALYTICAL APPROACHES**

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**M.Ed., Old Dominion University, 1998**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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

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

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and Russia have made significant strides in reducing their nuclear arsenals. While the current political climate is significantly less tense than during the Cold War era, Russia is still the only country capable of destroying the United States.

This thesis examines the current requirements shaping U.S. nuclear strategy, policy, and force structure in the three leading U.S. schools of thought (de-alerting, bilateral negotiations, and national missile defense). Additionally, the thesis evaluates the implications for the U.S. nuclear posture in the policy recommendations advanced by these schools. Each school proposes distinct solutions regarding strategic force structure based on its interpretation of the requirements at hand.

The thesis concludes that de-alerting, theater and national ballistic missile defense, and bilateral negotiations schools of thought will continue to influence, both short-term and long-term, U.S. nuclear policy and force structure.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Nuclear Command and Control, De-alerting, National/Theater Ballistic Missile Defense (NMD) (TMD), START Treaty, Strategic Nuclear Policy and Force Structure

**POTENTIAL RUSSIAN NUCLEAR CONTINGENCIES IN THE CAUCASUS:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO**

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

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

There are three potential Russian nuclear contingencies in the Caucasus that merit analysis: a conflict internal to the Russian Federation; a conflict involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, and/or Georgia; and a conflict involving Turkey. The Caucasus is the region in which it is most plausible that Russia might resort to nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances. This region has been in turmoil since the collapse of the Soviet Union; and the prospects for continued conflict are great, given ethnic tensions and competing strategic ambitions regarding the region's energy resources. Russia faces a gap between its geopolitical ambitions and its conventional military capabilities. Its conventional military forces are in disarray and efforts at reform have been unsuccessful. Many in the Russian military establishment, having been trained under the Soviet nuclear doctrine that upheld the efficacy of limited nuclear weapons employment, now see the limited use of nuclear weapons as a genuine option in regional wars. NATO must deal squarely with this potential problem by formulating options for conflict prevention and, if necessary, for response.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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

**KEYWORDS:** NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), Russian Nuclear Weapons, NATO-Russia Relations, Caucasus, Russian Military Affairs, Nuclear War

### **TRIANGULAR DETERRENCE: A FORMIDABLE ROGUE STATE STRATEGY**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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In an effort to counter the overwhelming U.S. predominance in conventional forces, rogue states such as Iraq and North Korea have adopted a strategy based upon the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD); that is, nuclear, chemical, or biological arms. Moreover, rogue states have refocused their efforts to deter U.S. action from direct confrontation with the United States to threatening U.S. allies or neutral parties in potential contingencies. This strategy might enable a rogue state to avoid direct engagement with the United States as well as to make the most effective use of a small WMD program. Robert Harkavy has labeled this concept "triangular or indirect deterrence." This thesis analyzes triangular deterrence as a credible strategy that might be implemented by rogue states throughout the world. The thesis examines historical case studies as well as plausible hypothetical future scenarios, and bases its analysis on a broad body of deterrence theory. It concludes that "triangular deterrence" presents new challenges for U.S. defense policy and that partial solutions may reside in missile defenses and adjustments in declaratory policy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Deterrence, Asymmetric Strategies)

**KEYWORDS:** Triangular Deterrence, Indirect Deterrence, Asymmetric Strategies, Weapons of Mass Destruction, WMD, Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear Strategy, Rogue State Strategy, North Korea, DPRK, Ballistic Missiles

### **PROFESSIONALISM IN THE TURKISH MILITARY: HELP OR HINDRANCE TO CIVILIAN CONTROL?**

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

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

The Turkish Officer Corps has developed into a professional body of personnel with a high degree of autonomy. Turkey's participation in NATO and the U.S. military assistance it received over the course of almost fifty years are key contributing factors to the modernization of the force. However, contrary to Samuel P. Huntington's proposition that maximizing military professionalism leads to objective civilian control of the military, the Turkish Officer Corps is not under civilian control and continues to play a major role in domestic politics.

The reason why the military is not under civilian control is that its definition of military professionalism differs from that normally attributed to Western militaries. The officer corps regards itself as the guardian of the ideology of Kemalism, named after Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. Rather than focusing exclusively on national defense, military officers are indoctrinated in and become occupied with the preservation of Kemalism against internal threats such as political Islam and Kurdish separatism. Although the adoption of Atatürk's example as a great strategist and military leader lends itself to military professionalism, adherence to Kemalism as an ideology is a hindrance to objective civilian control.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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

**KEYWORDS:** Military Professionalism, Civil-Military Relations, Turkish Military, Turkish Armed Forces, Turkey

### **CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN THE LATE SUHARTO ERA**

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

The Indonesian armed forces played an important role in building the nation and in making Indonesia independent. ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces was born as an army of national liberation, and it played an important role in politics from the beginning. After the failure of an attempted coup by the Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on 30 September 1965, Suharto, as a commander, brought the military fully into the political arena. ABRI became embedded in the government, which meant that ABRI itself became the government. Some military officers began to have doubts about supporting Suharto without setting limits. As a result, Suharto took strong action and marginalized the military from its social political role. ABRI as an institution lost its authority, and it became a tool for the regime instead of a pioneer in the development of the nation. Under Suharto we can conclude that during 1965-1985 period, the Indonesian government could be classified as a "military regime." Then, after Suharto gradually began to push the military further from direct control over the government, the military lost whatever autonomy it might have exercised before. This is important because the type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of new democracy. Given that the military had been pushed out of many aspects of government policy-making, Indonesia's new democracy should experience less civil-military conflict.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Civil Military Relations

### **AMAZON SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM (SIVAM): U.S. AND BRAZILIAN COOPERATION**

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**M.P.A., Troy State University, 1998**

**Masters of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999**

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

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The thesis will demonstrate how Brazil's System for Surveillance of the Amazon (SIVAM) increases bilateral linkages in Brazilian-U.S. relations within the framework of the international relations theory of complex interdependence. The thesis's central theme is that SIVAM might benefit U.S. national security interests in Latin America, especially in counter-drug operations. For example, an opportunity for greater cooperation between the two nations exists with Relocatable Over the Horizon Radar (ROTHR) data sharing. ROTHR could improve SIVAM's low altitude aircraft coverage and reinforce Brazil's sovereign borders. The most important arena for cooperation is in counter-drug operations.

SIVAM was conceived in the early 1990s to support control and preservation of the Amazon in a strategy known as System for Protection of the Amazon or SIPAM. In 1994, U.S. based Raytheon Corporation won the SIVAM contract over French Thomson CSF in bidding, but contract execution did not begin until 1997. The new Ministry of Defense will probably control SIVAM. SIVAM will have significant surveillance capabilities to support Brazilian military operations other than war (OOTW).

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Electronic Warfare, Sensors, Other (C4ISR, Radar)

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Electronic Warfare, Sensors, Other (C4ISR, Radar)

**KEYWORDS:** Systems, Surveillance, Brazil, Technology, Amazon, Sovereignty, U.S. Foreign Relations, OOTW, Counter-Drug, South America, Environment, Raytheon, Counter-drug, Narco-guerrilla, Civil-Military Relations, International Relations, Brazilian Civil-Military Relations, U.S. Government Advocacy, Surveillance Technology, Over the Horizon Radar

### **RUSSIAN DECISION-MAKING AND OPTIONS REGARDING U.S. NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2000**  
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**Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis analyzes Russian policy regarding prospective U.S. decisions on the deployment of a limited National Missile Defense (NMD) system. Russia's critical position on U.S. NMD is a product of its security concerns, desire for national prestige, and sense of pragmatism. Russia's responses to date - attempts to influence international opinion and the policies of foreign governments against U.S. NMD - reflect these concerns and the limits of Russia's economic and military power. Russia's apparent strategy is threefold: to engage in sharp rhetoric with the United States about NMD, while not crossing the line of an embarrassing showdown; to capitalize on America's unwillingness to assert its predominance in world affairs; and to persuade the West to subsidize the Russian economy in order to allay its own fears of instability in Russia. Russia's options are to accept the ABM Treaty modifications requested by the United States and thereby legitimize U.S. NMD under the treaty or to refuse such modifications, in which case Washington may exercise its legal option to withdraw from the treaty. In either case, Russia will seek to charge America a high political price for pursuing NMD. Russia's nuclear arsenal and potential for political upheaval suggest that it is in the U.S. interest to promote stability in Russia, while considering how to redefine its strategic nuclear relationship with Russia.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, ABM Treaty, National Missile Defense, NMD, Nuclear, Weapon

### **U.S. AND TURKISH INTERESTS CONCERNING OIL POLITICS IN THE CASPIAN SEA BASIN**

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**B.S., Turkish Army Academy, 1993**  
**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**  
**Advisor: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Second Reader: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis treats four major themes of vital importance to contemporary politics and strategy in the Caspian Sea region. In the first instance, it explores the growing geo-strategic role of the littoral states. Secondly, it treats the Caspian littoral as an issue of the strategic partnership between Turkey and the United States with due attention to the interaction of domestic and external politics as is plainly visible in all considerations of the Caspian littoral. In the third instance, this thesis analyzes the sources of political instability in the Caspian Sea Basin seen through the lenses of Turkish and U.S. policies. And finally, the thesis evaluates the effects of new developments on regional and global political concerns.

This thesis demonstrates that Turkey and the United States have similar interests in the region. But these allies' policies in the last decade could neither conclude the construction of a main oil pipeline from Azerbaijan nor solve the inherent problems of the littoral states. Furthermore, domestic and other international issues hinder the implementation of their policies. Considering these new developments, Turkish and U.S. policy makers must adopt a new outlook. Being stakeholders in these events requires them to revise their policies.

## THESIS ABSTRACTS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Caspian Sea Oil Pipelines)

**KEYWORDS:** Energy Security, Oil Pipelines, Caspian Sea Region, Baku-Ceyhan, Trans-Caspian Pipelines, Foreign Policy, Regional Stability, National Interests, United States, Turkey, Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Oil Investors

### **THE POLISH ROAD TO SECURITY AND STABILITY: CRUCIAL ROLE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP**

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

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

Faced at the outset with obstacles of the international system of states and of domestic politics, Poland embraced the tasks of accession to NATO. In this effort, no road map existed for what was an unprecedented situation. Thus, Poland had to resolve domestic and international tasks of accession with national means as well as guidance from the alliance and its members. Poland had to structure a new defense policy in an alliance context. The country had to reform the national security decision-making apparatus, which, in its most dramatic dimension, required the fashioning of democratic civil-military relations. The latter process, also, involved input from the domestic arena as well as those from the alliance members. This process took time as the alliance itself figured out the path forward and there were difficulties in Poland because of the possibility that Poland might fail. Nonetheless, these problems aside, Polish society and politics held sure to the sole aim of accession to NATO. This thesis argues that, with the successful accession to NATO, Poland secured its place in the West, which the events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had denied this nation heretofore. Thus, Polish security rests on the stronger foundation, far greater than that possible with national means alone.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Poland, NATO Accession, Defense Policy, Civil-Military Relations

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