

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Missile Defense)

UNITED STATES SECURITY POLICY IN ASIA AFTER KOREAN UNIFICATION

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

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

the possibility of home porting a nuclear aircraft carrier in Korea. This proposed policy would solve the problem created by Japan's refusal to host U.S. nuclear powered aircraft carriers at a time when the U.S. is retiring its conventional carriers.

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

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

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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Hellas was officially declared an independent State in 1828, after a seven-year struggle against the conquerors. Despite the young age, however, she demonstrated a rich, and often turbulent, political life. The pattern was not unique by itself: it reflected the parliamentary transformations that swept all over Europe during the last three hundred years. Its uniqueness lies in the rapidity with which these transformations took place, until the finalization of stable republican governance in 1974. What makes this thesis interesting for the foreign reader is the degree of influence exerted by the armed forces over the political developments. Covertly in the beginning, but with ever increasing determination as the years passed, the armed forces assumed a leading role and even dominated the political scene. Inadequately institutionalized civilian control over the army and political immaturity combined to form this behavioral pattern. By the beginning of the last quarter of the

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

century, however, it was realized that Hellas could not claim a reputable position among the community of civilized nations unless they abolished antiquated institutions. The 1975 Constitution and the way civilian authorities consolidated control over the armed forces, are textbook examples of a successful transition to a fully developed democratic regime.

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Military Interventionism, Constitution

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

MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, AND INDONESIA-CONTROLLING THE MALACCA STRAITS

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

KEYWORDS: Malacca Straits, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Battlespace Environments

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

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political-Military)

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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

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

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

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

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

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

IRAN AND THE STRAIT OF HORMUZ: VARYING LEVELS OF INTERDICTION

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Iran's rearmament program has invited an array of interpretations of its current military capability to close or interdict the Strait of Hormuz (SOH). The fighting in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), drove Iran's military forces down to minimal levels of equipment while increasing institutional disorganization. Air and ground assets ended the war in the poorest condition. Iran chose to rearm these forces first. However, in 1992, the focus widened to include the rebuilding of the Navy and those military assets physically near the Strait of Hormuz. This enlarged emphasis expanded Iranian military capacity to again challenge shipping transiting the SOH. With its new naval acquisitions, Iran is an increased threat to the interests of its neighbors and the West, particularly the United States. Initial reactions to this threat from the United States include an increased military presence, economic sanctions, and continued political rallying against the Islamic Republic. Simultaneously, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has reacted by implementing efforts to improve military strength through the acquisition of weapons from the United States and others. A "spiraling effect" or arms race is taking place between Iran and the GCC, in which each side attempts to gain military advantage over the other. Unfortunately, the Iranian threat still persists. The growth of the Iranian forces, specifically the navy and those components next to the SOH, have resulted in

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

mixed threat interpretations. Now, the ultimate challenge for decision-makers and strategic planners alike lies in accurately assessing the ability of Iranian forces to attempt to and, if possible, keep the Strait of Hormuz closed.

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

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

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

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

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

KEYWORDS: Arms Transfers, Persian Gulf, Nixon Doctrine

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Conventional Weapons

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

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

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Area (AFTA) provides the first chance for ASEAN members to cooperate in a long-term institutionalized manner. This may help to alleviate distrust and lead to greater trust among them. Greater trust may in turn lead to closer cooperation in the security sphere in the future.

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Southeast Asia)

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF UZBEKISTAN AND POLITICAL STABILITY OF CENTRAL ASIA

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

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

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

KEYWORDS: Uzbekistan, Central Asia, Transition

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

CAN IRAQ BE DETERRED FROM USING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION?

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

This thesis examines the use of conventional and nuclear deterrence by the United States and coalition allies during the 1991 Gulf War. It then looks beyond the alleged effects of nuclear deterrence and examines Iraq's development and past use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The threat of nuclear retaliation only moderately influenced Iraq's decision to refrain from CBW use during the Gulf War. Other factors such as inexecutable C², logistical collapse, and dubious munition reliability also mattered. The implications for the United States are that: (1) current nonproliferation regimes are insuffi-

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

cient to prevent the continued buildup of WMD by Iraq; (2) nonproliferation policies must be supplemented by policies designed to deter WMD use; and (3) asymmetrical conventional military force targeting Saddam Hussein's regime is required to deter Iraq's use of WMD.

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

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

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

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

The United States faces a variety of issues in its dealings with the Kurds. Foremost is the issue of autonomy for the Kurdish Nation, and its impact on the territorial integrity of the states in the region. Secondly, is the lack of Kurdish unity, and its impact on any American initiative regarding an end to the regional repression of the Kurds. The United States has the ability to move the primary countries with Kurdish populations in the direction necessary for some sort of settlement of the Kurdish situation. The result of not pursuing this matter could lead to further turmoil in a region which can ill-afford it.

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

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

THE CHECHEN WAR AND RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

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

The Russian government is a quasi-autocracy, in which a small circle of ministers and advisors exercise true power. Ultimate, unaccountable authority resides personally with the chief executive, and the key decision-making center of the

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Russian government is his Security Council. This body is legally unaccountable, and its decisions relative to the Chechen crisis demonstrated a lack of democratic norms. Through a detailed reconstruction of key events and developments during the Chechen crisis, this thesis demonstrates that Russia's transition to democracy is far from complete.

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Russian Area Studies)

DETECTING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION TERRORISM

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

KEYWORDS: Deterrence, Terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

THE DEMOCRATIZING POWER OF THE INTERNET IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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

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

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

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Computing and Software

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

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

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

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political-Military)

THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY AND THE SEARCH FOR REGIONAL STABILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

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

Since 1991, Ukraine and Russia were unable to sign a Friendship Treaty recognizing each other's borders. The signing of this treaty has appeared imminent since 1993, but was always delayed—most recently in October 1996. A series of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

contentious issues emerged which cast doubt not only on Ukraine's stability and future existence, but also on Russia's. All the post-Soviet Union arrangements were in question. After almost six years of negotiations, insult, and conflict, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed the treaty on 31 May 1997. In the end, it was NATO enlargement that forced Russia to sign the treaty and to recognize Ukraine as an independent state. This is a study of the difficult process and the issues that arose during negotiations.

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

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

COOPERATION BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL: THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS

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

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

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

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

DO UNITED STATES SECURITY COMMITMENTS DISCOURAGE NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION?

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United States policy-makers claim that nuclear weapons are needed to guarantee security commitments and discourage the international spread of nuclear weapons. This thesis evaluates the link between security guarantees and efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. It draws three conclusions based on case studies of the use of conventional security commitments and nuclear security guarantees to prevent nuclear weapons development in South Korea and Taiwan. First, nuclear security guarantees alone are not sufficient to prevent proliferation. Second, strong conventional commitments made credible by visible presence of forces are sufficient to prevent nuclear proliferation when the direct security threat is conventional. Third, when the security threat being faced includes nuclear weapons, nuclear proliferation prevention requires both a

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

nuclear security guarantee and a physically evident conventional military guarantee. Two implications for security policy follow from these findings. First, nuclear weapons are necessary in the modern security environment. Second, nuclear security guarantees are not credible without the stationing of conventional forces.

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

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Proliferation)

