MASTER OF ARTS
IN
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE IMPLICATIONS OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION MEMBERSHIP IN NATO

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Due to the recent creation of the new NATO-Russia Council on May 28, 2002, driven by the alliance in the war against terrorism spurred by the September 11, 2001 attacks, it is necessary to explore the implications of possible Russian membership in NATO. Although the creation of this new institution does not indicate the immediate entry or pursuit of a "Membership Action Plan" by Russia into NATO, it does signal the end of nearly a half-century of confrontation between NATO and Russia. It also symbolizes the entrance of a new era of security cooperation, post-Cold War but also post-September 11.

The long-term stability and security of North America, Europe, and Russia remain unresolved. To date, the best and most successful security institution in Europe has been NATO. If not today, then sometime in the near future Russian membership in NATO must be addressed. If Russia were to join, then these implications could be a planning guide to ease the entry of Russia into NATO.

KEYWORDS: Russian Membership in NATO, NATO, Russia, European Security, Collective Security

DRUG TRAFFICKING IN HAITI

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This thesis examines Haiti's role in international drug trafficking, how it impacts Haiti's political and economic development, and how Haiti and the United States are combating the drug trade. The thesis argues that Haiti's geographic location, political culture, illegal immigrants, entrepreneurial class and weak institutions have made it a major transshipment point for drugs to the United States from South America. Haiti's weak democratic institutions, dysfunctional judicial system and fledgling police force present South American drug traffickers with a path of little resistance.

Drug trafficking has contributed to violence, corruption, political instability, poor economic development and lack of democratic consolidation in Haiti today. Finally, the thesis examines Haiti and the United States' efforts to combat drug trafficking in Haiti. Although Haiti has made steps to adhere to the measures the UN drug convention set forth, Haiti's counternarcotics initiatives have suffered due to a long political crisis between the executive and legislative and economic instability. Despite the lack of a bilateral counternarcotics agreement between the U. S. and Haiti, the two countries cooperate and the DEA maintain a permanent staff of seven agents in Port-au-Prince.

KEYWORDS: Haiti, Political System, Economic Development, Drug Trafficking, Transition to Democracy, Justice, Police, and the United States

MAINTAINING THE VIOLENT STATUS QUO: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE COLOMBIAN INSURGENCY

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The Colombian government has been unable to deal with its internal insurgency over the past forty years and as a result faces an increasingly violent situation today. This thesis seeks to understand how the interests of different elite actors have historically shaped the Colombian government's response to the insurgency, in an effort to break the stalemate that continues to undermine a unified elite response to their internal crisis.

When faced with insurgency, governments have three options. They can develop a counterinsurgent policy to militarily defeat the guerrillas, they can negotiate a political resolution by conceding to some of the insurgents' demands, or they can choose the violent status quo. The thesis demonstrates that Colombia has chosen the violent status quo, walking a middle ground, between counterinsurgency and peace. It shows that Presidential efforts to negotiate peace have been undermined by opposition from the military and status-quo elites in Congress. Similarly, efforts at comprehensive counterinsurgency have been undermined by the executive's fear of military protagonism and congressional opposition to the social and economic reforms that are a necessary part of such efforts. The resulting lack of commitment to either peace or counterinsurgency has resulted in partial successes followed by resurgence of guerrilla activity.

KEYWORDS: Counterinsurgency, Colombia, State-response, Violent status quo, Latin American insurgency

WHY THE 'WORLD'S POLICEMAN' CANNOT RETIRE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE 'EAST TIMOR MODEL'

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The United States has sought a willing regional actor to carry a larger share of the burden to maintain Southeast Asian security and stability—without diminishing its regional leadership role—since assuming the position from the British after WWII. In 1999, Australia led a peacekeeping force into East Timor, ostensibly fulfilling a long held desire by the United States to reduce its worldwide commitments. However, as other international organizations have demonstrated, the United States is obliged to accept a disproportionate burden of providing the public good of international security and stability. In Southeast Asia, where post-colonial states such as Indonesia are narrowly avoiding disintegration, the United States as the regional hegemon, must recognize its responsibility to carry a disproportionate share of the costs to maintain stability. In endeavoring to replicate the approach to the East Timor crisis and use it as a model for future peacekeeping scenarios, the United States will not consistently find a regional actor to duplicate the role Australia performed. Without U.S. leadership, and absent a UN force or regional actor capable of quickly deploying a peacekeeping force to a rapidly deteriorating situation, it is implausible that a comparable future crisis will be resolved without unacceptable humanitarian costs.

KEYWORDS: Asia-Pacific Security, Peace Operations, and United States Foreign Policy

NATO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS: OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES

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This thesis examines the impact of the U.S.-led campaign against terrorism since 11 September 2001 on relations between Russia and NATO. This campaign has provided opportunities to increase cooperation and enhance Russian interactions with NATO's political structure. The thesis also explores the challenges that must be overcome to form a more constructive partnership. Since the attacks of 11 September 2001, international terrorism has become a topic of global concern, challenging existing intemational security structures. Within this context, the prospects for further NATO-Russia cooperation in building a new Euro-Atlantic security structure have dramatically improved. Areas of NATO-Russia cooperation in the war on terrorism include: increased economic interactions, shared intelligence, improved military-to-military exchanges, and enhanced institutional arrangements. The May 2002 adoption of an "at 20" framework may bring Russia and NATO together as equal partners in selected areas of common interest while preserving the Alliance's prerogative to act independently. Despite the new optimistic atmosphere, many factors could affect the prospects for future cooperation. These include: the conflict in Chechnya, politics in the Balkans, Russian behavior regarding WMD and missile proliferation, and Russia's non-strategic nuclear forces (NSNF).

KEYWORDS: NATO, Russia

U.S.-CUBA RELATIONS: REVISITING THE SANCTIONS POLICY

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In October 1960, faced with an increasingly hostile and threatening Marxist dictator, the United States implemented economic sanctions against Cuba. As Cuba aligned itself with the Soviet Union, it became a legitimate threat to U.S. national security interests. During the Cold War period, the sanctions policy was successful in achieving some of its aims; most notably, containing Communism in the hemisphere. However, it clearly failed in removing Fidel Castro from power.

In 1989, the Soviet Union collapsed, and Soviet subsidies to Cuba ended. Since the Cuban economy had become extremely dependent on Soviet infusions of capital and military support, when Soviet subsidies disappeared, Cuba's ability to threaten the U.S. national security quickly evaporated. In this new multi-polar international system, U.S. policymakers have chosen to tighten the existing sanctions policy, rather than developing a new one. Passing the Cuban Democracy Act (1992) and the Helms-Burton Act (1996), the sanctions policy, previously an executive policy, became codified into U.S. law.

This thesis will examine the origins of the sanctions policy, and follow its successes and failures during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. It will argue that the rise of domestic influence has eclipsed the international and national security justifications for the current policy.

KEYWORDS: International Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, Cuba, Game Theory, Sanctions, Embargo, Cuban Democracy Act, Cuban Liberty and Solidarity (*Libertad*) Act, Helms-Burton Act, Fidel Castro, Cuban American National Foundation

AMBITIONS VERSUS CAPABILITIES:
THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY

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The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) represents a long-term project on the part of the European Union (EU) members to perform a broad range of operations, including crisis management, peacekeeping and peacemaking, known as the Petersberg Tasks. The EU's goal is to develop capabilities for autonomous military action in crises in the event that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a whole is not engaged. Progress in developing capabilities necessary to support the ESDP has, however, been disappointing. Indeed, there is currently a mismatch between EU capabilities and ambitions. The shortcomings in EU capabilities reflect Cold War procurement and military planning as well as an unwillingness of most of the EU governments to spend more on defense. Although increasing military budgets would help to reduce the mismatch, EU members would also have to improve the efficiency with which funds are spent. This would require changes in the EU's military-industrial base, procurement policy, technology acquisition and R&D practices as well as in enhanced transatlantic cooperation. Achieving the goals of the ESDP will also require the EU member nations to deepen their consensus about their purposes and thereby reduce the many ambiguities that currently surround the ESDP.

KEYWORDS: European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), European Union (EU), Transatlantic Defense Industry, European Military-Industrial Base

BUILDING PEACE IN WARLORD SITUATIONS

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Peace operations are a relatively new phenomenon that emerged in the 20th Century. Because of a more interconnected world due to globalization, they have undergone rapid development as the nature of crises to which international intervenors respond have evolved to include events that were formerly considered sovereign affairs of a state. One such problem, pertaining more often than not to African countries, is the collapse of the state and the ascendancy of a warlord who exploits the state's resources for personal gain. International interventions in such a situation run the risk of having to return to retrace steps previously taken unless the true nature of the problem is addressed. This inherently requires solutions that go beyond the immediate cessation of hostilities toward far-reaching state-building goals. It is a difficult objective to achieve, and requires undoing the circumstances that allowed the country to devolve into warlordism in the first place. Understanding how warlordism develops and then raising critical issues for intervenors in such a situation, using Sierra Leone as a case study, will be constructive for future interventions under similar circumstances.

KEYWORDS: Peace Operations, International Intervention, Collapsed States, Warlords, Sierra Leone

NATO'S CRISIS MANAGEMENT IN THE BALKANS

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces are currently deployed in three Balkan states: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Yugoslavia, in the province of Kosovo; and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). These three deployments represent NATO's attempts to date to conduct crisis management operations, a mission the Alliance adopted in the early 1990s and now a fundamental security task alongside collective defense. In view of the increasing importance of crisis management in NATO activities, this thesis analyzes the Balkan operations to identify lessons that can be applied to future doctrines. NATO's 1991 and 1999 Strategic Concepts are reviewed to illustrate the development of NATO's current crisis management doctrine. Each Balkan intervention is examined to clarify NATO's crisis management failures and successes, and to assess apparent lessons. The thesis compares the lessons learned with the crisis management doctrine contained in the *2001 NATO Handbook*, and offers recommendations for revisions to take account of the lessons learned in the Balkans.

KEYWORDS: NATO, Crisis Management, Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

POLITICAL TRANSITION IN IRAN: THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE FOR POWER WITHIN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

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Over 20 years after the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the actors have changed, but the political institution and structure remains nearly identical. There is no genuine hegemonic consensus in the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI); basically, the same political tensions that contributed to the revolution are prevalent today. The only drastic difference is the shift in anger from the majority of the population demanding democratic reforms from the West to the ruling clerics.

Similarly, state structure, political, and socioeconomic policies from 1979 to the present have been consequential in producing an ideological conflict between the ruling clerics who seek power and authority and the reformists who seek to implement policy reforms. The outcome of this political dilemma will dictate domestic politics as well as foreign policy in Iran.

This thesis argues that pressure on Iranian foreign policy and domestic politics comes from the need to reconcile international concerns of Iranian interests with domestic concerns of Shi'i Islam and revolutionary ideology, which limits the policy options available to the Iranian government. This thesis examines the ideological struggle for control within the ruling elite and the decisive constraints it places on the range of economic and political options available to the ruling ulama.

KEYWORDS: Iran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Velayat-e-faqih, Revolutionary Islamic Discourse, Rapprochement

DEFENSE PLANNING AND NATO-EUROPEAN UNION RELATION

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This thesis analyzes the emerging security role of the European Union (EU) by focusing on the prospects for multilateral defense planning in the NATO-EU relationship. The EU's recent decisions about defense planning may well play a crucial role because the arrangements in this area will influence the future of both the European Union's European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and NATO. The successful harmonization of defense planning by NATO and the EU could strengthen the transatlantic relationship, while failure could be damaging to both institutions and to their mutual relations. According to recent EU documents, the European Union's defense planning activity will be limited and therefore it will not have a major impact on NATO's decision-making and defense planning process. The cooperation between EU and NATO experts might have positive effects, notably in promoting more efficient use of scarce European resources and in providing transparency between the Alliance and the European Union. However, the ESDP appears unlikely to persuade the European Union nations to increase their defense budgets. It will therefore probably not be able to narrow the significant capability gap between the United States and its European allies.

Keywords: Defense Planning, European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), European Union (EU), NATO

THE SHADOW OF MUHAMMAD: DEVELOPING A CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP MODEL FOR THE ISLAMIC WORLD

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This study examines the question of whether the type of leadership exhibited by Osama bin Laden which led to the devastating attacks of September 11 was a singular phenomenen or an example of a recurring type in the Islamic world. This thesis proposes that a specific, recurring type of charismatic religio-political leadership – first exhibited by Muhammad, the prophet and founder of Islam – has proven to be spectacularly successful throughout Islamic history. This leadership type, firmly rooted in the history and ecology of the 7th century Arabian peninsula, the birthplace of Islam, centers on the successful collapsing together of religious and political leadership in the person of a single charismatic individual. Historical manifestations are examined using the writings of Ibn Khaldun and the individual case studies of the Mahdi of the Sudan, the Ayatollah Khomeini, and Osama bin Laden. The policy implications - for both cooperation and confrontation with a leader of this type – that flow from the model are also discussed. Demographic and technological trends in the Middle East are examined in order to determine whether the relative frequency with which this type leader will appear in the near future is likely to increase or decrease. The leadership model developed in this thesis, which is used to explain the popular success of Osama bin Laden in the wider Muslim world, provides U.S. policy makers with an additional tool with which to prosecute the ongoing war on terror.

KEYWORDS: Charisma, Islam, Khomeini, leadership, Muhammad, Osama bin Laden

THE HORIZONTAL ASPECT OF DEMOCRATIC CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS – THE CASE OF HUNGARY

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The argument of this thesis is that the early success of building DCMR does not mean real consolidation without active non-governmental actors and a dynamic civil society. Drawing attention to the non-state side of civil-military relations is crucial to improving the quality of DCMR.

The thesis claims, that the horizontal dimension of the Hungarian CMR has under gone a long and complex learning process. Nevertheless, the civil society component of the Hungarian CMR received less attention and its development was slow and controversial. This process is shown by the case of three types of NGOs (protest, research and educator, and cultural organizations) in Hungary between the late 1980s and 2002.

Today tendencies are promising because these organizations are more diverse then earlier and the emerging economy could provide additional resources for them. Nevertheless, the state support for improving this activity remained very important but it calls for considering increasingly democratic values. Furthermore, the status today of the defense- and military-related civil society calls for promotion from NATO and the European Union as well. It would be important increasing the attractiveness this field and as a result the civilian participation in it, which could be the basis of the improvement of the quality of democratic civil-military relations.

KEYWORDS: Civil-military Relations, Civil society, Hungary, Eastern and Central Europe, Transitional Democracies

TERMINATING AMERICA'S WARS: THE GULF WAR AND KOSOVO

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This thesis asks two questions: 1) What factors have contributed to the termination of recent United States wars? and 2) How can elements of national power be applied successfully to terminate the future wars of the United States? To answer these questions, this thesis offers a model of war termination and applies it to cases of war termination, in the Gulf War and in Kosovo. These case studies indicate that termination of future wars will be affected by the large military power of the United States and the probable short duration of future wars. With these conditions in mind, the United States must maintain cohesive military coalitions, attack the internal power positions of enemy leadership, and coordinate all elements of national power—military, diplomatic and economic. In addition to identifying political objectives in future wars, the United States ought to also clearly define its desired end state so that the elements of national power are applied to a sustained peace rather than a short-term fix.

KEYWORDS: War Termination, Gulf War, Kosovo

FUTURE WAR AND CHECHNYA: A CASE FOR HYBRID WARFARE

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Modern states are increasingly challenged by violence that has been created through the devolution of states. Devolving states are those states that have returned to a more traditional socio-political organization and as a result operate under a differing set of norms than modern states. Devolving states are unstable, highly violent, anarchic societies, as traditional norms are mixed with modern socio-political theories, norms, and technology resulting in a mixed society or a hybrid society. This thesis sets out to describe a hypothetical hybrid society by examining the ideal types of modern and pre-state societies. Likewise a hypothetical hybrid military is described by examining the salient characteristics of modern and pre-state military forces. The ideal type hybrid society and military will be explored through a case study of the Chechen separatist movement. The Chechen case study will explore the linkages between society, religion, and how the traditional and modern mix to create the hybrid society. This thesis postulates that hybrid warfare will become increasingly prevalent, and the Chechen insurgency a model for hybrid warfare. The hybrid model of society and warfare will then be used to provide recommendations as to what modern military forces; the United States in particular, can do to successfully counter the rise of hybrid warfare.

KEYWORDS: Asymmetric Warfare, Chechnya, Clan, Command and Control, Guerrilla Warfare, Hybrid Society, Hybrid Warfare, Information Operations, Islam, Low Intensity Conflict, Fourth Generation Warfare, Pre-state Societies, Psychological Warfare, Training, Russia

NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN BALKANS

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The main objective of this thesis is to investigate nationalism as the main source of instability and ethnic conflict in the sub-region of Southern Balkans-Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). It starts with a brief history of the Balkan Peninsula and the birth of nationalism in the region during the 19th century with the Wars for Independence from the Ottoman Empire. Then, it discusses the current developments in the area and the rebirth of nationalism after the end of the Cold War. Next, it discusses two proposed solutions, which are a) To support the status quo (Multi-Ethnic States) and b) To redraw the borders (Creation of Nation-States) in order to reduce nationalism and ethnic conflict in the Balkans. These two proposed solutions can reduce nationalism and provide stability and accordingly economic and democratic development in the area. Finally, it examines the role of some other interrelated factors, like the Euro-Atlantic institutions –EU and NATO- and the international institution –the UN- as well as the role of Greece, which can help in developing stability in the Southern Balkans.

KEYWORDS: Nationalism, Southern Balkans, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

BALTIC SECURITY, NATO ENLARGEMENT AND DEFENSE REFORM: THE CHALLENGES OF OVERCOMMITMENTS AND OVERLAPS

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Within the European area, the Baltic Sea still is the region where multiple security organizations seek influence to enhance stability and peace. The European Union plans to enlarge into this region and the Baltic States are hot candidates for the next NATO enlargement. On the other hand, the Russian Federation sees the region as "near abroad" and its "path to the west" and has declared the support of its minorities living there to be of vital interest. As a result, in the Baltic Sea region the national interests of the U.S. touch those of the Russian Federation. Therefore, this area can be seen as being crucial for the future relations between the former antagonists U.S. and the Russian Federation.

The different security systems around the Baltic Sea have proved to be a guarantee for stability and peace. Although there are still overlapping and waste of efforts, the coordination between the supporting nations and the receiving nations on the one hand and between the different organizations on the other hand has clearly increased over the past years. These multiple initiatives try to help the Baltic Nations in their effort to restructure their states and societies. But at the same time they slow down progress, because the organizational overhead is too big for the Baltic States.

During the time of the Soviet Union, all military, economic and political relations of the Baltic Soviet Republics were directly to the center; there existed almost no cooperation between them. This heritage is hard to overcome. Furthermore, after the Baltic States gained independence in the early '90s, a surge of nationalism went through them. As a consequence, opportunities for better cooperation were missed. Today the Baltic States are more willing to coordinate their efforts. Several military cooperation projects under the umbrella of the Baltic Security Assistance Group foster mutual understanding and cooperation.

KEYWORDS: Security Policy, NATO, European Union, Baltic Sea Region, Baltic States, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, U.S.A.

THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF KOREAN UNIFICATION

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A major area of concern for Korean unification is the immense cost it will impose on South Korea. To lessen this burden, South Korea will need to initiate policy reforms that can ease the financial stress and repercussions of unification and create an integrated economic community with North Korea. At the same time, North Korea will need to create an environment that is conducive to economic integration by accepting and adopting reform measures that can build the foundation for a market economy. The two largest factors to any economic reform strategy in North Korea would be to overcome the changes to the political-belief system that drives the current economy and the strong link between the state and masses. A policy of engagement will create an environment in which inter-Korean dialogue and mutual cooperation could lead to a transformed, opened North Korea. The unification of Germany and Yemen offer pros and cons as well as similarities and dissimilarities to Korea to form certain conclusions, predictions, and prescriptions. The case studies of China and Vietnam provide a detailed analysis of planned economies transitioning to market economies. From these case studies, several conclusions are drawn regarding the implications of economic unification.

KEYWORDS: Korea, North Korea, South Korea, Unification, Reunification, Economy, Economic Implications, Economic Development, Economic Reform, China, Vietnam, Germany, Yemen

THE THREE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF US INTERESTS

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The current political drift indicates that Israel and the Palestinians are heading toward the unintended consequences of either a one-state solution or a bi-national state. Both solutions would prohibit Israel from realizing its dream of normalization and prohibit the achievement of a sustainable level of security. For the Palestinians, either solution spells their further subjugation or expulsion from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Right or wrong, the United States suffers guilt by association with Israel due to its strong economic and military support for Israel. Thus, it is imperative to the achievement of U.S. interests in the Middle East that the United States takes the lead in building an international coalition capable of imposing an immediate resolution to the problem. The only solution capable of satisfying the best interests of all parties concerned is a two-state solution. The previous step-by-step approaches to peace have failed and the immediate recognition of the state of Palestine is imperative to future stability in the region.

KEYWORDS: Palestine, Israel, One State Solution, Two State Solution, Bi-National State, United States

THE BATTLE FOR AL-KHAFJI

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The battle for the Saudi coastal town of al-Khafji, was the first major ground battle of Desert Storm. Despite the fact that Iraqi forces were being systematically destroyed by the allied air campaign, the Iraqis were nonetheless able to mount a rather sophisticated ground attack and seize the Saudi town with relative ease. The Iraqi attack came as an absolute surprise despite the coalition's technological advantages in reconnaissance equipment and the impressive array of coalition forces defending the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Saddam Hussein attempted to use the surprise attack into Saudi Arabia as a method to advance several strategic-level political and military objectives. First, he was able to use the attack as a propaganda mechanism to rally domestic and Arab nationalistic support. Next, he endeavored to destabilize or destroy the coalition arrayed against him. Lastly, he sought to dampen American enthusiasm for the war by generating American casualties, thus demonstrating to the American public the unappealing potential for, and disastrous results of a protracted ground conflict. Ultimately, the Iraqi incursion was a failure in that it neglected to achieve Hussein's strategic objectives of disrupting the coalition forces arrayed against him.

KEYWORDS: Desert Storm, al-Khafji, Propaganda