

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND CONCORDANCE THEORY: A CASE STUDY OF ARGENTINA

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The purpose of this thesis is to test Rebecca L. Schiff's "Theory of Concordance" against the case of Argentina. Using the case study method to determine whether this neglected theory of civil-military relations accounts for the occurrence of military interventions in Argentina, this thesis also examines whether the theory provides a better tool than separation theory by which to analyze civil-military relations in Latin America. Separation theory describes the separation of civil and military institutions as it occurs in the United States and suggests that it is the ideal model for other nations to emulate. Concordance theory argues that three partners $\frac{3}{4}$ the military, the political elites, and the citizenry $\frac{3}{4}$ should aim for a cooperative relationship that may or may not involve separation, but does not require it. What is interesting about this theory is that it accounts for the U.S. model as well. The thesis concludes that in the case of Argentina, separation theory better predicts the mechanisms by which a civilian government may establish control over its formerly interventionist military. However, with modification, concordance theory may provide insights into how that control may be maintained following the transition to enduring democracy.

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

KEYWORDS: Latin American Civil-Military Relations, Civil-Military Relations Theory, Argentine Military, Separation Theory, Concordance Theory, Argentina's Dirty War

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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This thesis studies the Chinese economy, analyzing the economic growth China has experienced since Deng Xiaoping instituted reforms in 1978. An autoregressive-distributed lag method with an error correction model was used to forecast GNP growth. Three scenarios were constructed using high, medium, and low growth patterns.

Sino-U.S. relations are in the high end of a cyclical pattern. Economic policy is used as a tool for developing foreign policy in areas such as weapons proliferation and human rights. President Clinton's administration is using economic interaction to pursue a policy of engagement that is designed to work with PRC leaders, fostering a move away from Communism, toward a free market economy and democracy.

PRC leaders demonstrated sound macroeconomic policies, despite the Asian economic crisis and the resulting decrease in market demand. PRC growth stems from increases in productivity and has taken advantage of underemployed workers as well as the opening of trade. The PRC faces substantial problems both from within and outside its borders. The country has a history of such problems and disruptions, yet it still realizes economic growth. The conclusion of this thesis is that the economic growth that the PRC has demonstrated is sustainable.

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DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: People's Republic of China, Economy, Economic Growth

**PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN A POST-CASTRO
CUBA: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY**
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The tidal wave of democracy has yet to crash across the shores of Cuba primarily because the colossal persona of Fidel Castro has obstructed its path. What will happen when Castro is gone from the political scene? What forces, if any, exist on the Caribbean Island that would encourage change? Is the wave of democracy simply circling Cuba awaiting Castro's downfall or has Fidel created a breakwater that will keep his revolution alive well past his death? Castro's passing will undoubtedly bring about a leadership vacuum in Cuba that will thrust the island further along a transitional path, a path that began when Cuba lost its Soviet benefactor.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the transition path Cuba has been on since the collapse of the Soviet Union in four key arenas: political society, economic society, civil society, and the international arena. It will also determine if these alterations have helped pave the way for liberalization and a transition to democracy after Castro is gone. In short, this thesis argues that what occurs in Cuba before Castro dies will determine what happens after he dies. Recommendations for U.S. policy are made based on the findings in this thesis.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Fidel Castro, Cuba, Post-Castro, Democratic Transition, Political Society, Economic Society, Civil Society, International Relations

THE DECLINING SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF THE INDONESIAN MILITARY
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The Indonesian military has played a significant socio-political role since the independence struggle against the Dutch. Subsequently, the military continued its socio-political intervention, influencing political decisions in the military, domestic and international arenas. Most scholars consider the New Order regime (1966-1998) to have been one dominated by the military. However, this thesis concludes that the level of the military's socio-political participation has been declining in recent years. It also aims to present some reasons for this decline. The analysis involved the examination of the levels and types of military prerogatives and contestations the military exercised against the civilian leadership, allowing for both objective and subjective analyses to be conducted.

The analysis conducted demonstrated that the Indonesian military's socio-political role had been eroded in recent years. Suharto's policies featured prominently as causes of this decline; but pressures from within the military, Indonesian society as well as international pressures also dictated a reduction in the military's socio-political role. This reduction will continue into the future, although a total elimination of the military's socio-political role remains highly unlikely.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Analysis of Military's Political Role)

KEYWORDS : Indonesian Military, Socio-Political Role, Military Prerogatives, Military Contestation

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NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

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Despite the development of positive institutional arrangements such as Russian participation in the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia and the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, the strategic culture of Russia has not changed in any fundamental sense. Russian strategic culture has not evolved in ways that would make Russian policies fully compatible with those of NATO countries in the necessary economic, social, technological, and military spheres. On the domestic side, Russia has yet to establish a stable democracy and the necessary legal, judicial, and regulatory institutions for a free-market economy. Russia evidently lacks the necessary cultural traditions, including concepts of accountability and transparency, to make these adaptations in the near-term. Owing in part to its institutional shortcomings, severe socioeconomic setbacks have afflicted Russia. Russian conventional military strength has been weakened, and a concomitant reliance by the Russians on nuclear weapons as their ultimate line of defense has increased. The breakdown in the infrastructure that supports Russian early warning and surveillance systems and nuclear weapons stewardship has exacerbated Russian anxiety and distrust towards NATO. Russia's reliance on nuclear weapons as the ultimate line of defense, coupled with the tendency toward suspicion and distrust toward NATO, could lead to dangerous strategic miscalculation and nuclear catastrophe.

DoD TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), NATO Enlargement, NATO-Russian Relations, Russian Nuclear Weapons, United States NATO Policy, Nuclear War

COLUMBIA: A RISK-PRONE DEMOCRACY

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This thesis assesses the prospect for democracy in Colombia. In a single case study, it argues that Colombia is a democracy at risk. The work attempts to answer the following questions:

- Why, after four decades of democratic processes, has Colombia's political society failed to achieve full democratization?
- Is Colombia vulnerable to democratic breakdown?
- What possible policy actions could the United States explore that would assist in halting Colombia's downward democratic spiral?

This Latin American country, the fourth largest in South America, the Western Hemisphere's second oldest democracy and populated by almost thirty-seven million people, is facing a myriad of severe social, economic and political problems. The magnitude of the challenge of coping with ever-increasing levels of social violence, civil disorder, corruption, narco-trafficking, and insurgency is threatening the very fabric of civil and political society. Despite four decades of democratic processes, Colombia's political society has yet to complete democratic consolidation, much less full democratization. Furthermore, it is the incompleteness of its democratic consolidation that exacerbates and accelerates the downward spiral of the country's democracy and renders it vulnerable to breakdown. Colombia's political society – those institutions with control over the political decision making process – is the main culprit in hindering the establishment of full liberal democracy and facilitating a move away from the endemic political violence that plagues the country today.

The breakdown of democracy in Colombia could affect democratic institutions throughout the area. This single event – a non-democratic Colombia – would alter the balance of power in Latin America and significantly affect current U.S. policy in the region.

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DoD TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Democracy, Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Democratic Consolidation, Democratic Decay, Democratic Breakdown, Colombian Political Institutions, Civil-Military Relations, Colombian Military, Colombia

**MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS:
TOWARD A LIMITED FORWARD-DEPLOYMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

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The end of the Cold War calls for new U.S. policies in Asia. To maintain stability and prosperity in the Asia Pacific region, the U.S. needs to restructure its forward-deployed presence. This restructuring will satisfy both domestic pressures and the security concerns of the countries in the region.

The first part of this thesis will examine the relationship between Japan and the U.S. from the end of World War II through the end of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War and how this policy is developed within the United States. The next chapters will be devoted to the external factors that influence the U.S.-Japan alliance including waning public opinion in Japan for support of U.S. troops, the Asian economic crisis, and fears of Japanese militarism and of revived nationalism within Japan. This thesis will suggest ways to calm these fears including the continued development of regional security groups. Such measures represent a tremendous task, which, if accomplished, will allow for the reduction of the U.S. forces in the region without the creation of a power vacuum. This thesis argues in favor of a reduction that gives primacy to U.S. naval forces in the region, which could serve to satisfy the above concerns.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: National Security Affairs, U.S.-Japan Alliance, Forward-Stationed Troop Structure

NUCLEAR DETERRENT COOPERATION INVOLVING BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND GERMANY

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To construct a political union with an autonomous Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Union (EU) must “sooner or later” address the integration of the British and French deterrents within a credible West European nuclear consultation arrangement. However, there exists little consensus among Britain, France, and Germany on the creation of a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), much less the “course and speed” of integration within the EU. Indeed, the “conflict and contrast” of national interests have been most conspicuous when discussions at the highest levels have turned towards creating a combined European nuclear posture through the coordination of the British and French nuclear forces. Without a “Eurodeterrent,” an autonomous CFSP for the EU would be impractical due to NATO Europe’s continued reliance on U.S. nuclear guarantees. However, if an autonomous CFSP were realized, the EU’s combined nuclear posture would have significant implications for the United States and the Atlantic Alliance. Due to the complexity of the issues involved in the creation of a multinational European nuclear doctrine and deterrent, the creation of a “Eurodeterrent” should be considered the “anchorman” vice the “pacesetter” within the development of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy.

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

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

KEYWORDS: Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Deterrence, Eurodeterrent, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union (EU), Western European Union (WEU), European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

ROMA IN EASTERN EUROPE: ETHNIC POLICY AND SECURITY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVAKIA, AND ROMANIA

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From the time Roma arrived in Europe during the Middle Ages, their presence has often resulted in friction with the other peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. This generalization and indigenous attitude applies today. Due to the Roma's unique culture, customs, language, and social structure, they are not integrated into Central and Eastern European society. Moreover, Roma are a target of racial bias and discrimination, especially during times of social and political turmoil. At the turn of the century, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania are all undergoing tremendous change, with the Roma as a focus for society's ills. Security problem, arising therefrom, include migration, high demographic birthrate, illiteracy, unemployment, and criminal behavior. Therefore an effective program of integrating Roma into the new democracies is necessary. The new democracies must also improve minority rights in order to join European security and economic organizations. Membership is essential for the survival of democracy in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Ethnic Policy and Security)

KEYWORDS: Roma, Eastern Europe, Ethnic Policy, Security, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania

AMERICAN CULTURE, MILITARY SERVICES' CULTURES, AND MILITARY STRATEGY

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The knowledge of one's culture is critical for success in statecraft and strategy. Yet, perhaps because it is so pervasive, the influence of one's own culture on strategy, defense preparation, and the conduct of war tends to escape notice. The influence of American culture on strategy, however, does not escape the notice of America's potential enemies. This thesis explores the American approach to strategy from a cultural perspective. It examines characteristics of American culture and the cultures of the four U.S. military services, which influence American strategy-making process. It explains how these characteristics formed and how they might influence American strategy. Unlike traditional explanations of the U.S. military cultures, such as Carl Builder's *The Masks of War*, this analysis examines the services' cultures from a more operational perspective. This thesis emphasizes the role the services' respective operating environments play in shaping their divergent perspectives on strategy, joint command structures, and doctrine. Cultural self-knowledge allows American strategists to recognize when aspects of American culture and the cultures of the services may make some strategies possible, desirable, or unimaginable. It allows American strategists to recognize when political leaders' goals and the services' strategies may be poorly matched.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Military Strategy, American Culture, U.S. Military Services' Cultures)

KEYWORDS: Strategy, Military Strategy, American Strategic Culture, Organizational Cultures of the U.S. Military Services, Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps

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CHINESE SECURITY INTERESTS AND U.S. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES

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The People's Republic of China (PRC) has undertaken extensive military modernization efforts in the post-Cold War period. Many of these efforts are directed at curbing what the Chinese consider unchecked U.S. influence in the Asia-Pacific region. Continuing efforts by the United States to develop and deploy ballistic missile defenses (BMD) threaten to undermine the PRC's sole overseas power projection instrument, ballistic missiles, leaving Beijing with a seriously weakened repertoire for coercion and undermining Beijing's long-term goal of acquiring the ability to counter U.S. influence. This thesis examines China's national security interests in the near future and the ballistic missile defense capabilities being pursued by the United States. It then analyzes the implications of the potential competition between U.S. BMD and Chinese ballistic missiles for Sino-American security relations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Ballistic Missile Defense)

KEYWORDS: China, PRC, PLA, National Missile Defense, NMD, Theater Missile Defense, TMD, Strategic Culture, Nuclear Weapons, Ballistic Missiles

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS: EFFECTIVENESS AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL IN THE CASE OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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Unwilling to use military force, the Western powers, acting through the UN Security Council, relied heavily on economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) [referred to as FRY (S/M)] to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The breakup of the former Yugoslavia resulted in wars of secession in Slovenia, Croatia, and finally, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Warring factions divided themselves up along ethnic lines with the Serbians being labeled as the aggressors in the conflict. Economic sanctions were implemented against the FRY (S/M) in May 1992. Economic sanctions were devastating to the FRY (S/M) economy. By 1993, FRY (S/M) President Slobodan Milosevic indicated his support for the Vance-Owen Peace Plan in exchange for the lifting of economic sanctions. The Bosnian-Serbs failed to support the peace plan, resulting in the tightening of sanctions on the FRY (S/M). The intent of the tightened sanctions was to force Milosevic to represent the Bosnian-Serbs in future peace negotiations. This strategy worked as indicated by the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995, which ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This work examines the role economic sanctions had in ending that conflict. Recommendations are provided to policy makers regarding the future use of economic sanctions.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Economic Sanctions, Embargo, Foreign Policy, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Maritime Interception

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

U.S.-JAPAN NATIONAL INTERESTS: NECESSITY AND IMPLICATIONS

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Why is the U.S.-Japan relationship so important? This research question is the starting point of the thesis. In relations between nations, national interests play a key role. Within these interests this thesis analyzes both shared benefits and areas of conflict. A number of issues are addressed. The national interests are defined. The factors that influence the formulation of the national interests are suggested. The benefits or interests for each country are examined by the three major dimensions, namely the political, economic, and military aspects. The United States has a major stake in Japan: retaining support for U.S. policy, maintaining an economic partner, and continuing a forward deployment strategy. Japan's stake in the U.S. includes: support for Japan's policy, a trading partner, and security assistance. Even though both nations have common national interests, there are also issues, and the changing world order. In this context, both nations will exert efforts to maximize their own national interests. In the process, cooperation or conflict may emerge. The U.S.-Japan relationship will have an impact in these various dimensions. Thus, a close analysis of the relationship is significant in national security studies.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: National Interests, U.S.-Japan Relations, Democratic Peace, Forward Deployment Strategy, Trade Routes, Pacific War, Trade Friction, U.S.-Japan Defense Guideline, Regionalism

ASAD'S SYRIA AT THE CROSSROADS: STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL CULTURE VS. NEW WORLD ORDER

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The collapse of the Eastern Bloc and Soviet Union marked the end of a painful era in history. As the 20th century draws to a close, mankind is busy establishing a common world in which nations can understand each other more easily than in the Cold War. Peace, democracy, and free market economy are the cornerstones of this new order. However, Syria is still anti-democratic, economically backward and a conflict-prone state.

The main thesis of this work is that Syrian political and strategic culture is one of the major obstacles to Syria's transformation into a democratic, peaceful and prosperous country. The most immediate problem faced by Syria is the urgency for liberalization at home and peace in the region. However, President Hafiz al-Asad's personal way of thinking, the Ba'th ideology, and the political system all impede Syria from undergoing necessary structural transformations and concluding the Middle East peace process with a viable peace agreement. This is because liberalization and peace put the survival of Asad's dictatorship at stake. As a result, it is plausible to argue that Syria will not be a partner of the new world order as long as Asad or his clique remains in power.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Area Study, Strategy, Middle East)

KEYWORDS: Strategic Culture, Syria, Liberalization and Peace in Syria, Syrian Ba'th Regime, Hafiz al-Asad, Middle East

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

OF OWL OR OSTRICH? THE U.S. POLICY OF CALCULATED AMBIGUITY TO DETER THE USE OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

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The United States has adopted a policy of calculated ambiguity regarding the role of nuclear weapons in response to a potential chemical or biological weapons (CBW) attack. Many factors affect decisions about the role nuclear weapons play in U.S. counterproliferation strategy. This thesis describes the policy of calculated ambiguity and offers some observations about its prospects and pitfalls.

The thesis presents evidence that suggests nuclear weapons could play a positive role in the U.S. counterproliferation strategy, at least in some circumstances. It also explains how such a role could conflict with the U.S. nonproliferation strategy. Such a role would also violate the nuclear taboo and be seen by a majority of countries as illegal and immoral. The United States has chosen a policy of calculated ambiguity in an attempt to retain the deterrent value of nuclear weapons without paying the political, legal, and moral costs of explicit reliance on nuclear weapons to deter the use of CBW. This may have short-term benefits, but ultimately may damage the national interest.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Weapons)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear Weapons Policy, Weapons of Mass Destruction, Chemical and Biological Weapons, Deterrence, Nonproliferation, Counterproliferation

POLITICAL TERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND U.S. POLICY ISSUES: CASE STUDIES OF THAILAND AND INDONESIA

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The end of the Cold War has brought about a decrease in global tensions while regional disorder has increased. In particular, Southeast Asia has become an area of regional economic and political instability. As a result, the possibility of an increase in terrorism, separatist violence, ethnic disputes, and strained regional relations takes on greater significance, both for United States foreign policy and regional Southeast Asian relations. The main purpose of this thesis is to examine political terrorism in Southeast Asia, with particular attention paid to terrorism conducted by separatist groups in Thailand and Indonesia. Secondly, this paper will discuss what actions are needed to contain political terrorism in the region. Additionally, this paper will examine U.S. Government anti-terrorist/counter-terrorist policy and how it affects political terrorism in the region. Finally, this thesis will demonstrate that there is a growing threat of terrorism in Southeast Asia that can no longer be addressed unilaterally and that Association of Southern Asian Nations (ASEAN) can use U.S. policy and global initiatives as guidelines for greater cooperation. It is therefore recommended that U.S. policy towards terrorism need not change to accommodate Southeast Asia and that ASEAN and its individual states take greater steps toward containing the spread of terrorism in the region.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political Terrorism, Southeast Asia)

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, Political Terrorism, Southeast Asia, Thailand, Indonesia, United States Foreign Policy, Association of Southeast Asian Nations

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

PATTERNS IN CONFLICT: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PRC CRISIS/CONFLICT MANAGEMENT BASED ON CHINESE PERCEPTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL STRATEGIC FRONTIERS

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Primarily based on Chinese perceptions of sovereignty and their national strategic frontiers, this study attempts to discern patterns in PRC uses of force to attain foreign policy objectives. Both concepts are instrumental in understanding when and where the Chinese are willing to use force. For the PRC there exists a dual concept of sovereignty that extends from territorial to influential. Not only is Chinese control expected within its recognized borders, but also predominating Chinese influence is expected in areas *outside* the territorial borders of the PRC. Exactly where this perceived sphere of influence has been at any given time is difficult to establish. Through a twelve case study pattern analysis, this thesis demonstrates that the PRC has repeatedly been willing to use force to ensure their primacy of influence. As the strength of the Chinese nation expands and contracts, so has the PRC definition and application of Chinese influence. This work also identifies past demarcations of the PRC's strategic frontier and how far Chinese strategic interests might extend in the future. Within the last twenty-five years there has been a shift in PRC focus from a continental to a maritime frontier. As Chinese comprehensive national strength allows, the maritime claims of the PRC will be defended with force in the name of sovereignty as part of the historic territory of the Chinese people.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (PRC Crisis/Conflict Management)

KEYWORDS: China, PRC, Chinese History, People's Liberation Army, Sovereignty, Strategic Frontier, Conflict Management, Greater China, China Threat Theory, National Space

THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE: ATTACKING FRESHWATER SUPPLIES

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Water is an essential resource and freshwater supplies are of critical importance to both the civilian population and the armed forces. Unfortunately, it is often times overlooked as a resource that is quite limited and in many cases vulnerable. Fundamental causes of regional water shortages (e.g., overpopulation, industrialization, weather/climatic factors, etc.) could be further exacerbated by deliberate attacks upon critical fresh water supplies or the infrastructure that supports them. This may be done through contamination, denial, or by some other means of exploitation. This thesis analyzes the potential utility of attack upon fresh water supplies, specifically, drinking water. The objective of this thesis is to determine the feasibility of an attack on or with the use of fresh water. The paper briefly examines past threats and attacks that targeted water, addresses the current vulnerabilities and invulnerability's of water supplies, estimates the potential of a future attack or threat of attack, and discusses possible ramifications. In recognition of growing United States national security challenges, the thesis provides a target analysis of freshwater and possible ways to defend it.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Chemical and Biological Defense, Environmental Quality, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Materials, Processes, and Structures, Sensors, Other (Counter-Terrorism)

KEYWORDS: Asymmetrical Warfare, Biological Warfare, Chemical Warfare, Force Protection, Fresh Water, Target Cycle, Terrorism, Vulnerability, Weapons of Mass Destruction

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

FUELING THE DRAGON: ENERGY SECURITY IN CHINA; IS THERE A ROLE FOR U.S. POLICY?

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Many authors talk about the rising power of China and the “China threat.” One area where conflict has frequently been predicted is in China’s pursuit of energy security. This thesis explores China’s energy situation, options available to meet rising demand, environmental impact of these options, and possible ways to mitigate these effects. The thesis then determines to what extent China will be unable to meet its needs from domestic sources and have to look overseas. Then, a review of China’s most likely overseas suppliers will explain where China’s actions could be threatening to U.S. interests, and where fears are overblown. The areas where concern is most warranted is in China’s increasing dependence on imports for its oil needs, and its continued reliance on coal usage. The desire to ensure secure oil supplies has led China to deal with Iran and Iraq, despite U.S. desires to isolate these nations. China is also increasing its influence throughout the Middle East, Central Asia, South America, and retains claims in the South China Sea. While actions in these regions are not necessarily threatening, U.S. policy can play a role in keeping it that way.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Environmental Quality, Other (Energy)

KEYWORDS: China, Energy, Energy Security, Emissions, Environmental Impact, Oil, Natural Gas, Renewable Resources, Sino-American Relations, Engagement

CHILE: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

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The purpose of this thesis is to analyze civil-military relations and democratic consolidation in Chile. It examines civil-military relations in Chile by using the eleven prerogatives of the military, as an institution in a democratic regime, and as defined by Alfred Stepan. From September 1973 until March 1990, the military in Chile, under General Augusto Pinochet, held the reins of power. Since March of 1990, Chile has been under civilian rule: Patricio Aylwin, 1990-1994; and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, 1994-present. Although both Aylwin and Frei were elected directly by the voters, some scholars argue that Chile has not consolidated its democracy, due in large measure to the continuing influence and prerogatives of the Chilean military. The thesis is a single case study of Chile, viewed longitudinally from 1988 to 1998. The issue of civil-military relations in Chile is important because Chile has the most promising economy in Latin America and the fostering of democracy provides stability and security to support United States goals in the region. If the military prerogatives in Chile continue, democracy will not be fully consolidated. The thesis concludes that Chile has made significant strides since 1988 in achieving civilian authority over the military; as a result, the full consolidation of democracy is promising.

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

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations in Chile, Democratic Consolidation

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

KOSOVO: THE ETHNO-NATIONAL DILEMMA AND POLICY OPTIONS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Fearful of large refugee flows, and the possible spillover of ethnic violence into other Balkan countries, the international community has become increasingly involved in trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement in the Kosovo crisis. Thus far, however, the lack of international community resolve to present a common position, and the intransigence of both the Serbian and Kosovar parties, has enabled the belligerent leaders to manipulate the situation.

This thesis will explore Serbian and Kosovar historical national identities and their development, and the modern nationalist movements in the region and their leaders. Finally, the utility of the current leaders and levers that may be used by the international community to pressure or influence them will be evaluated. Presenting policy options and analysis for conflict resolution without the use of peacekeeping military forces, this thesis highlights the most feasible options which allow for U.S. and international community involvement, while enabling the Serbs and Kosovars to solve the crisis in a way that is amenable to both parties and will bring long-term stability to the region.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Ethno-Nationalism)

KEYWORDS: Kosovo, Balkans, Serbia, Milosevic, Rugova, Kosovo Liberation Army, National Identity, Ethno-Nationalism, Albania, United States, Former Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

THE NUCLEAR-ARMED TOMAHAWK CRUISE MISSILE: ITS POTENTIAL UTILITY ON UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM ATTACK SUBMARINES

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In July 1998, Britain published its Strategic Defence Review (SDR). The SDR outlined significant changes for Britain's nuclear weapons program and formalized the policy of sub-strategic deterrence using the Trident missile. It is unprecedented for a nuclear power to have consolidated its strategic and sub-strategic nuclear forces into a single system. The benefits offered by the British choice may be effective for only a short time period. The British have slashed their nuclear forces and eliminated the range of options previously available to their national command authority. Dependence on a single delivery system could result in the inability to respond to crises, to act autonomously, or to negotiate effectively with other nuclear weapon states.

This thesis analyzes the benefits that nuclear Tomahawk could provide the British. Since the United States owns the system, the future of the nuclear Tomahawk in the American arsenal is crucial to any British decision to adopt it or a similar system. An unmanned nuclear cruise missile weapon offers many advantages in today's security environment. The United States should retain nuclear Tomahawk and Britain, with its mature maritime force, should consider acquiring a similar capability. The elimination of nuclear Tomahawk from the U.S. arsenal would be a mistake.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (U.S.-European security relations)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Tomahawk, TLAM-N, Nuclear Cruise Missile, Sub-Strategic Nuclear Weapons, Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY AND ITS SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

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The United Kingdom has signed and ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The United States signed the treaty in September 1996, and currently the decision on whether to ratify it is pending in the Senate. Key differences reside in the political and objective strategic situations of the United States and the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom's parliamentary system a single party (or a coalition) makes decisions. The United States, however, was designed to have a separation of powers, and this ensures that the legislative and executive branches have opportunities for discord as well as cooperation. Currently the United Kingdom has operational weapons production facilities, whereas the United States does not. The United Kingdom has only one nuclear weapons program (the Trident missile) to maintain, whereas the United States has multiple delivery systems and warhead types to maintain. The United Kingdom's nuclear deterrent provides for the country's security needs, yet the United Kingdom is also covered by U.S. nuclear commitments. Indeed, the United States provides extended deterrence protection for allies and security partners around the world. These responsibilities imply that the implications of the CTBT could be more momentous for the United States than for the United Kingdom.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Deterrent)

KEYWORDS: United Kingdom, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, United States, Political, Strategic, Nuclear, Deterrent, Security, Weapons, Deterrence

MUSLIM-CROAT RELATIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, 1987-1997

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The purpose of this thesis is to identify and explain the causes of instability in Muslim-Croat relations in the period between 1987-1997. These two nations are supposed to be the main pillars of the new Bosnian state born in Dayton, Ohio on November 21, 1995. So far, the Serbs have eschewed all efforts of the International Community in the direction of the stronger integration of a Bosnian state, and there are no signs of possible improvement in the future. If the project of a Muslim-Croat Federation fails, the whole state is at stake. Muslim leadership, also many historians and political analysts hold the Croats responsible for the deterioration of Muslim-Croat relations, but a number of important developments do not fit this assumption. The author will argue that although the Muslims and the Croats did not create alliance in a good faith during the Bosnian war, the main cause of deterioration of Muslim-Croat relations is an inconsistent policy of the international community toward the Yugoslav crisis.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Muslim-Croat Relations, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Yugoslavia, War, Bosniacs, Muslims, Croats, Serbs, Diplomacy, Ethnic Conflicts, Ethnic Relations

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS

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This thesis analyzes the arguments concerning the abolition of nuclear weapons, specifically the feasibility and desirability of nuclear disarmament. Past attempts at nuclear disarmament and relevant international treaties and legal opinions also are discussed. The nuclear disarmament movement has grown considerably since the end of the Cold War. As the idea of abolishing nuclear weapons gains influence, it may have an increasing impact upon national security policy. Abolitionists argue that nuclear disarmament is both desirable and feasible. This thesis concludes that nuclear disarmament is not feasible and that abolitionist arguments for the desirability of nuclear disarmament are flawed. States will continue to maintain nuclear arsenals for the foreseeable future. It would be unwise and dangerous for the United States to pursue a policy of nuclear disarmament in the near term.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: (Other) Nuclear Weapons

KEYWORDS: Abolition, Disarmament, Nuclear, Feasibility, Desirability, Proliferation, Baruch Plan

CONSTRUCTIVE SIMULATIONS-READINESS ENHANCER OR TRAINING DISTRACTOR?

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In today's reduced resource (and high rate of operations) environment, the active army is questioning the reserve component's ability to deploy combat-ready organizations in a timely manner. These concerns mirror the national debate regarding whether the United States should rely on a large standing army with minimal reliance on a reserve component or conversely maintain a small regular army and rely on a large organized militia.

The reserve components have turned to Training Aids, Devices, Simulators, and Simulations (TADSS) and specifically constructive simulations to offset reduced resources and to enhance unit readiness at the same time. The reserve components contend that constructive simulations will allow them to train to active-component standards while at the same time saving taxpayer dollars.

Ultimately, the researcher concludes otherwise. Current doctrine needs to be revised to establish a clear sequential relationship between constructive simulation participation and readiness reporting. Additionally, the leadership of the reserve components needs to understand the importance of having a completed Mission Essential Task List and supporting staff-battle tasks. Once completed, these prioritized training tasks should be used by the commander as his primary focus during constructive simulation exercise play. Organizations that are not prioritizing their collective training tasks are not effectively using constructive simulations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Battlespace Environments, Command, Control, and Communications, Computing and Software, Modeling and Simulation

KEYWORDS: Constructive Simulations, Readiness, Battle-Focused Training, Brigade/Battalion Simulation