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## 1998 THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MISSILE DEFENSE: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE FROM THE SEA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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

**Peter R. Lavoy, Department of National Security Affairs**

Pursuing a ship-based missile defense capability could thrust the Naval service into one of the most heated controversies of the past three decades: the Congressional debate over the desirability—or danger—of erecting widespread ballistic missile defenses. To better understand the influences on Congressional attitudes, this study examines five divisive Congressional debates over missile defense. In contrast to traditional explanations that focus on the causal factors underlying Congressional voting behavior, this thesis emphasizes the political process of framing issues to create the political climates that shape Congressional attitudes and link them to voting decisions. This thesis shows that major shifts in missile defense policy occur when key individuals successfully manipulate powerful images to legitimize and popularize arguments favoring their desired policy option. Understanding how elites use images to shape political attitudes provides a framework for charting and navigating the Congressional storm that is likely to surround the deployment of future Navy missile defense systems.

**KEYWORDS:** National Missile Defense, Congress, Attitudes, Beliefs, Navy, Aegis, Public Opinion

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

### **UNITED STATES SECURITY POLICY IN ASIA AFTER KOREAN UNIFICATION**

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The U.S. has pursued three policy objectives in Asia since World War II. They are: 1) freedom of the seas; 2) access to the markets of the region; and 3) preventing the domination of the region by any single power. To achieve these goals, the U.S. has committed to maintain 100,000 forward deployed-troops in Asia. Currently, 37,000 are stationed in South Korea. North Korea is in crisis. Seven years of negative Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, severe food shortages, several high level defections and North Korea's political isolation all indicate that North Korea is on the verge of collapse. This thesis argues that the collapse of North Korea is imminent. Once Korea is unified under South Korea, the U.S. will not need 37,000 troops in Korea. When the U.S. withdraws its troops from Korea, a potential arms race could ensue. To prevent this, the U.S. should increase its Naval presence after the withdrawal of American ground forces. The U.S. should consider the possibility of home porting a nuclear aircraft carrier in Korea. This proposed policy would solve the problem created by Japan's refusal to host U.S. nuclear powered aircraft carriers at a time when the U.S. is retiring its conventional carriers.

**KEYWORDS:** North Korea, Korea, Korean Unification, U.S. Security Policy, U.S.-Japan Security Agreement, U.S.-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S. Security Policy in Asia)

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### **MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

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The purpose of this thesis is to examine United States military intervention in the civil wars of sub-Saharan Africa. Because the United States does not have any strategic interests in the region, it becomes involved in African conflicts only when they reach extreme levels of violence and when states collapse. This level of violence generates a degree of international sympathy that puts pressure on the United States government to intervene militarily in the domestic policies and political arrangements of these countries in order to stop the violence and restore order.

This thesis argues that the violence associated with civil conflict in Africa is part of the process of central state power accumulation—a process which in Europe took place in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. By attempting to reestablish order and stability, the United States only disrupts and prevents the consolidation of state authority necessary for the emergence of national states and long-term stability. The thesis concludes that international military intervention cannot solve the root cause of the instability and that, therefore, external actors should refrain from intervening in these situations.

**KEYWORDS:** Africa, State-Making, Military Intervention, Peacekeeping

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

### **THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STATUS OF THE HELLENIC ARMED FORCES AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH THE HELLENIC SOCIETY**

**Theodoros Antonopoulos-Lieutenant Colonel, Hellenic Air Force**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

**and**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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Hellas was officially declared an independent State in 1828, after a seven-year struggle against the conquerors. Despite the young age, however, she demonstrated a rich, and often turbulent, political life. The pattern was not unique by itself: it reflected the parliamentary transformations that swept all over Europe during the last three hundred years. Its uniqueness lies in the rapidity with which these transformations took place, until the finalization of stable republican governance in 1974. What makes this thesis interesting for the foreign reader is the degree of influence exerted by the armed forces over the political developments. Covertly in the beginning, but with ever increasing determination as the years passed, the armed forces assumed a leading role and even dominated the political scene. Inadequately institutionalized civilian control over the army and political immaturity combined to form this behavioral pattern. By the beginning of the last quarter of the century, however, it was realized that Hellas could not claim a reputable position among the community of civilized nations unless they abolished antiquated institutions. The 1975 Constitution and the way civilian authorities consolidated control over the armed forces, are textbook examples of a successful transition to a fully developed democratic regime.

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Military Interventionism, Constitution

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

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### **COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF LEASING VERSUS PURCHASING COMPUTERS**

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**Master of Science in Management-December 1997**

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The purpose of this thesis was to present a cost/benefit analysis of leasing versus purchasing computers. This analysis was performed to provide a decision making model for the acquisition of computer assets. It is additionally intended to serve as a framework to compare the costs and benefits of leasing over purchasing.

To address this issue, a capital budgeting model was developed and net present value analysis performed. In constructing this model, several factors were considered, including: the purchase cost of computer equipment, annual lease payments, depreciation costs, the opportunity cost of purchasing, tax revenue implications and various leasing terms. Data for this thesis was collected using historical records, literature reviews, and interviews.

This research found that it is more cost effective for the Naval Postgraduate School and other Naval Shore-based commands to purchase equipment rather than lease.

**KEYWORDS:** Cost/Benefit Analysis, Leasing, Computer Acquisitions, Purchasing

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Computer Technology)

### **MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, AND INDONESIA-CONTROLLING THE MALACCA STRAITS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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

This thesis analyzes the military capabilities of Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia and assesses their collective ability to control the use of the Straits of Malacca and the Singapore Straits. With steadily growing economies as a source of funding, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia have made significant improvements in their military stature. Collectively, they can control this vital passage, preventing both military and commercial shipping from using these straits. These three littoral nations' key interests that might lead them to restrict and deny the use of the Malacca Straits are identified. Their military force composition and capability also is reviewed.

**KEYWORDS:** Malacca Straits, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Battlespace Environments

### **THE IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY ON CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN AFRICA: CHAD AND THE SUDAN AS COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES**

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

The end of the Cold War has resulted in a general tendency toward democratization all over the world. The United States and other Western countries such as France and Britain are determined to help African countries establish democratic institutions and improve good governance. The reluctance and instability of many African societies and regimes to democ-

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ratize inspired the research questions of this thesis: Why is Africa so vulnerable to military coups? Why is political and economic modernization so difficult in Africa? What is wrong with Africa?

Scholars have suggested several explanations for Africa's political instability and military interventions including, political development theory, military centrality theory, ethnic antagonism theory, and world system/dependency theory.

Although it cannot be ruled out that any of these causal mechanisms have contributed to some extent to Africa's political instability, the author's opinion is that the colonial experience played a significant role, too.

By using Chad and the Sudan as comparative case studies of former colonies of France and Britain, the thesis illustrates the relevance of my colonial-legacy theory. Chad and the Sudan are almost similar in every aspect except the former colonial power. Variations in the patterns of their civil-military relations are explained by variations in the nature of their colonial experiences.

**KEYWORDS:** Colonial Legacy in Africa, Civil-Military Relations in Africa, Chad, The Sudan

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

### **ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATION AND REDESIGN IN THE INFORMATION AGE: THE DRUG WAR, NETWAR, AND OTHER LOWER-END CONFLICT**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 1998**

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The end of the Cold War and the rise of the Information Age have fostered an uncertain security environment which the United States is struggling to master. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the factors that lead complex organizations to initiate large-scale structural change in the face of environmental uncertainty; and more specifically to determine how the rise of the Information Age may change the organizational requirements of the U.S. national security structure. This thesis creates a unique framework for analysis, blending principles of organization and innovation theory with the theory of information-based "netwar."

This study analyzes the organizational structures adopted by several transnational drug cartels and compares them to that of U.S. counternarcotics forces. Next, this thesis reviews a series of recent occurrences pertaining to national security to test whether there are manifestations of netwar threats emerging and whether new and old organizational actors are learning to adapt their structures to gain an advantage over the United States.

Finally, this thesis is both predictive and prescriptive with regard to the issues of organizational redesign. It argues that structural changes are necessary for the United States to ensure the national security in an Information Age. Then it makes recommendations that would help the U.S. security structure redesign itself to become more agile in the face of Information Age threats.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Organizational Redesign, Information Warfare, Drug War, Innovation, Inter-Service Coordination, Netwar

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### **CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN GUATEMALA**

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**Scott D. Tollefson, Department of National Security Affairs**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine civil-military relations in Guatemala and their effect on democratic consolidation. The issue of civil-military relations in Guatemala is one of particular importance as political and military leaders as well as members of civil society attempt to redefine the role of the military after 36 years of civil war. Applying Felipe Aguero's theory of civilian supremacy, this thesis argues that since 1982, the Guatemalan military has evolved into a professional military institution, becoming an essential part of the democratic state. This evolution has resulted in the development of sound civil-military relations with firm civilian control, thus impacting significantly the democratization process of the country. The stability and structure of civil-military relations in Guatemala will depend not only on the military but also on the consensus reached by all elements of civil and political society as to how best to utilize the armed forces in support of the democratic state. Currently, Guatemala does not have the institutional mechanisms by which to control the military. Nevertheless, civil-military relations are stable and the military fully supports the democratization process. Further research is recommended in order to investigate the role of the democratic institutions in Guatemala in the monitoring and implementation of defense policy.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Democracy, Guatemalan Peace Accords, President Jorge Serrano, 1993 Attempted Coup, Latin America Civil-Military Relations, Guatemalan Military, Guatemala

### **OUT OF THE DRAGON'S MUSEUM: MOTIVATIONS FOR THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) EQUIPMENT MODERNIZATION**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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**Mary P. Callahan, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis explains the PLA's equipment modernization program by identifying Beijing's primary threat perception and how that affects Chinese modernization choices. Competing motivations for the PRC's military modernization will be evaluated in the context of three highly publicized recent weapons purchases: Su-27 FLANKERS, KILO SSs and SOVREMENNY DDGs.

The PLA's equipment modernization program is motivated by concerns over sovereignty and territorial integrity. This thesis concludes that China's equipment upgrade program is primarily the result of the PRC leadership's perception that the United States Navy is China's most likely adversary. Future weapon acquisition policies such as foreign acquisition of advanced platforms, indigenous production of modern weapons, emphasis on older generation equipment, or a combination approach will be evaluated in the context of present trends.

The PLA's modernization program is intended to support national strategic defense priorities by purchasing advanced weapons to provide a near-term capability while concurrently attempting to remedy shortcomings in the PRC's military-industrial infrastructure. Understanding the PLA's actions as a response to the regime's perception of the U.S. Navy as a threat highlights both the great importance that China's leaders place on sovereignty issues and the significant challenges facing their military modernization program.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Conventional Weapons, Surface/Under Surface Vehicles - Ships and Watercraft, Air Vehicles, Battlespace Environments, Manufacturing Science and Technology (MS&T)

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**KEYWORDS:** China, PRC, People's Liberation Army, PLA, PLAAF, PLAN, Military Modernization, KILO, FLANKER, SOVREMENNY, Military-Industrial Complex, Strategic Culture

### **OSLO AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: THE NEGOTIATING DILEMMA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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With the increased threat posed by terrorism and the growth of "rogue states" the importance of achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East is greater than ever. However, the peace begun in Madrid in 1991 and marked by the historic 1993 Oslo Accord between Israel and the PLO has floundered.

This thesis provides a means for understanding the failure of the current peace process by analyzing why Israel and the PLO agreed to the terms of Oslo. While Israel was motivated by the opportunity to solve its security and political dilemmas on acceptable terms, the PLO was motivated primarily by concerns of organizational survival.

The Oslo process departs from other successful settlements in two ways. First, Oslo focused on short-term arrangements, without consensus on the nature of the final outcome. An examination of successful settlements shows that the parties agreed to the outlines of a final settlement prior to commencing formal negotiations. Second, the vast imbalance of power between the two parties has made Oslo a "hegemonic peace," which itself perpetuates instability in both the weaker and stronger states. Only parties enjoying a relative "balance of power" have concluded successful peace settlements in the Middle East.

Given these structural anomalies, it was concluded that the Oslo peace process will not achieve a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Oslo Accords, Middle East Peace Process, Cooperative Agreements, Hegemonic Peace, Balance of Power Peace

### **HIGH DEGREE OF AUTONOMY: THE REVERSION OF HONG KONG TO CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY**

**Michele L. Choyke-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.A., University of Texas at Austin, 1989**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 1998**

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

At midnight on June 30, 1997, the British colony of Hong Kong reverted to Chinese sovereignty and it became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China. The Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong calls for maintaining Hong Kong's lifestyle and "high degree of autonomy" for fifty years after its transition to the Hong Kong SAR. The primary research question that this thesis attempts to answer is: How has the concept of "high degree of autonomy" been operationalized since its inception in the "Joint Declaration of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Question of Hong Kong"? This thesis argues that during the period of time from the signing of the Joint Declaration to the actual reversion to Chinese sovereignty the negotiations over the concept of Hong Kong's "high degree of autonomy" established the framework for the post-reversion way of life in Hong Kong. This thesis looks at this issue in three areas - the political arena, the security environment, and the economy. This thesis also examines the situation in Hong Kong one year after reversion and answers the question, "Has China lived up to its promises in these three realms of autonomy?"

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This period marks the start of a new political and economic experiment for China. China is attempting to regain the sovereignty of Hong Kong peacefully without disrupting its economic, social, and political systems under the framework of the Joint Declaration. The reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty will be a test of China's "one country, two systems" concept.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Hong Kong, Reversion, Joint Declaration, Autonomy, China's One Country, Two Systems Concept, Special Administrative Region (SAR)

### **MILITARISM IN MEXICO: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN A TRANSFORMING SOCIETY**

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Mexican society is becoming militarized due to the increased use of the Mexican military in domestic affairs. This militarization is the result of three factors: the internal focus of the military, the drug war, and corruption. The internal focus of the Mexican military is based on doctrine. Mexico's drug war began in 1986 when President Reagan convinced their government that the trafficking of drugs constituted a national security threat. Corruption is pervasive in Mexico due to the combination of seven decades of authoritarian rule by the hegemonic Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the associated effects from transnational drug trafficking. The army represents the last publicly respected institution in Mexico. During the past three years, almost the entire law enforcement apparatus to combat drug trafficking has been replaced with military soldiers and numerous key political appointees, and governmental positions have been filled with Mexican generals and colonels. There are few national interests more profoundly consequential to the United States than the political stability and general welfare of Mexico. The militarization and changing civil-military relations in Mexico is an important aspect in U.S.-Mexico relations and must be considered in possible policy changes.

**KEYWORDS:** Mexican Military, Civil-Military Relations, Doctrine, Drug War, Corruption, Militarization, Militarism

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political-Military)

### **RUSSIAN POLICE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: REVISING THE RUSSIAN POLICE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE RULE OF LAW**

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Russia has experienced rapid growth in domestic and organized crime since the collapse of communism. The approach the new democratic government uses to control this increase will be a cornerstone in their democratic foundation. Democratic police methods are also necessary as the nation overcomes seventy plus years of Communist police terror, moves toward democratic police operations, and the rule of law.

This thesis will show that the Russian police forces' transition to democratic police operations is strained. This police transition requires introducing and teaching new concepts that include respect for human rights, dignity, integrity, accountability and professional competence. The rule of law in police operations requires an unbiased application of the laws of the state.

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The Russian police forces' goal to be trained in accordance with international standards and eagerness to rid itself of corruption requires a new focus. Russian police must shift from the role of protection of state interests over those of individuals, to a role centered on protecting and serving its citizens. Improved training for police forces and higher legal standards will solidify the fundamental principles of professional police conduct and a civic motivation for public safety.

**KEY WORDS:** Democratic Police Principles, Rule of Law, Russian Democracy Russian Police, Transition to Democracy

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Russian and East European Area Studies)

### **THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA AND THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)**

**Babacar Diouf-Major, Senegalese Air Force**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Affairs-June 1998**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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

This thesis examines the future of conflict resolution in Africa and the role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the process, based on the 1993 OAU's "Mechanism" (MCPMR). It argues that, in Africa, historical evidence suggests a continuing pattern of internal conflicts aggravated by destabilization attempts. It also seeks to demonstrate that for various reasons, the OAU has been weak in this type of conflict. This opens two options. One, making the OAU irrelevant, is to maintain the present track and end up between an evil and a lesser evil scenario.

The first is the intervention by a regional power, using a sub-regional organization. Here the risk is to see the regional power, in the absence of a watchdog, use the organization for its own agenda, as in the Nigerian interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The other scenario is the intervention by a country or group of countries for purely selfish reasons to change another country's political leadership, as in the Angolan interventions in Zaire and Congo.

The second option, less likely without substantial reforms, is for the OAU to use the support available from the international community to establish itself as a forum, an organizer, a legitimizer and a watchdog.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Peace Operations, Peacekeeping, Africa, Organization of African Unity, Mechanism, Preventive Diplomacy, Conflict Management.

### **IRAN AND THE STRAIT OF HORMUZ: VARYING LEVELS OF INTERDICTION**

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Iran's rearmament program has invited an array of interpretations of its current military capability to close or interdict the Strait of Hormuz (SOH). The fighting in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), drove Iran's military forces down to minimal levels of equipment while increasing institutional disorganization. Air and ground assets ended the war in the poorest condition. Iran chose to rearm these forces first. However, in 1992, the focus widened to include the rebuilding of the Navy and those military assets physically near the Strait of Hormuz. This enlarged emphasis expanded Iranian military capacity to again challenge shipping transiting the SOH. With its new naval acquisitions, Iran is an increased threat to the interests of its neighbors and the West, particularly the United States. Initial reactions to this threat from the United States include an

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increased military presence, economic sanctions, and continued political rallying against the Islamic Republic. Simultaneously, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has reacted by implementing efforts to improve military strength through the acquisition of weapons from the United States and others. A “spiraling effect” or arms race is taking place between Iran and the GCC, in which each side attempts to gain military advantage over the other. Unfortunately, the Iranian threat still persists. The growth of the Iranian forces, specifically the navy and those components next to the SOH, have resulted in mixed threat interpretations. Now, the ultimate challenge for decision-makers and strategic planners alike lies in accurately assessing the ability of Iranian forces to attempt to and, if possible, keep the Strait of Hormuz closed.

**KEYWORDS:** Iranian Military Capability, Interdiction, Strait of Hormuz, Iranian Naval Acquisitions, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Iranian Rearmament, Kilo, Hudong

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Battlespace Environments, Conventional Weapons, Surface/Under Surface Vehicles-Ships and Watercraft, Other (Persian Gulf Region Weapons Acquisitions)

### **PEACE OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA: RULE OR EXCEPTION?**

**Viktor A. Gavrilov-Colonel, Russian Army**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-December 1997**

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

The peacekeeping operations in Bosnia—Implementation Force (IFOR) and the Stabilization Force (SFOR) or collectively (IFOR/SFOR)—exemplify the new opportunities and prerequisites for multinational peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era. These operations have shown that regional organizations and the UN can complement rather than complicate each other’s work.

The operations also demonstrate that with the end of the cold War, Russia and the United States have been able to cooperate in a new fashion, widening the potential scope for peacekeeping in the future. The key prerequisite for success in Bosnia (and for the future) is the willingness of the peacekeeping partners to compromise on their near-term interests and principles, and focus on the long-term benefits of peace and cooperation.

**KEYWORDS:** Peace Operations, Peacekeeping, Bosnia, National Interests, Conflict Management

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

### **GERMANY’S IRAN POLICY: BEYOND “CRITICAL DIALOGUE”**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 1998**

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

Germany and the United States differ in their approach to Iran. While the United States seeks to contain Iran through diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions, Germany prefers to influence Iran through diplomatic engagement and economic cooperation.

German foreign policy posits that its policy of constructive engagement is the most effective way to influence another country’s behavior. This notion has its origins in the Cold War. In 1963, the idea of a “policy of small steps” leading to “change through rapprochement” inspired the policy of *Ostpolitik*. The basic principles of *Ostpolitik* were continued from 1969 through the end of the Cold War. It is widely believed in Germany that the end of the Cold War and the unification of Germany were due not to the success of containment, but to détente and *Ostpolitik*.

Given this policy perspective, Germany considers the political and economic costs of sanctions to be unacceptably high. In addition to the loss to commercial interests, sanctions would affect Germany’s overall credibility as a trading state.

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Moreover, political demands which might be suspect because of Germany's past are translated into more respectable economic demands. Economic sanctions would limit Germany's ability to pursue its political objectives.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, Iran, German Foreign Policy, German-Iranian Relations, Critical Dialogue

### **STUDY OF A STORM: AN ANALYSIS OF ZAPATISTA PROPAGANDA**

**Angela Maria Giordano-Captain, United States Army**

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**Master of Science in Defense Analysis-December 1997**

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Roman Laba, Department of National Security Affairs**

The beginning hours of 1994 rang in both the New Year and the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. Although in existence since 1983, the Zapatista movement was relatively unknown to the rest of the world until *Subcomandante* Marcos' propaganda offensive against the Mexican government. Steeped in historical references to indigenous exploitation and Emiliano Zapata, the Zapatista's call to arms and governmental reformation has continued to make effective use of symbols and rituals, reshaping the images of Indianness and economic suffering within Chiapas. The organization continues to garner support abroad as well as within Mexico through the use of the Internet, public media, and effective appropriation of nationalist symbols. What marks the Zapatista rebellion as extraordinary is its emergence as one of the first information age insurgencies to make such efficient use of these mediums.

This study presents a framework for analyzing propaganda, drawing from the fields of symbolic politics, cultural anthropology, and marketing. This symbolic frame is then applied to the Zapatistas in order to better understand the entire movement. The propaganda goals of the organization are examined, specifically addressing the areas of legitimacy, member unification, support both outside and within Mexico, recruitment, and challenges presented to the government.

**KEYWORDS:** Propaganda, Zapatistas, Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (EZLN), Symbology, Mexico, Target Audiences, Insurgency, Rebellion

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

### **THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION: LEVERAGING RUSSIAN SPACE STRENGTHS TO CONTROL ITS MISSILE TECHNOLOGY PROLIFERATION**

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**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1988**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 1998**

**Master of Science in Space Systems Operations-September 1998**

**Advisors: Craig Baldwin, Naval Space System Academic Chair  
Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

In an effort to stop the old Soviet space program from plunging into a cataclysmic spiral of illicit foreign sales of its ballistic missile technology, and also to prevent the Russian space infrastructure from imploding, the United States entered into a series of bilateral and multi-national agreements to work with, and to support the inheritor of the Soviet space legacy, the Russian Space Agency. This thesis discusses how a partnership with the Russian Federation and Russian Space Agency within the International Space Station can both act as an incentive for the Russians to prevent illicit proliferation of its space and ballistic missile technology and offer unique, viable operational, technical, and scientific advantages for the International Space Station and the United States. Alternative options to, and limits on, a partnership with Russia will also be presented and discussed.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Aerospace Propulsion and Power, Space Vehicles, Others (International Space Station, Ballistic Missile Technology Proliferation)

**KEYWORDS:** Ballistic Missile Technology Proliferation, Aerospace Propulsion and Power

### **HYDROPOLITICS AND THE PROSPECT FOR PEACE IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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Of all the disagreements associated with the present Arab-Israeli conflict, perhaps none is more important than the discord and outright hostility generated by the increasing absence of the most fundamental of all human needs, water. Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip began after the 1967 Six Day War, Israeli military orders have denied Palestinian involvement in the management and development of water resources and have limited increases in water consumption by the Arab population for both agricultural and domestic use. As a result, Israelis consume a significantly larger amount of water per capita than Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Water is a vital commodity and an essential element necessary to satisfy accelerating rates of urbanization, industrialization, and population growth—trends that will continue through 2020. This thesis sets out to assess what affect the increasing demands on water resources will have on the Arab-Israeli conflict. This thesis will argue that the issues concerning hydropolitics, such as water rights (sovereign versus natural), and the relationship between and disagreement over water and territorial sovereignty, may serve to destabilize and ultimately fracture any “final settlement” agreement. The growing scarcity of water is a threat to regional stability in the Middle East. As such, it has significant implications for U.S. foreign policy and military strategy.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Hydropolitics, Water, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Resource Scarcity, U.S. Foreign Policy

### **THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN NATO: A STUDY OF SMALL POWER’S DEFENSE POLICY**

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**Second Reader: Richard J. Hoffman, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The Czech Republic, slated to be a future member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1999, will likely occupy a weak position within NATO’s decision-making process.

The country’s historical experience, its geo-strategic situation, and certain economic factors have led Czech policy makers to the strategic decision to join NATO. The Czech Republic’s security and defense policy, together with its strategic political culture will influence the country’s future role in NATO. However, because it is a small state and because of other inherent structural factors, the Czech Republic will probably fail to occupy a position in NATO comparable with other small powers. This contrasts directly with the case of the Netherlands, a small state in the Alliance which has managed to become a reliable member and occupy an influential position. Although both countries had similar motives for joining or having joined NATO, certain aspects of the Czech Republic’s policies and strategic political culture do not correspond with those of the Dutch.

In order to enjoy fully the “security benefits” derived from a strong position in the Alliance, as does the Netherlands, the Czech Republic’s policy makers will have to readjust its priorities in security and defense policy. In particular, it will have to endeavor to make some sort of significant contribution to the strategic political culture of NATO.

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**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Czech Republic, Netherlands, Defense Policy, Small Powers, Small States

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

### **ISRAELI NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

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**Peter R. Lavoy, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the influence of the Israeli nuclear weapons capability on conflict in the Middle East. There are two perspectives regarding the impact of nuclear proliferation on strategic stability. Three paths to strategic instability are examined: preventive attacks, preemptive attacks, and the escalation of conventional conflict to nuclear war. The optimistic perspective argues that nuclear weapons make preventive and preemptive attacks less likely, and keep conventional conflict from escalating to nuclear war. The pessimistic perspective argues the opposite—that nuclear weapons make preventive and preemptive attacks more likely, and raise the likelihood of escalation to nuclear war. My analysis of the Israeli cases shows that “opaque” nuclear proliferation decreases the pressure for preventive attacks, increases the chances for miscalculation, and creates sufficient concern about nuclear weapons to reduce the likelihood of preemptive attacks. Two factors help reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation as posed by proliferation pessimists, opaque nuclear weapons programs and nondeclaratory nuclear weapons policies. The implication of this research is that if the United States cannot dissuade a country from going nuclear, it should reinforce its incentives to maintain opacity and a nondeclaratory policy. Particular attention should be given to states which resist these efforts, as they represent the greatest risk of nuclear weapons use.

**KEYWORDS:** Israel, Nuclear Proliferation, Arab-Israeli Conflict, National Security Affairs

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

### **OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY IN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA - EVOLUTION AND IMPACT ON FOREIGN POLICY**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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**Mary P. Callahan, Department of National Security Affairs**

After the demise of Soviet communism, the People’s Republic of China (PRO) is often considered an anachronism and relic of a failed philosophy and system. Moreover, Chinese leaders are assumed to be abandoning their communist roots in all but official rhetoric as the country pursues economic modernization. In fact, the Chinese form of communism has evolved significantly. Struggle has given way to stability, austerity to prosperity, and hostility to peaceful co-existence. This transition has had tremendous ramifications for PRO foreign and security policies. What was once a highly articulated and systematic ideology, providing a distinct and accurate guide to policy choices in the international arena, has become more akin to a set of general principles to guide behavior in an increasingly complex system. This thesis asserts, however, that while many of the specific tenets of Maoism have fallen to the wayside or been modified, many of the concepts, language, and *thought processes* of Chinese communism continue to form the thinking of Chinese policy-makers, thus they interpret and justify foreign policy choices in ideological terms. Consequently, ideology is more relevant to political processes in China than is commonly recognized.

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

**KEYWORDS:** China, Communism, Maoism, Chinese Communism, Chinese Communist Party

**SECURITY ASSISTANCE IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND  
THE ROOTS OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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This thesis examines the origins and consequences of U.S. security assistance in the Persian Gulf. The thesis argues that the American policy of creating “regional superpowers” in the Gulf has failed to adequately secure U.S. interests. It has had the unintended consequence of increasing instability. The failure of the “twin pillars” policy—as the Nixon Doctrine became known in the Gulf—is evidenced by the fall of one pillar (the Shah’s Iran), serious domestic troubles in the second pillar (Saudi Arabia), and, most important, the advent of a large, continuous and direct U.S. military presence in the Gulf. Such a U.S. presence is what the policy was designed to prevent.

Further offered is an original interpretation of the origins of the Nixon Doctrine. Only tangentially related to Vietnam, the Nixon Doctrine was centrally concerned with the Gulf, and in particular with providing security resources to Iran and Saudi Arabia to safeguard U.S. interests. The doctrine was driven as much by domestic political pressures as it was by geostrategic concerns. In order to implement the Nixon doctrine, the U.S. privately advocated raising international oil prices in the early 1970s in order to allow Iran and Saudi Arabia to purchase advanced weapons systems.

**KEYWORDS:** Arms Transfers, Persian Gulf, Nixon Doctrine

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Conventional Weapons

**ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)  
AND THAILAND’S REGIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION**

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The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 by the integration of the Southeast Asian non-communist states. Common security concerns in the region made the cooperation possible among them in the first place. Established mainly because of security reasons, ASEAN at present has only loose regional security cooperation. On the other hand, it provides close regional economic cooperation. Distrust among ASEAN members caused by regional conflicts in the past and diversity of the countries is the reason that ASEAN still avoids anything but loose security cooperation. The closer regional cooperation provides direct improvement to Thailand’s economic national security, but creates only indirect improvement on political component. Therefore, Thailand cannot rely on ASEAN for its security but has to protect itself even if that means doing something against the interests of its ASEAN partners. However, Asian Free Trade Area (AFTA) provides the first chance for ASEAN members to cooperate in a long-term institutionalized manner. This may help to alleviate distrust and lead to greater trust among them. Greater trust may in turn lead to closer cooperation in the security sphere in the future.

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**KEYWORDS:** ASEAN, Thailand and ASEAN, Security Cooperation in ASEAN

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Southeast Asia)

### **ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF UZBEKISTAN AND POLITICAL STABILITY OF CENTRAL ASIA**

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**Second Reader: Terry D. Johnson, Department of National Security Affairs**

Uzbekistan with distinguished characteristics appears as a key state to influence the political stability of Central Asian states and the Russian Federation in the near future. Its ethnically heterogeneous population, chronic economic problems inherited from the USSR and the richness of natural energy resources make Uzbekistan the key state of the region.

The main focus of this thesis is to offer a detailed analysis of Uzbekistan's Federation. A secondary objective is to explore how Uzbekistan could continue to provide a peace among its population and thereby prevent the destabilization of other states.

Results of this study present a promising future for Uzbekistan, and therefore for the stability of the region. Nevertheless, the study also shows that the continuity of stability depends on the understanding of current realities by other concerned states and ethnic minorities of Uzbekistan.

**KEYWORDS:** Uzbekistan, Central Asia, Transition

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political Stability of Central Asia)

### **OVERCOMING THE ARMS TREATY: PATHS TO NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE**

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**Second Reader: R. Mitchell Brown, Department of National Security Affairs**

Some of the most heated debates taking place on Capitol Hill surround a proposed American National Missile Defense (NMD) system. The debate is not new. For twenty years, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and its underlying acceptance of mutual assured destruction (MAD) enjoyed widespread support among U.S. leaders. Events of the early 1990s shook support for America's "no missile defense" posture to its very core. The fall of the Soviet Union, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ballistic missile technology, and the Gulf War presented new challenges to existing strategic doctrine. As a result, a renewed push for a U.S. National Missile Defense system began in earnest, and a new round of debates began over the utility of the bilateral ABM Treaty in a multilateral post-Cold War international environment.

This thesis identifies four distinct paths which the United States could follow in addressing the NMD-ABM Treaty debate. Each path is characterized by distinct factors which historically have influenced past ABM system debates. The most likely path to NMD that the United States is following, based on these driving factors, is identified. The potential implications which this prevalent NMD path may have on U.S. Navy force structure and planning is also addressed. Understanding how the current NMD debate is structured and driven enables one to discern which path to NMD deployment the United States is on. This realization can help shape future force planning considerations.

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

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**KEYWORDS:** ABM Treaty, National Missile Defense (NMD), Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD); United States-National Security, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

**APPLYING THE MULTIPLE PUBLIC GOOD MODEL FOR  
ESTABLISHING A SECURITY POLICY FOR HUNGARY**

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This study was written with an aim to suggest a security policy approach for Hungary after becoming a member of NATO. The formulation of the country's security policy started with examination of security threats in general and analysis of Hungary's close security environment in particular. The analysis revealed that the threat of large scale military aggression has disappeared. However, other types of security challenges—economic crises, ethnic hostilities, environmental pollution, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction prevailed—and the military concerns of security has decreased in importance.

The issues of globalization, and diversification of threat perception could be addressed by cultivating a portfolio of security provisions. The multiple public good model suggested by Mark A. Boyer, an associate professor of political science at the University of Connecticut, for analyzing defense alliances was an appropriate approach to formulation of Hungary's security policy.

Based on the results from the threat assessment and the suggestions of the multiple good model, Hungary's security policy was introduced as a portfolio of defense provisions which in turn was Hungary's contribution to the Alliance. The evidence of contribution to the collective defense was seen through an examination of Hungary's path toward acceptance into NATO and an analysis of domestic stakeholders. The suggested portfolio contained three particularly important fields: economic cooperation as a means of spreading security eastward, handling the questions of ethnic minorities in neighboring countries, and modernization of the Hungarian Defense Force.

**DoD TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Defense Cooperation)

**KEYWORDS:** Multiple Public Good, Economic Theory of Alliances, Hungary, Commitment and Contribution

**CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN DOMESTIC SUPPORT OPERATIONS-  
THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD IN LOS ANGELES  
1992 RIOTS AND NORTHRIDGE EARTHQUAKE OF 1994**

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**Richard J. Hoffman, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The main argument of the thesis is that the use of the California National Guard (CNG) in response to major emergencies has both advantages and disadvantages as a model for countries in transition, such as Ukraine. Furthermore, it argues that civil-military relations in domestic support operations (DSO) are a very important factor to consider when new democracies try to build an effective system of emergency management.

The author attempts to explain why the civil authorities, specifically in the United States, request military involvement in domestic emergencies while remaining suspicious about military involvement in domestic affairs. He discusses the reasons for military involvement in disaster relief and law enforcement operations, and the considerations and constraints

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by which the U.S. federal legislation authorizes and limits it.

The study is based on two cases of DSO in which the CNG participated as one of the leading agencies: the 1992 Los Angeles Riots as an example of military assistance in a civil disturbance operation and the 1994 Northridge Earthquake as an example of a disaster assistance operation.

In the conclusion, the thesis provides recommendations about the applicability of the CNG's experience and organizational features for the emergency management systems in new democracies, particularly Ukraine.

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Domestic Support Operations, Disaster Relief, Support to Law Enforcement, National Guard, California National Guard, Los Angeles Riots (1992), Northridge Earthquake (1994)

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Domestic Support Operations)

### **CAN IRAQ BE DETERRED FROM USING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION?**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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It generally is assumed that the threat of a U.S. nuclear strike deterred the intentional use of chemical and biological weapons by Iraq during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Evidence suggests that this assumption might be faulty, or at least incomplete. The purpose of this thesis is to test the common wisdom about nuclear deterrence and Iraq's non-use of chemical and biological weapons (CBW) during the Gulf War.

This thesis examines the use of conventional and nuclear deterrence by the United States and coalition allies during the 1991 Gulf War. It then looks beyond the alleged effects of nuclear deterrence and examines Iraq's development and past use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The threat of nuclear retaliation only moderately influenced Iraq's decision to refrain from CBW use during the Gulf War. Other factors such as inexecutable C<sup>2</sup>, logistical collapse, and dubious munition reliability also mattered. The implications for the United States are that: (1) current nonproliferation regimes are insufficient to prevent the continued buildup of WMD by Iraq; (2) nonproliferation policies must be supplemented by policies designed to deter WMD use; and (3) asymmetrical conventional military force targeting Saddam Hussein's regime is required to deter Iraq's use of WMD.

**KEYWORDS:** Iraq, Chemical Weapons, Biological Weapons, Weapons of Mass Destruction, UNSCOM, Persian Gulf War, Scud Missiles, UN Inspections

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

### **THE UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN MILITARY COOPERATION IN IMPLEMENTATION FORCE OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA**

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

Yugoslavia's rapid disintegration amid violence and war in 1991 came as a shock to the outside world. The war was a result of an organized program of domestic conflict waged along ethno-cultural lines by a threatened powerful elite. The response of the international community has been marked by considerable confusion and inconsistency. With most of the major obstacles that characterized the Cold War now removed, there seemed to be a more favorable environment for effective U.S.-Russian cooperation in matters of mutual interests in international security. This notwithstanding, the U.S.-led initia-

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tive to cooperate with Russia to find a lasting solution to the Bosnian crisis ran into impediments from the very onset. This thesis will argue that the causes of these impediments were rooted in Russia's domestic political and economic constraints, coupled with a nostalgia to exercise the leverage of a super-power over the Bosnian peace process.

The Balkans is only of secondary national interest to Russia and the United States. Nevertheless, the Balkans constitute an area of extensive interaction between the two countries. The Bosnian conflict offers a good case study for examining the causes of the impediments to U.S.-Russian cooperation.

**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Russian Military Cooperation, IFOR, NATO, UN, Bosnia, Ethno-Nationalism, International Community Peace Effort, Balkan's Conflict

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

### **SECURITY COOPERATION IN AFRICA: LESSONS FROM ECOMOG**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-December 1997**

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This thesis argues that when West African states united to form the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), they did so for reasons very different from those that are advanced by most scholars and West African policy makers. The conventional wisdom holds that the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia was motivated by the desire of West African leaders to relieve the humanitarian disaster caused by the Liberian civil war. In contrast, it can be argued that humanitarian considerations were far less important to the participating states than their desire to protect the political stability of their own regimes, which they believed would be threatened by a rebel victory over President Samuel Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). In particular, they worried that a rebel victory in Liberia would constitute a dangerous precedent for other dissidents within the sub-region. Moreover, they were concerned that a Charles Taylor-controlled Liberia could become a "breeding ground" for similar insurgencies by dissidents fleeing their regimes.

**KEY WORDS:** ECOMOG, ECOWAS, Security Issues in Africa, Francophone-Anglophone Issues, African Alliances

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

### **THE UNITED STATES AND THE KURDS: CASE STUDIES IN UNITED STATES ENGAGEMENT**

**Peter J. Lambert-Captain, United States Air Force**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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

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

The United States has developed a unique relationship with the Kurds throughout the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Significant American engagements with the Kurds have been carried out twice this century, between 1969-1975, and 1990-1996. Both eras saw the United States able to influence events relating to the Kurds in support of a larger regional policy, only to find no easy solution to the Kurdish quest for autonomy. The result of these two periods of American engagement with the Kurds has been similar; both settings marked the collapse of a de facto Kurdish autonomy and the consequential splintering of the Kurdish resistance.

The United States faces a variety of issues in its dealings with the Kurds. Foremost is the issue of autonomy for the Kurdish Nation, and its impact on the territorial integrity of the states in the region. Secondly, is the lack of Kurdish unity,

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and its impact on any American initiative regarding an end to the regional repression of the Kurds. The United States has the ability to move the primary countries with Kurdish populations in the direction necessary for some sort of settlement of the Kurdish situation. The result of not pursuing this matter could lead to further turmoil in a region which can ill-afford it.

**KEYWORDS:** Kurds, Kurdistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Israel, United States, Foreign Policy

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S.-Kurdish Relations)

### **THE CHECHEN WAR AND RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY**

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**Bertrand M. Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

The Russian government's handling of the crisis in Chechnya has cast a long shadow over the prospects for Russia's successful transition to democracy. The Chechen war has thrown into stark relief the essential authoritarian nature of the Russian State. Russia is weak in several fundamental principles of democracy: rule of law, constitutionalism, a separation of powers, and an effective system of checks-and-balances. Because of the limited powers entrusted to it by the Constitution, the parliament proved unable to influence the government's decisions relative to Chechnya. In the absence of a Russian legal tradition, the Constitutional Court failed to uphold the Constitution and prevent the executive branch from violating the law during the Chechen war.

The Russian government is a quasi-autocracy, in which a small circle of ministers and advisors exercise true power. Ultimate, unaccountable authority resides personally with the chief executive, and the key decision-making center of the Russian government is his Security Council. This body is legally unaccountable, and its decisions relative to the Chechen crisis demonstrated a lack of democratic norms. Through a detailed reconstruction of key events and developments during the Chechen crisis, this thesis demonstrates that Russia's transition to democracy is far from complete.

**KEYWORDS:** Chechnya, Chechen War, Russia, Russian Government, Russian Democracy

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

### **DECISIVE IMPACT ASHORE: REVOLUTIONS IN FIREPOWER AND CAMPAIGNING FROM THE SEA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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

Sea-based firepower represents the single greatest opportunity for the naval services to provide decisive influence ashore. With the dramatic shift in warfighting priorities from open ocean to littoral warfare, fire support of land operations continues to grow in importance. Rapid technological change enables the development of advanced weapons systems and munitions that radically extend the breadth and depth of naval firepower. Technological and conceptual trends indicate that an increasing portion of land-based fire support can, and will, be relocated to the sea-base.

This thesis examines the potential for replacing current Marine Corps field artillery with a mixture of surface fires, dedicated close air support, and light armored vehicle-mounted mortars in support of far-ranging operational maneuver. Using a spreadsheet-based model derived from lethality data, the author analyzes the relative benefits of advanced weapons and munitions in: (1) halting a two corps attack and (2) a follow-on sea-based land campaign. Simulation runs demonstrated

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that advanced sea-based weapons are an order of magnitude more effective than Marine Corps field artillery. To leverage the potential revolutionary operational and organizational applications, the naval services must invest in: (1) a maritime combined arms concept and (2) potential firepower technology.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Conventional Weapons, Modeling and Simulation

**KEYWORDS:** Sea-Based, Fire Support, Surface Fire Support, Rail Gun, Field Artillery, Advanced Munitions, Weapons, Maritime Combined Arms, Campaigning

### **DETECTING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION TERRORISM**

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**Maria José Moyano Rasmussen, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines terrorist acts involving the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against unsuspecting civilians by the Aum Shinrikyo and Rajneesh cults. The proliferation of WMD (i.e., nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons) has created a concern that terrorists might use WMD. Despite obvious signs, these groups were not identified as terrorists until after they committed terrorist attacks. This thesis identifies common characteristics of terrorists that have used WMD in the past and generates indicators of non-state actors that might commit WMD terrorism in the future. Deterring terrorists would be ideal, but given the bizarre value systems and unpredictable logic of terrorists, these efforts might be futile. The United States must prevent terrorists from committing WMD terrorism by denying them the ability to act. Identifying terrorists that have the potential to use WMD is critical. Future policies of the United States should focus on developing an integrated data system to identify and observe non-state actors that have apocalyptic prophecies, confront local authorities, and recruit people with advanced degrees. Officials also would be advised to monitor the purchases of materials connected with chemical or biological agents and to identify groups that seek information about WMD. Finally, the United States should develop methods for detecting WMD use during the research and development stages. After identifying intent, the United States will be better positioned to then intervene and prevent WMD terrorism.

**KEYWORDS:** Deterrence, Terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction

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

### **NATO AND POST-COLD WAR GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS (1990-1997)**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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

In 1990, at the end of the East-West conflict, a new actor with a different status and attitude appeared in the European political arena: the united Germany. The evolving European system poses special challenges for Germany and the United States, raising questions about their ability to influence the course of events. In fact, German-American relations during the 1990-1997 period played a central role in satisfying the post-Cold War needs of Bonn and Washington. In the new European state system, the new *Ostpolitik*, European integration, and a continued German-American security connection within the Atlantic Alliance are the defining elements. This thesis examines some of the implications of NATO's new cooperative relations with former adversaries in Central and Eastern Europe and of the construction process of the European Security and Defense Identity for the international system and for the shared interests and policies (and national power) of Germany and the United States. It also analyzes how these developments might affect the future European security architecture and

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the transatlantic relationship.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S.-European Security Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, United States Security, German Security, Central and Eastern European Security, European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), NATO Enlargement

### **THE LEVEL AND STRUCTURE OF POWER DELEGATED TO HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICIALS IN A DEMOCRACY: A CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES**

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

Hungary is in transition to democracy. The country is democratizing its institutions, including the armed forces. The process of establishing democratic civil-military relations, adequate command and force structures as well as reprofessionalization of the military personal is based on Euro-Atlantic model. In democratic civil-military relations the military must be excluded from political decision-making. However, as the cases of established liberal democracies demonstrate, the military often attempts to exert influence on political decisions.

The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 dealt with the question of how much influence the military should have, and who should exercise this influence. By strengthening the position of the Chairman of the JCS, who is the principal military adviser, the Congress intended to improve professional military advice. Even though the American society generally evaluates Goldwater-Nichols as a success, opinions on the consequences of the Act vary considerably. The thesis argues that a Chairman fully exploiting his position and bringing subjectivity into decision-making process can weaken the civilian authority over the military, which contradicts the intentions of the legislation.

Hungary can make good use of the U.S. case in finding the appropriate balance between civilian and military influence on political decisions related to national security.

**KEYWORDS:** Political Decision-Making, Civilian Control, Military Advice, Chairman, Political Bargaining

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political-Military)

### **INFORMAL NETWORKS AND SAUDI REGIME STABILITY**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 1998**

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

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

The increasingly vocal Islamist opposition to the Saudi regime, which gathered strength following the Gulf War, lent new urgency to predictions of the regime's demise. The fact that the Saud family has retained control of the government throughout this period of gloomy forecasting prompts the question - how has the Saudi regime managed to confound popular expectations and maintain power in the face of increasing Islamist opposition?

The central thesis of this study is that the Saudi government has prevented opposition groups from gaining significant popular following or developing power bases by eliminating or controlling informal networks within Saudi Arabia. This position differs from the most widely accepted explanations, which center around oil revenues resulting from the 1970's oil boom as the key factor in the longevity of the royal family. While undoubtedly an important tool used liberally by the Al Saud, this thesis argues oil revenues are secondary in importance and only part of a much larger and more significant effort in the regime's struggle against its opposition.

This study assesses whether Islamist opposition can seriously challenge the Saudi government by analyzing three

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case studies (concerning Pakistan and Egypt as well as Saudi Arabia) which consider how Islamist groups organize, what types of organizations are successful in challenging central authority, and how regimes respond to such challenges. Placing this information in context with the dominant roles tribe, class, and religion play in Saudi society provides a better foundation for assessing the future stability of the Saudi regime than traditional rentier theory.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Saudi Regime, Informal Networks, Islamist Opposition

### **ECHOES OF REVOLUTION: IRAN'S PATH INTO THE MODERN WORLD**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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

The 1979 Islamic Revolution has become for Western scholars and native Islamists alike the defining event of the Iranian experience. Shrouded in the garb of political Islam, the revolution represents to the American mind a step backward into a future of pre-industrial authoritarianism—a rejection of modernity. This thesis asserts that the cycles of Iranian social and political upheaval are in fact outgrowths of changes in the state's socio-political structure resulting from a transition in the mode of production and subsequent capitalization of the economy.

The resulting attempts by an emerging middle class to balance political with economic viability consequently produced a series of structural corrections beginning with the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. While not the culminating event of Iranian societal development, the 1979 Islamic Revolution represents an opportunity for middle class hegemony.

The direct outcome of the Islamic Revolution—the circulation of elites, is likely to evolve into a power-sharing arrangement in which the market-driven interests of the modern middle class dominate. As a recognizably populist event, the Islamic Revolution ultimately represents Iran's path into the modern world.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Iranian Political Development, Modernization, Iranian Liberalization

### **ARMY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN ACHIEVING INTEROPERABILITY WITH NATO**

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**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 1998**

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

The Army of the Czech Republic (ACR) was, until 1991, a part of a highly standardized combined armed forces of the former Warsaw Pact. NATO, at its Madrid Summit in July 1997, invited the Czech Republic to join the Alliance. The ACR is undergoing a fundamental transformation to become interoperable with NATO members' armed forces.

This study focuses on the human factor in alliance interoperability in the belief that new ways of thinking are fundamental to the principles for interoperability among NATO allies. After presenting the development of interoperability in NATO and the standardization process in the former Czechoslovak Army, the thesis treats evaluation of achieving the interoperability between the ACR and NATO. A special attention is given to the Partnership for Peace program and to changes in that part of the Czech legislation, which is connected with defense issues. Finally, the study presents generalization of steps, which are decisive in achieving the interoperability with the Alliance and which could be utilized by other countries.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Czech Republic, NATO, Interoperability, Partnership for Peace

**GOLD, NOT PURPLE: LESSONS FROM USAID-USMILGP  
COOPERATION IN EL SALVADOR, 1980-1992**

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**Second Reader: Colonel Kevin Higgins, USA, Naval Postgraduate School SOLIC Fellow**

The United States faces a continuing need to conduct interagency operations, especially between the military and USAID. Surprisingly, however, this field has been treated much too casually in light of its merits as a potential force multiplier—and as a source of serious operational problems. U.S. leaders will continue to choose the interagency approach (over unilateral options) to solve the sorts of complex problems that demand action and systematic intervention, yet allow room for political maneuver. By studying the activities of two inherently adversarial bureaucracies (USAID and the USMILGP) which needed to work together to solve a complex counterinsurgency problem in El Salvador, I have been able to determine which factors are most important for unity of effort in future interagency operations. In El Salvador the mission was to combat insurgents, but the principles and requirements of interagency cooperation apply today for combating terrorism, narcotics trafficking, insurgencies, and other post-Cold War security threats.

**KEYWORDS:** Interagency Operations, Cross-agency Operations, El Salvador, Special Operations, USAID, USMILGP, Counterinsurgency, Determinants of Unity of Effort, Interagency Cooperation

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

**TERRORISM AND ORGANIZED CRIME: THE ALLIANCE OF TOMORROW?  
HOW TO COUNTER A POSSIBLE FUTURE THREAT**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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

While in the post—Cold War era threats to international security have become less direct and apocalyptic, they are today more diffuse and insidious. With the probability of large scale, high intensity conflicts decreasing during the 1990s, terrorism and transnational organized crime—each in itself—constitute an increasing and serious threat to the national security of affected nations. Any alliance of these two criminal phenomena is likely to cause a disproportional increase of the overall threat.

The thesis, while following an analytical/inductive approach, tries to identify the rationale for such alliances. Although aims and objectives of terrorists and organized criminal groups are different by nature, alliances of convenience have already formed in the past. With globalization apparently working in the favor of terrorists and organized crime, it seems to be only a question of time before they begin merging and start working jointly. Since those criminal organizations tend to exploit the weaknesses of international cooperation by increasingly operating in the transnational sphere, any attempt at a successful counter—strategy has to meet this threat where it originates. Against this background, international cooperation of law enforcement agencies becomes increasingly important. “Internal Security,” it seems, acquires a transnational dimension.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Terrorism, Organized Crime, Narcoterrorism, Russian Mafia, Transnational Threats, Future Threats, Alliances, International Cooperation

### **SOLDIERS AND STATESMEN: CIVIL MILITARY CASE STUDIES OF THE NATO DECISION-MAKING PROCESS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1998**

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**Richard Hoffman, Center for Civil-Military Relations**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was organized on a two-track structure. The military part of the Alliance was to be involved in immediate military planning for the defense of the Alliance. The NATO civilian part was to provide objectives and political coordination for the military planners. It turned out that NATO military officials achieved relatively independent positions from their civilian superiors and were able to influence political debate not only on the basis of military expertise, but also based on their own political assessment. General Lauris Norstad, who assumed the position of SACEUR in 1956, exercised a great deal of independence from his civilian superiors. During his tenure, Norstad was involved in a debate over NATO nuclear structure. He also influenced several decisions regarding the change in the NATO strategic concept. After France's departure from the NATO military structure, the Alliance adjusted its structures and created the International Military Staff. This institution proved to be very successful in influencing the NATO debate in the late 1980s. Both cases prove that the NATO military component is deeply involved in the political decision-making process.

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

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Decision-Making Process

### **ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION IN SYRIA: PROSPECTS FOR REGIME STABILITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION**

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

From 1985 to 1991, Syria experienced a severe economic crisis. In response, the regime of Hafez Al-Asad implemented economic reforms designed to move the Syrian economy toward free-market capitalism. As seen in authoritarian regimes around the world during the past thirty years, political liberalization often accompanies economic reform. Yet, scholars and policymakers have typically viewed Syrian economic reform as politically unimportant: mere tactical maneuvers that strengthened the Asad regime by restoring economic growth. This thesis reevaluates the political importance of the reforms from a political economy perspective. Two surprising conclusions are reached: (1) the political legacy of the economic reforms has so weakened the Asad regime that prospects for political stability within Syria are poor and (2) transition to democracy, or political liberalization, is the probable outcome of the coming instability. The ramifications of these conclusions are two-fold. First, they serve as a warning to U.S. policymakers, suggesting that regional stability will remain elusive until the root causes of regional economic underperformance are addressed. Additionally, by explaining the political outcome of the 1985 Syrian economic crisis with a political economy model, this thesis undermines the notion of cultural exceptionalism as it is commonly applied to the Middle East.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Economic Liberalization, Democratization)

**KEYWORDS:** Economic Liberalization, Democratization, Political Economy

**DEFENSE BUDGETING IN A CONSTRAINED ECONOMY: REENGINEERING THE BUDGET PROCESS TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A MODERNIZING ZIMBABWE DEFENSE FORCE**

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A.C.I.S., Zimbabwe, 1993**

**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 1998**

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

The Zimbabwe Defense Force faces a resource crisis that threatens capability to fulfill its mission to defend Zimbabwe's national interests. At the same time the National Defense Policy makes a commitment to modernize the force and the executive constantly echoes this through policy statements at various forums. The Zimbabwean economy's ability to sustain the modernization program is questionable given its failure to sustain the force in a period of low-level activity.

This paper examines ZDF's budgetary process to assess the prospects of reengineering it to meet the challenges of modernization in a constrained economy. A detailed description of the current process is presented and analyzed against relevant theory on policy analysis, reengineering, and contemporary budgeting systems, in particular PPBS.

The analysis concludes that in addition to reengineering, major strategic changes need to be made. In particular, inclusion of defense aspects in national development planning, adoption of a program or mission budgeting system, institution of the strategic planning process, evolution of an information technology strategy, and continuous improvement in human resource management would be fundamental to improvement in resource mobilization, planning and management.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Financial Management)

**KEYWORDS :** Zimbabwe Defense Forces, Reengineering, Budgeting, Modernization

**THE DEMOCRATIZING POWER OF THE INTERNET IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

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This thesis argues that the Internet is likely to be a strong, positive facilitating factor for the transition to and consolidation of democracy for states in Southeast Asia. U.S. policy-makers intent on promoting democracy in Southeast Asia should consider the Internet's potential as a tool for promoting democratization.

A review of the existing democratization literature, coupled with quantitative analysis of the societal impact of computer networking technologies, suggests that the level of Internet connectivity is a powerful indicator of democratization. Compared to education and income, Internet connectivity provides greater statistical explanatory power in predicting democracy.

The Internet experience in Indonesia and Malaysia, two Southeast Asian states ruled by non-democratic authoritarian regimes, supports this argument. Internet expansion in both states has co-varied with increasing levels of political liberalization and this may enhance the prospects for democratic transition. Both states have abandoned strict controls on press freedom and free speech on the Internet.

A democracy assistance program designed to increase the level of Internet connectivity in Southeast Asia may serve the purpose of promoting democracy while also advancing U.S. economic interests. Such a program may be viewed with less suspicion and as more politically neutral than traditional forms of democracy assistance.

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**KEYWORDS:** Democracy, Democratization, Internet, Southeast Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Computing and Software

### **MORNING CALM, NUCLEAR SUNSET: SOUTH KOREA'S ATOMIC OPTION**

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

U.S. national security strategy sets nuclear nonproliferation as a high priority. However, pursuing nonproliferation without regard for important traditional security relationships might yield undesired results. The Republic of Korea (ROK) requires a high degree of confidence in the U.S. security guarantee, one that includes an extended nuclear deterrent. The nuclear weapons program that South Korea began and abandoned in the 1970s was prompted by a decrease in confidence in U.S. security commitments. Conciliatory actions taken recently by the United States toward the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (DPRK) to prevent a possible nuclear weapons program may undermine the U.S.-ROK security arrangement that has been in place for decades. This work examines perceived threats to South Korea and the U.S. security commitment to Korea since 1945 to reveal how current U.S. nuclear nonproliferation policy affects Seoul's propensity to develop nuclear weapons. Recommendations are provided for policy makers regarding strengthening of ROK confidence in the U.S. commitment on the peninsula with particular emphasis on preventing South Korea from pursuing a nuclear arsenal.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Korea, Nuclear Weapons, Nonproliferation

### **AN EVALUATION OF FINANCIAL CRISIS IN THAILAND**

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**Master of Science in International Resource Planning and Management-June 1998**

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**James E. Suchan, Department of Systems Management**

After implementation of the National Economic and Social Development Plan (1961-1966), Thailand experienced increasing high rates of economic growth. However by mid 1997, Thailand's economy was slipping into the so-called "Thailand financial crisis": falling property prices, slowing exports, rising trade deficits, and the devaluation of the Thai baht. This raises concern about the future. The purpose of this thesis is to examine Thai economic policies leading up to current crisis. Using hypothesis of Williamson and Haggard, the country's economic reforms will be evaluated. From these findings, several conclusions will be drawn concerning the country's economic future.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Thailand Financial Crisis

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## 1998 THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **MODELING THE EFFECTS OF INFORMATION OPERATIONS ON AN ADVERSARY DECISION-MAKER (U)**

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**Master of Science in Systems Engineering-September 1998**

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**Second Reader: R. Mitchell Brown, Department of National Security Affairs**

The potential for crisis and conflict exists in almost every region of the globe in today's unstable world. In this fiscally constrained time, however, the United States cannot afford to expend resources and lives by employing forces in every crisis. This makes the use of Information Operations as an instrument to deter conflict increasingly desirable. Information Operations have the potential to accomplish U.S. strategic goals more effectively, with reduced political risk, and with comparatively less physical risk to our armed forces. Few commanders, however, willingly commit to a course of action before they have a firm grasp of the expected results. Unlike the use of physical means, whose effectiveness can be measured in terms of CEP and PK, the effects of Information Operations on an adversary's decision process cannot be quantified in the same way because the outcome of this process does not display physical phenomena. This thesis applies a software tool entitled Situational Influence Assessment Module (SIAM) to examine how a specific adversary's decision process can be modeled and what effects Information Operations may have on influencing that process.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Modeling and Simulation, Other (Information Warfare)

**KEYWORDS:** IO Modeling and Simulation, SIAM

### **KOREAN UNIFICATION: A UNITED STATES ARMY SPECIAL FORCES FRAMEWORK FOR EMPLOYMENT**

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As Korea approaches unification, the growing stability problems in the north create questions about how these problems can be approached to avoid destabilizing the peninsula upon unification. This thesis predicts and analyzes the significant stability and support operations likely to confront the Republic of Korea (ROK) Army during post-conflict or post-unification proceedings, and presents an employment framework for United States Army Special Forces (USASF) designed to support the ROK Army's efforts. The employment framework is designed to complement a theater-level strategic plan for conducting stability and support operations (SASO) in the north occurring along a suggested spectrum of unification possibilities. The framework consists of three elements: the SASO missions predicted, framework doctrinal elements, and four Korean unification scenarios. Doctrinal elements include the operations, missions, and unique roles USASF conduct during SASO. The utility of this thesis is the analysis of framework doctrinal elements in relation to the SASO missions and unification environment that may confront USASF while supporting the ROK Army in successful completion of these missions. The USASF employment framework is intended to be used as an aid for U.S. military planners at the strategic, operational and tactical levels during the deliberate planning process for post-conflict or post-unification operations in the north.

**KEYWORDS:** Korean Unification, United States Army Special Forces, Stability and Support Operations

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Other (Force Employment and Stability, Support Operations)

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### **THE LONG ROAD TO JUSTICE: ESTABLISHING THE RULE OF LAW IN POST-WAR EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997**

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

After years of virtual civil wars, insurgents in El Salvador (1992) and Guatemala (1996) signed Peace Accords with their governments. This thesis examines the peace processes in El Salvador and Guatemala and focuses on the establishment of the rule of law after years of civil war as a precondition for democratic consolidation. The issue areas investigated are: the redefinition of the role of the armed forces in the state; the demilitarization of the police forces; judicial reform; and how these states deal with past human rights violations which have occurred during the wars, with particular emphasis on the issue of impunity.

The thesis argues that while significant progress has been made in establishing the rule of law since the signing of the Peace Accords, there are still areas of concern which may forestall democratic consolidation. The primary mission of the militaries of both countries has been shifted to external defense. Civilian police forces have been established and they have been removed from military control. Despite these facts, the military is still playing a limited internal policing role in support of the police forces. Judicial reform has progressed in both countries but this area is still in need of more attention and funding. Human rights abuses and the issue of impunity have received much attention in both countries, but the passage of amnesty laws in both countries, which prevent the prosecution of those who committed human rights abuses during the civil wars, has perpetuated a sense of military and governmental impunity.

**KEYWORDS:** El Salvador, Guatemala, Rule of Law, Democratization, Civil-Military Relations, Justice, Peace Accords, Armed Forces, Military, Negotiations

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political-Military)

### **JERUSALEM AND THE ARAB ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS**

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**Advisor: Glenn Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Ralph Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs**

The disposition of Jerusalem is among the handful of "final status" issues to be negotiated between Israel and the PLO according to the 1993 Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accord). This thesis argues that, unlike other final status issues that are more technical and bilateral in nature, the issue and symbolism of Jerusalem are so entangled in *domestic* political processes that negotiated, bilateral resolution has become virtually impossible. That is, Jerusalem has become a defining issue within both domestic Israeli and domestic Palestinian political discourse and processes that resolving it equitably has become problematic even in the best of circumstances. While there is no shortage of creative, viable plans to share Jerusalem, there is a shortage of the domestic political space necessary to negotiate its resolution. As a general rule, the more a disputed issue *between* polities becomes a domestic political issue *within* the polities, the less likely it becomes to resolve it through bilateral negotiations.

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

**KEYWORDS:** Jerusalem, Israeli Peace Process, Palestine, Israel, Islamic Jihad, Hamas Economic Liberalization

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**THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY AND THE  
SEARCH FOR REGIONAL STABILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE****Dale B. Stewart-Captain, United States Army****B.S., United States Military Academy, 1988****Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1997****Advisors: Roman A. Laba, Department of National Security Affairs****Bertrand M. Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, world attention has focused on the future of the new independent states (NIS) in Central and Eastern Europe. Ukraine has been of particular importance because, in becoming an independent state, it has completely changed the geopolitics of Eastern Europe. Ukraine's independence pushed Russian borders 500 miles to the east and limited Russia's access to the Black Sea.

Since 1991, Ukraine and Russia were unable to sign a Friendship Treaty recognizing each other's borders. The signing of this treaty has appeared imminent since 1993, but was always delayed—most recently in October 1996. A series of contentious issues emerged which cast doubt not only on Ukraine's stability and future existence, but also on Russia's. All the post-Soviet Union arrangements were in question. After almost six years of negotiations, insult, and conflict, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed the treaty on 31 May 1997. In the end, it was NATO enlargement that forced Russia to sign the treaty and to recognize Ukraine as an independent state. This is a study of the difficult process and the issues that arose during negotiations.

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, Ukraine, Friendship Treaty, Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol, Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Russia and Ukraine

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Russian and East European Studies)

**JOINT TASK FORCE XXI: SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCE (SOF) AS  
EXECUTIVE AGENCY IN MILITARY OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR****Mark A. Strong-Captain, United States Army****B.A., University of Colorado, 1987****Master of Science in Defense Analysis-December 1997****Advisors: Paul N. Stockton, Department of National Security Affairs****Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs**

While the U.S. military faces growing requirements to conduct Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW), our command relationships are mired in the past, optimized for war, not MOOTW. General Purpose Forces are normally earmarked for Command and Control (C2) of these operations, with primarily conventional commanders, staffs, and service components establishing the Joint Task Force (JTF). Special Operations Forces (SOF) support the JTF. However, given the capabilities of SOF, this command relationship does not take advantage of SOF's strengths, and at times actually impedes our overall efforts.

SOF can provide the regional CINC with superior multi-echelon C2 in MOOTW. This thesis will demonstrate that the current U.S. military C2 system is unsuitable, and that by changing it we will dramatically improve mission success probabilities, efficiency, and overall combat effectiveness. This thesis examines U.S. operations in Somalia (Restore Hope) in order to shed light on key areas of sub-optimization. A SOF-based organization (JTF-XXI) will be proposed and compared to the Restore Hope JTF. The thesis will argue that the JTF-XXI is more effective and efficient, and should be adopted for future use.

**KEYWORDS:** Command and Control, Military Operations Other Than War, Special Operations, Somalia

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

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**DRAGON IN THE SHADOWS:  
CALCULATING CHINA'S ADVANCES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA**  
**Michael W. Studeman-Lieutenant, United States Navy**  
**B.A., College of William and Mary, 1988**  
**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 1998**  
**Advisors: Solomon M. Karmel, Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs**

The dispute between at least six riparian nations over jurisdictional rights to large tracts of the South China Sea continues to reign as one of the most likely flashpoints in the Asia-Pacific theater. The intentions of the chief protagonist in the conflict, China, will in large measure determine whether this dilemma will be resolved peacefully or violently. Relying on three case studies that focus on China's takeover of the Paracel Islands in 1974, its occupation of six reefs in 1988, and subsequent reef-hopping incidents in 1992 and 1995, this study highlights the conditions under which China expanded its presence in the South China Sea. Based on emerging trends, this thesis asserts that resource competition will most likely spark future violence in the South China Sea, and that domestic pressures within China commit Beijing to a course of hardshell revanchism. At the same time, regional sensitivities to Chinese "hegemony" and the correlation of military forces that weakly favor China suggest China will strive to avoid or contain a conflict over the near term. By profiling the character and timing of past Chinese "aggression" in the South China Sea, this thesis also exposes the stratagems by which Chinese armed forces have pursued national objectives in the region.

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

**KEYWORDS:** South China Sea, China, Revanchism

**NATO ENLARGEMENT AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE ARMED FORCES:  
THE EXPERIENCE OF POLAND AND IMPLICATIONS FOR NEIGHBORING  
"PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE" COUNTRIES**  
**Valery Sviridenko-Colonel, National Guard of Ukraine**  
**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 1998**  
**Advisors: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Paul Stockton, Department of National Security Affairs**

The collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the end of global confrontation, and the subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union brought about a real opportunity for European unification and transatlantic security. Thus, there is a unique chance for the states of Central and Eastern Europe to build an improved security architecture in the whole Euro-Atlantic area after half a century of division. That is why Central and East European countries are seeking to join NATO and, in that way, provide increased stability, peace and security for all, without creating new dividing lines.

To join NATO, all Central and East European countries need to accomplish democratic transformation especially in the system of civil-military relations. Democratic civilian control of the military is one of the main prerequisites for Central and East European states to qualify for inclusion in NATO. Thus, NATO enlargement can promote democratic transformations of the East European countries, especially in civil-military relation realm, and integration of the Central and East European countries into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By admitting new members NATO will make itself better able to address Europe's new security challenges. Such a broad concept of security embracing political, economic and defense factors can be the basis for the new security architecture which must be built through a process of integration and cooperation among the partners.

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

**KEYWORDS:** NATO Enlargement and Promotion of Democracy, Civil-Military Relations, Democratic Control of Armed Forces

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### **IRANIAN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING: DOMESTIC FACTIONALISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY**

**David R. Toni-Captain, United States Air Force**

**B.S., University of Maryland, 1991**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 1998**

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

While Iranian foreign policy making since the 1979 revolution has been erratic and even hostile to the interests of the United States, it has been anything but irrational and unintelligible. This thesis argues that Iranian foreign policy making is not enigmatic but rather can be understood in a systematic and rational manner. The key to understanding Iranian foreign policy making is the notion of factional politics in an unconsolidated polity. Put briefly, Iran has lacked a consistent and decisive center of power, leaving foreign policy-making in the hands of various elite factions. The seemingly erratic nature of Iran's actions is explained by noting which faction is behind various policies. Seemingly self-defeating foreign policies have often been designed for *domestic* political advantage. Foreign policy, like domestic policy, is a tool for advantage in Iran's factional power struggle—conclusions directly at odds with Neo-Realist theory.

President Khatami's pursuit of liberalization and rapprochement with the U.S. has highlighted the factional component of Iranian policy making. Understanding Iranian policy in this manner leads to a logical conclusion for U.S. policy makers: Khatami's overtures are genuine and strategic, not only because they will help Iran forward but also because they will help Khatami remain in power.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S.-Iranian Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Iran, Foreign Policy, Domestic Political Factionalism, Comparative Politics Theory,

### **COOPERATION BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL: THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS**

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The political climate between Argentina and Brazil has changed from one of conflict to one of cooperation. The purpose of this thesis is to explain cooperation between Argentina and Brazil. A single qualitative case study is used to test three competing hypotheses: (1) the transition to democracy by Argentina (1983) and Brazil (1985) promotes cooperation; (2) the external economic environment forces cooperation; and (3) both the transition to democracy and the economic environment have forced cooperation between the two countries.

The findings are that the global market and the need to compete in it is the driving force for cooperation between Argentina and Brazil, but it is evident that the transition to democracy by both countries played a role in the intensification of cooperation that began in 1985.

**KEYWORDS:** Argentina, Brazil, Democracy, Regional Economic Arrangements, State Cooperation, Engagement, Enlargement, Mercosur, Mercosul

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Argentina-Brazil Cooperation)

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## 1998 THESIS ABSTRACTS

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### **DO UNITED STATES SECURITY COMMITMENTS DISCOURAGE NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION?**

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United States policy-makers claim that nuclear weapons are needed to guarantee security commitments and discourage the international spread of nuclear weapons. This thesis evaluates the link between security guarantees and efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. It draws three conclusions based on case studies of the use of conventional security commitments and nuclear security guarantees to prevent nuclear weapons development in South Korea and Taiwan. First, nuclear security guarantees alone are not sufficient to prevent proliferation. Second, strong conventional commitments made credible by visible presence of forces are sufficient to prevent nuclear proliferation when the direct security threat is conventional. Third, when the security threat being faced includes nuclear weapons, nuclear proliferation prevention requires both a nuclear security guarantee and a physically evident conventional military guarantee. Two implications for security policy follow from these findings. First, nuclear weapons are necessary in the modern security environment. Second, nuclear security guarantees are not credible without the stationing of conventional forces.

**KEYWORDS:** Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Proliferation, South Korea, Taiwan, Security Commitment, Security Guarantee, U.S. Nuclear Policy

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

### **TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT OF THE INSPECTION READINESS PLAN IN CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION CHALLENGE INSPECTIONS**

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This thesis identifies current Information Technology initiatives to help improve the Navy's Inspection Plan for Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) Challenge Inspections. The CWC is an intrusive inspection. The Challenge Inspection allows for a team of international inspectors to inspect on very short notice a naval facility suspected of violating the CWC.

This thesis begins with a review of the CWC Challenge Inspection timeline. It then describes the Navy's Inspection Readiness Plan for CWC Challenge Inspections as well as the Navy Tiger Team that is sent to naval facilities to assist the Commanding Officer and base personnel during inspections. One of the initiatives evaluated by this analysis is the use of current information technology. To ascertain the feasibility of using current information technology in the CWC Challenge Inspection process, this thesis reviews Tiger Team inspection equipment, conducts interviews with Tiger Team personnel, and assesses the latest commercial information technology. This thesis concludes with recommendations of commercial information technology products for inclusion into the CWC Challenge Inspection process.

**DoD TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Computing and Software

**KEYWORDS:** CWC Challenge Inspection, Chemical Weapons Convention, Information Technology