

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND LEFT WING TERRORISM

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From the late 1960s through the 1990s, West Germany confronted a domestic and international terrorist threat of considerable proportions: a threat that was unimaginative to many and a threat that caused considerable tribulations throughout the nation. This thesis analyzes how the transformation of radical student groups led to the ensuing left wing terrorism that arose within the fledgling democracy of the Bonn Republic, and the means by which the national government sought to suppress it. The thesis examines the evolution of official policy toward the terrorists and their supporting network, as well as the sometimes highly critical public reaction that these efforts inspired. It also considers the adaptations and reactions of the terrorists to official measures taken against them by the state. The thesis concludes by considering alternative measures, and offers recommendations and suggestions that might have better served the German government during its thirty-year ordeal against the Red Army Faction, June 2 Movement, and other left wing terrorists.

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, West Germany, Anti-Terrorist Legislation, Red Army Faction, Left Wing Terrorism, Baader-Meinhof

NATO'S MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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This thesis analyzes the challenges facing NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue. This Dialogue is an important part of NATO's adaptation to the post-Cold War security environment. It is an expression of the Alliance's policy of outreach and its cooperative approach to security. The new security challenges in the southern Mediterranean region—the potential for social and political instability, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, economic disparities, demographic imbalances, and energy security—have begun to gain prominence in the Alliance, especially since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. These challenges have enhanced NATO's significance as a vehicle to address security tasks in the southern Mediterranean region. NATO has distinctive military capabilities, and a well-established multinational organizational culture. This thesis recommends that the Dialogue be enhanced through coordination with European initiatives concerning the Mediterranean and greater involvement of the southern Mediterranean countries in the formulation and pursuit of goals and activities intended to foster peace and cooperation.

KEYWORDS: NATO, Mediterranean Dialogue, European Security

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COUNTERING TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WITH RESPECT TO TERRORISM IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

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Southeast Asia is experiencing tremendous changes, both politically and economically. Religious and ethnic issues have increased significantly. The move away from traditional to modern systems creates a degree of instability, eroding the existing system's socioeconomic and politico-psychological tenets, giving rise to counter-elites and opposition groups, and paving the way for a resurgence of racial terrorism and ethnic animosities.

Although unfamiliar with insurgencies, Southeast Asia, long considered the "Islamic periphery" owing to its moderate Islamic stance, pluralism and nationalism, is facing a more complex challenge. The root causes of terrorism, both domestic and international, are varied and complex. Some factors are essentially ideological, economical, and include religious and ethno-nationalistic extremism.

An adequate response requires counter-terrorist policies to interact with broader foreign policy. To be effective, counter-terrorism demands understanding the terrorist's psychology, motivation, and goals. Multilateral diplomatic efforts, such as the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) or the ASEAN Regional Forum (AFR), assist in forging substantive agreements that will enhance the sharing of information, tighten border agreements, and reinforce law enforcement cooperation. For example, the United States-ASEAN joint declaration on counter-terrorism, among other goals, pledges to share intelligence, block terrorist funds, tighten borders, and crack down on forged travel documents.

KEYWORDS: Southeast Asia, Islamic Periphery, Pluralism, Nationalism, Association of Southeast Nations, ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum, AFR

THE IMPACT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ON THE STRUCTURE OF IRAN'S GOVERNMENT

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The potential for reform in the Iranian government appears to be very high, but the aggressive foreign policy position taken by the United States is actually helping the *mullahs* retain power. The United States has had an anti-Iranian foreign policy since 53 hostages were held by Iranian students for 444 days from 1979-1981. The election of Mohammed Khatami as President has signaled that the Iranian people desire a change in how their government operates: however, the office of the President does not have any significant power in Iran, because the constitution makes that position subordinate to the unelected position of the Supreme Leader. According to Jack Snyder, liberal regimes, like Khatami's presidency, lose domestic political strength when their country is under international pressure to change. Since the United States is the sole source of international pressure against Iran's government, the United States can help guide Iran's future. Relaxing the unilateral economic sanctions is one of many actions that start the process of reform in Iran.

KEYWORDS: Iranian Government, U.S. Foreign Policy

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THE EFFECTS OF CHINA ENTERING THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION ON THE SOUTH KOREAN WIRELESS TELECOMMUNICATION INDUSTRY

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This thesis investigates the effects of China entering the World Trade Organization on the South Korean wireless telecommunication industry. This thesis explores whether the South Korean wireless telecom industry will benefit from China's accession into the WTO. The working hypothesis of the thesis is that South Korean wireless telecom companies will receive far-reaching economic benefit from China's entry into the WTO. Additionally, this thesis explores the effects the entry in the WTO will have on China's telecom policy toward allowing foreign companies to own and operate parts of the network.

KEYWORDS: People's Republic of China, Wireless, Telecom, South Korea, 3G, CDMA, GSM, TD-SCDMA, China Mobile, China Unicom, China Telecom, China Netcom, MII, Telecommunications, China, WTO, World Trade Organization, R.O.K., PRC

THE RISE AND FALL OF *CHOSEN SOREN*: IT'S EFFECT ON JAPAN'S RELATIONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

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The Korean Diaspora in Japan is a legacy of Japan's colonization of Korea in the first half of the 20th century and has always been the largest group of foreign residents in an otherwise ethnically homogenous Japan. A major issue is the role that Koreans in Japan play in supporting North Korea. Although a very small segment of the population, Koreans affiliated with the organization known as *Chosen Soren* have figured prominently in the triangular relationship between Japan, North Korea, and South Korea over the past 50 years. During the Cold War, *Chosen Soren* activities in support of North Korea severely strained Japan-South Korea relations, which were already plagued by lingering animosity from the colonial period. For many years, *Chosen Soren* was the conduit through which Japan and North Korea attempted to expand trade and eventually establish formal diplomatic ties. However, Japan-North Korea relations have deteriorated in the post-Cold War era due to North Korea's growing military threat to Japan, and most recently, North Korea's admission that it had been systematically kidnapping Japanese citizens. Studying the history of *Chosen Soren* will result in a better understanding of the complexities underlying Japan's current foreign policy toward North Korea.

KEYWORDS: Koreans in Japan, *Chosen Soren*, *Chongryun*, Japan-North Korea Relations, Japan-South Korea Relations

CHINESE MILITARY MODERNIZATION AND THE FUTURE OF TAIWAN

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The potential military capabilities of the People's Republic of China (PRC) carry tremendous implications for the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. The PRC's military modernization efforts are quickly eroding

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the ROC's qualitative military advantage. As the PRC modernizes, the possibility for a peaceful reunification diminishes. However, if it chooses an aggressive solution for reunification, the PRC recognizes that it may have to contend with the United States coming to Taiwan's aid.

This thesis addresses the PRC's efforts to modernize its armed forces. Since 1985, Beijing has initiated a dedicated process of preparing the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to fight future wars. Through detailed analysis of U.S. military campaigns in the Middle East and the Balkans, the PRC has implemented new doctrine and equipment to help transform the PLA into a superior fighting force. As it modernizes, the PRC is developing strategies to force Taiwan's reunification with the mainland. Also, the PRC is developing asymmetric methods to defeat the possible presence of U.S. forces in the Taiwan Strait. The modernization of the PLA is dedicated towards achieving both of these goals.

KEYWORDS: People's Republic of China, Republic of China on Taiwan, Taiwan Strait, PLA, Military Modernization

AMPHIBIOUS AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS IN THE AEGEAN SEA 1943-1945: OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS

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The Aegean Sea during the Second World War drew the attention of both the Allies and the Axis. However, although historians have chronicled the fall of Greece and Crete in the spring of 1941, little attention has been given to the war in the Aegean after 1941. From the early days of the Mediterranean war, Churchill especially believed that the elimination of the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese Islands would facilitate British operations in the Eastern Mediterranean and help to convince Turkey to enter the war on the Allied side. When, in the autumn of 1943, Churchill sought to realize these goals, he succeeded only in creating an operational disaster and provoking a minor crisis between the Western Allies.

For the British, the Italian surrender of September 1943 provided a window of opportunity to thrust through the Aegean into Greece and the Balkans. The Americans firmly rejected Churchill's proposals for operations in the Eastern Mediterranean as designed to serve British imperial interests, rather than those of the rapid defeat of Germany. Despite failure to secure U.S. support, Churchill nevertheless proceeded with operations against Kos and Leros, with disastrous results. However, the British were more fortunate in conducting special operations in the Aegean and against Crete in 1943 and 1944 to the end of the war. This thesis follows the main events that affected the Aegean Sea in the war, stressing issues of inter-allied relations, peripheral strategy, tactical solutions to strategic problems, and special operations.

KEYWORDS: 1943-1945, Aegean Sea, Dodecanese Islands, British Interests, Special Operations, Inter-Allied Relations

DEMOGRAPHICS: THE DOWNFALL OF SAUDI ARABIA

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Threats to Saudi Arabia have historically been categorized as external, reference immediate neighbors, and internal, via conservative Islamic opposition groups. The United States, because of its security arrangement, has guaranteed the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia. Opposition groups within the Kingdom, while attracting recent attention, are placated through concessions to the Ulema and direct payment. However, primary destabilization of the Saudi regime today is due to stress placed upon the Saudi economy

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and ruling structure by an unprecedented population growth within the Kingdom over the last two decades. The argument is that growth in the Kingdom has rapidly outstripped the regime's ability to provide for it, undermining a key pillar of the Royal Family's ruling legitimacy. This thesis explores stress placed upon the Saudi regime through its population growth. Due to effects of relative deprivation, the Saudi populace is demanding government participation, calling to question personal regime expenditures, and the motivations of regime foreign policy, especially in relation to the United States. This study will briefly address courses of action available to the Royal Family, current effects of population growth upon the Saudi economy, and the regional and international consequences of a failed Saudi government.

KEYWORDS: Rentier State, Social Pact, U.S.-Saudi Relations, Economic-Political Reform, Population Growth, Regime Corruption, Resource Based Economy

NATO'S PRAGUE CAPABILITIES COMMITMENT: ORIGINS AND PROSPECTS

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This thesis analyzes the origins and prospects of NATO's Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC). Following the end of the Cold War in 1989-1991, NATO's conventional military capabilities rose in importance as the Allies undertook crisis management operations in the Balkans. Capability shortcomings, particularly among the European Allies, led NATO in 1999 to approve a Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI). However, the DCI's disappointing results, the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, the subsequent American military action in Afghanistan in cooperation with NATO Allies, the leading role of NATO Allies in the International Security Assistance Force in Kabul, and other factors convinced the Allies to make a new effort to improve capabilities. The Allies decided at the November 2002 Prague Summit to endorse the PCC. The PCC's prospects for success may not be greater than those of the DCI unless the European Allies commit greater resources, pool assets in multinational frameworks, pursue specialization in military missions, and modify their procurement priorities. Moreover, the PCC's success hinges on closely related initiatives: the NATO Response Force and the new command structures.

KEYWORDS: Prague Capabilities Commitment, Balkans, Defense Capabilities Initiative

CENTRAL ASIAN DRUG TRAFFICKING DILEMMA

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Tajikistan, a state that is completely landlocked, consists of very rough terrain that is comprised of mountains, cliffs, and glaciers. There are very few transportation links through the area which gives Tajikistan limited access to neighboring countries. Security problems resulting from the increasing flow of narcotics illegally smuggled across the 1200 km Tajikistan-Afghanistan border have become critical in understanding the nature of political instability within Central Asia. This thesis focuses on the growing trend of drug trafficking and use throughout Afghanistan and Tajikistan and the porous border the two countries share. It establishes why the northern route in Afghanistan has gained importance and why drug trafficking is reaching all-time high levels. Russia provides the border security in Tajikistan through the use of its Federal Border Service. Unfortunately, corruption within the government has not allowed the country to overcome its drug trafficking and use dilemma. The United States provides little assistance to the region and does not have any plans to assist in the near future. The thesis concludes that Central Asia,

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Russia, and the United States need to cooperate and help stabilize the region in order to slow the transit of drugs through the area.

KEYWORDS: Central Asia, Tajikistan, Russia, Afghanistan, Drug Trafficking, Border Security

LAND REFORM AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN COLOMBIA

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One of the leading arguments explaining the current rural conflict in Colombia is that it stems from deeply rooted peasant grievances over lack of land. As is true in much of Latin America, Colombia has one of the highest levels of inequality of land ownership in the world. Yet, in over four decades worth of land titling effort, INCORA, Colombia's national land reform agency, has been unable to change the overall high concentration of land ownership. This thesis examines to what effect, if any, a redistributive land reform policy implemented amid the ongoing rural conflict would have on its resolution.

While social scientists have developed a multitude of theoretical explanations of "why peasants rebel," little attention has been given to how land reform implemented during intra-state conflict is to resolve peasant insurgencies. Devoid of a theoretical framework, policymakers have looked towards two well-known cases of land reform in South Vietnam and El Salvador to base much of their decision making on the merits of land reform in the Colombian case. Yet this thesis finds that these two cases do not provide sufficient evidence to suggest a similar failure of land reform in the Colombian case. Furthermore, this thesis confirms that there is a strong historical nexus between land and conflict in Colombia, and since the mid-1990s, the intensification of the rural conflict resulted from: (1) the phenomena of "reverse land reform," where narco-traffickers purchased vast sums of land attempting to launder illicit drug profits; (2) an increase in rural income inequality; and (3) a significant shift from illicit coca cultivation in Bolivia and Peru to Colombia.

Ultimately, this thesis finds that as a "stand alone" policy, redistributive land reform will not only be a difficult agenda item for Colombia's president to find political support for, but its very implementation will be violently contested by guerrillas, paramilitaries, and narco-traffickers. This thesis concludes by offering potential alternative approaches or "paths" that make redistributive land reform feasible in Colombia, with special emphasis on a rural pacification, asset forfeiture, and post-conflict requirements.

KEYWORDS: Colombia, Land Reform, Conflict Resolution, Asset Forfeiture, FARC, Paramilitaries, Reverse Land Reform, South Vietnam, El Salvador, ANUC, Pacification, Narco-Terrorism, Narco-Trafficking

DEVELOPING MODALITIES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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In December 1998, France and the United Kingdom called for the European Union (EU) to develop "the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so." This was the beginning of the EU's European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), because this goal was endorsed by the EU as a whole at Cologne in June 1999. The EU's ESDP immediately ignited controversy in relations between the EU and NATO. However, it was soon discovered

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that the development of the ESDP could not be easily accomplished without recourse to NATO assets and expertise. The EU has accordingly established various mechanisms for consultation, facilitating the development of the ESDP not as an entirely independent policy, but rather one pursued in cooperation with NATO. Furthermore, in its current form, the underlying principles of the ESDP have not been driven primarily by the need for independent defense capabilities, which seem remote at the present time as far as the most demanding contingencies are concerned, but rather by the need to be able to act when and if the United States and NATO decide to step aside. The success of the ESDP may well be influenced by the progress in cooperation between the EU and NATO, in view of their overlapping but distinctive memberships and purposes.

KEYWORDS: European Union, NATO, Cooperation, European Security and Defense Policy, Modalities, Berlin Plus

DETERRENCE AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF 2002: A ROUND PEG FOR A ROUND HOLE

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The National Security Strategy of 2002 suggests that the United States has determined that when faced with the threat of attacks from actors in possession of weapons of mass destruction, a strategy of deterrence is not appropriate. The prospect of absorbing another attack on the caliber of the attacks of September 11, 2001 is unacceptable. As a result, the United States must either abandon the strategy of deterrence for most security challenges or it must adopt a new concept of deterrence. This thesis suggests that the practice of a new concept of deterrence, in which the United States threatens punishment to an adversary for actions short of military attacks against the United States, would address security challenges across the spectrum of threats. Under this concept, preemptive attacks and preventive war constitute possible examples of deterrence failures. This paper outlines the parameters of the new deterrence situation, the requirements for success in pursuing this strategy, and the challenges to its implementation.

KEYWORDS: Deterrence, Coercion, Compellence, Preemption, Preventive War, National Security Strategy, Quadrennial Defense Review, Weapons of Mass Destruction

ARM SALES TO LATIN AMERICA

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Latin America is experiencing unprecedented peace and stability because democracy has replaced the authoritarian regimes of the past. The Clinton Administration decided in 1997 to lift the arm sales ban to Latin America after a twenty-year moratorium. This recent change in U.S. arm sales policy has renewed a growing concern among critics that an influx of U.S. weapons to the region will lead to an arms race. This thesis argues that an arms race is not occurring in Latin America today. Three possible explanations will be explored to explain the presence or absence of arms races in Latin America. They are: democratic peace and complex interdependence, economic determinants of defense expenditures, and U.S. arms sales policy. Two traditional rival dyads, Brazil/Argentina and Peru/Ecuador, will be applied to theoretical bases for international arms races as well as U.S. foreign policy. The major conclusion of this thesis is that U.S. foreign policy neither supports nor prevents arms races, and economic determinants of defense expenditures offer mixed results at best. The best possible explanation to why an arms race is not occurring in Latin America today is the presence of democratic peace and complex interdependence.

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KEYWORDS: Latin America, Arm Sales, Democratic Peace, Complex Interdependence, U.S. Foreign Policy, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Defense Expenditures, Arms Race

IMPLICATIONS OF SINO-AMERICAN STRATEGIC COMPETITION ON SOUTHEAST ASIA'S POST-COLD WAR REGIONAL ORDER

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Southeast Asia is a maritime crossroad and an arena of strategic great power interaction. The study of international politics after the Cold War has rediscovered the importance of regional interaction as the framework for understanding a country's security strategies and the great powers' impact on specific regions. A review of various theories reveals the revival of geopolitics in theoretical constructions and policy formulations. This thesis reviews United States-China relations as the independent variable. The U.S. grand strategy has been consistent since the first Bush administration, namely, to prevent the rise of a peer competitor. The American instruments in pursuit of its strategy are derived from its nature as a maritime power. China is a continental power that is recently expanding seaward and re-emerging as East Asia's indispensable power. China's success in promoting its vision of order in maritime Southeast Asia will potentially undermine America's influence. Southeast Asia's regional order, the dependent variable, is dynamic when viewed from its two dimensions: time and space. Time refers to historical cycles, while space refers to the diverse views in dealing with the major powers, i.e., regional autonomy, a balance of engagement among the great powers and, since the 1990s, stronger engagement only with Northeast Asia. This thesis argues that regional identity is the primary driver of Southeast Asia's strategy for regional order.

KEYWORDS: Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum, ARF, ASEAN+3, ASEAN+China, China Foreign Relations, East Asia, East Asia Economic Caucus, East Asia Community, Grand Strategy, Maritime, People's Liberation Army, Southeast Asia, Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Treaty of Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, United States Foreign Relations, Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, ZOPFAN

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE 2002-2003 IRAQ CRISIS

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In the 2002-2003 Iraq crisis, most Eastern European countries aimed first of all to maintain positive relations with their main strategic partner, the United States. This priority was closely connected with NATO, Eastern Europe's preferred collective defense organization. Eastern European governments were concerned that if they supported the position of France and Germany regarding the Iraq crisis, the greater U.S. frustration with present and future European NATO partners might have eventually led to a weakening of the NATO collective defense commitment and a reduction of U.S. interest in Europe. This outcome would have signified the disappearance of the security guarantee that most Eastern European countries have been seeking since the beginning of the 1990s and that they would prefer to rely on in the long term. Eastern European countries are prepared to make significant efforts to uphold NATO's effectiveness. Indeed, the main mission of Eastern Europe in the future may be to keep the United States effectively engaged in Europe and to sustain NATO's cohesion and relevance. It is possible that NATO will survive in the long term partly because Eastern European countries have enthusiastically embraced this alliance.

KEYWORDS: NATO, European Union, Eastern Europe