

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

TURKEY EUROPEAN UNION RELATIONS: GREAT EXPECTATIONS

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

DoD KEY AREA: Other (International Relations)

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

OMNIBALANCING IN SYRIA: PROSPECTS FOR FOREIGN POLICY

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

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

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

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CLASS AND ETHNICITY IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR TERRORISM

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Terrorism)

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, Mobilization, Red Brigades, ETA

EVALUATING STRATEGIES TO COUNTER NUCLEAR-ARMED TERRORIST GROUPS

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

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evaluates present U.S. capabilities in each of these areas and provides recommendations for improving counter-terrorism strategies to defend against terrorists armed with nuclear or radiological weapons.

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

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

JAPAN'S MARITIME IMPERATIVE

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This thesis identifies factors that may induce Japan to create greater military capabilities and normalize military force as a potential source of national power in its security policies. A realist theoretical framework for analysis is constructed. It consists of Great Power Theory, the Law of Comparative Advantage, and the Utility of Military Force, and dismisses the artificial divisions between levels of analysis. The thesis examines the failure of Japan's national security doctrine in the post-Cold War world. It explores the impact of economics, Japan's national goals, security threats, and the U.S.-Japan alliance on the country's construction and normalization of increased military capabilities. Japan's primary obstacles to military normalization, Article 9 of its constitution and domestic opinion, are assessed. The thesis concludes that Japan's national talents, production capabilities, and status as a maritime nation make it likely that it will construct more capable naval forces to respond to imperatives in the post-Cold War environment.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

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

EVALUATING THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION PROGRAM

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This thesis offers an analytical survey of evaluations of the effectiveness of the U.S.-sponsored Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program. The CTR remains the principal source of U.S.-Russian interactions regarding weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation. Russia's internal problems, including political, economic, military and social instability, have created the risk that rogue states or terrorists may attempt to exploit the uncertainties in Russia to buy or steal nuclear weapons and/or materials and/or to acquire the expertise to develop a nuclear capability. This thesis explores four competing perspectives in the United States on the accomplishments of the CTR's nuclear agenda. The key points of discord among the competing schools of thought include the significance of limitations on the ability of the United States to effectively monitor and accurately assess the contributions of the program, and the expansion of the program to include projects that do not directly concern weapon dismantlement. This thesis concludes that the CTR's contributions to countering WMD proliferation could be more effectively pursued if the United States enhanced the quality of the CTR and worked cooperatively with Russia to address the full spectrum

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of common interests. The thesis also finds that if Russia fails to develop an enduring safeguard culture much of the CTR assistance may prove to have been of no avail.

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES AND THE NEOREALIST STATE: IRAN AND REALPOLITIK

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

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

COLOMBIA’S WAR ON DRUGS: CAN PERU PROVIDE THE RECIPE FOR SUCCESS?

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

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either simultaneously with the elimination of the drug trade as Plan Colombia promotes, or sequentially before fully engaging the drug trade, is key to counternarcotics success.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Economics, Policy)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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After the Korean War, the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the United States signed a Mutual Defense Treaty on October 1, 1953. There were many conflicts and challenges between the ROK and the United States in keeping the relationship strong. Nevertheless, the ROK-U.S. alliance has successfully defended South Korea from the volatile threat of North Korea and maintained stability and peace in Northeast Asia. After the historical North-South Summit talks in June 2000, Korean unification is more likely now than it has been at any other time since Korea's division. Once Korea is unified peacefully under South Korea's leadership, however, Korean unification will bring into question the necessity of the ROK-U.S. alliance. In other words, the diluting of the strategic goals of the alliance, regional concerns toward the further strengthening of today's ROK-US alliance, and growing Korean national self-consciousness for self-defense and antagonism against foreign powers undoubtedly will pressure the Korea-U.S. alliance to

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modify its role and nature into a more flexible and limited alliance. Given these situations, the most important means to compensate for a weakened former bilateral alliance will be a Northeast Asian multi-lateral security system in conjunction with the growing economic, political, and security interdependence throughout the region.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political Science)

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

NUCLEAR OPTIONS FOR A UNIFIED KOREA: PROSPECTS AND IMPACTS

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Weapons)

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

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IDENTITY GROUP CONFLICTS

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

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

The activities of local commanders in Lebanon are assessed based on the historical record and documentary evidence. The activities of commanders on the ground in Somalia are analyzed based on a number of personal interviews, a compilation of unpublished lessons learned and the unpublished history of

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the Marines in Somalia. It is argued that the official “lessons learned” are inaccurate and suggest a set of Lessons (Un)Learned that are useful in planning and conducting intervention operations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Tactics)

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

CHANGES IN GUERRILLA CONFLICTS IN LATIN AMERICA AFTER THE COLD WAR

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Latin America)

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

U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THE DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIA’S CHEMICAL WEAPONS

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

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

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

PROSPECTS FOR NATO ENLARGEMENT: EXAMINING THE “BIG BANG” APPROACH

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

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

THE EUROPEAN UNION’S BARCELONA PROCESS AND MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Mediterranean Security)

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

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NAVAL SPECIAL WARFARE-LEADING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Law)

KEYWORDS: Humanitarian Intervention, State Sovereignty, International Law

**CHINA AND INDIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR REGIONAL MARITIME
SUPREMACY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEAN**

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The expanding economic and political power of China and India have led each country to extend its naval operations into the other's region of influence in order to safeguard economic/national interests. This expansion has led to suspicion and increased tension between the two countries. The thesis postulates that the continued operational expansion of China and India's naval forces into each other's claimed maritime domain is likely to trigger alliance formations and a naval arms buildup between the two countries which could lead to confrontation and conflict in the near future. This thesis is supported by evidence of active naval modernization programs initiated by China and India as well as the pursuit of security relations with countries in each other's respective regions. Conflicting strategic cultures, a history of antagonistic relations and differences in long-term strategic objectives warn of the possibility of a coming confrontation, which may now have a maritime dimension. The volatility of the situation could have an effect on not only the maritime security climate, but on the security of mainland Asia itself and has implications for future U.S. security policy in the region.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: China, India, Naval Forces, Asia-Pacific Security, Indian Ocean Security, Chinese and Indian Relations, Security Relations in Asia

