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## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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### COUNTERPROLIFERATION

**Peter R. Lavoy, Assistant Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Office of the Secretary of Defense**

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

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

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

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

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

**Robert E. Looney, Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Chief of Naval Operations (N81)**

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

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

**KEYWORDS:** Forward Presence, Crisis Response

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

**Lyman Miller, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: Smith Richardson Foundation and Stanford University**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **PUBLICATION:**

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

#### **PRESENTATION:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, World War I

**THE 1997-99 ECONOMIC CRISES' IMPACT ON U.S. ALLIANCES IN NORTHEAST ASIA:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR TAIWAN'S SECURITY**  
**Edward Olsen, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation**

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

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

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

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

CAPT Frank Petho, USN, Military Instructor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval War College

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

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

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

### MILITARY-MEDIA RELATIONS

Douglas Porch, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

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

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

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

**KEYWORDS:** Media, OOTW

### ORIGINS OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC WAR

Maria Moyano-Rasmussen, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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

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

**PROBLEMS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT**  
**Maria Moyano-Rasmussen, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: U. S. Agency for International Development**

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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

**KEYWORDS:** Law Enforcement

**DECENTRALIZATION IN THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY**  
**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: U. S. Agency for International Development**

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

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

**PRESENTATIONS:**

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

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**PUBLICATIONS:**

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

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

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

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

**PRESENTATIONS:**

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

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

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

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

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

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE**  
**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Unfunded**

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

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

**PUBLICATIONS:**

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

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

**TUNISIA 2010: DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS STUDY**

**Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

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

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

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

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

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

**Mikhail Tsyarkin, Associate Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

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

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

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

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### PRESENTATION:

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

### THESES DIRECTED:

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

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

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

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

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

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

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, Military

### ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE: FUTURE ISSUES

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

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

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

### PUBLICATION:

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

### THESES DIRECTED:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **PUBLICATION:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**James Wirtz, Associate Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Defense Threat Reduction Agency**

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

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

**PUBLICATION:**

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

**THESES DIRECTED:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

**David S. Yost, Professor**  
**Department of National Security Affairs**  
**Sponsor: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense**

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

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

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

### **PRESENTATION:**

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

### **THESIS DIRECTED:**

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

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

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

### **ALTERNATIVE FUTURES FOR NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS**

**David S. Yost, Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: United States Air Force Headquarters**

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

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

### **PRESENTATIONS:**

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

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

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### THESES DIRECTED:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

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

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

### PUBLICATION:

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

### PRESENTATION:

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

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### **THESIS DIRECTED:**

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

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

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

### **NATO'S NEW ROLES IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

**David S. Yost, Professor**

**Department of National Security Affairs**

**Sponsor: United States Institute of Peace**

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

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

### **PUBLICATION:**

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

### **THESES DIRECTED:**

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

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

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

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

## PROJECT SUMMARIES

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

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

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

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

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

#### **PUBLICATION:**

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

#### **PRESENTATION:**

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

#### **THESES DIRECTED:**

Hanson, K.K., "British Policies Regarding the European Union's Emerging Defense Dimension," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Kalloch, A.E., "The United States Army in Europe: Designing a New Force Structure for a New Era," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Showers, T.D., "France, Germany, and the Development of a European Security and Defense Identity," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Anghel, G., "The War in Bosnia, 1992-1995: Analyzing Military Asymmetries and Failures," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2000.

Myrick, R.E., "The European Union's Barcelona Process and Mediterranean Security," Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 2000.

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

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