

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN GUATEMALA

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The purpose of this thesis is to examine civil-military relations in Guatemala and their effect on democratic consolidation. The issue of civil-military relations in Guatemala is one of particular importance as political and military leaders as well as members of civil society attempt to redefine the role of the military after 36 years of civil war. Applying Felipe Aguero's theory of civilian supremacy, this thesis argues that since 1982, the Guatemalan military has evolved into a professional military institution, becoming an essential part of the democratic state. This evolution has resulted in the development of sound civil-military relations with firm civilian control, thus impacting significantly the democratization process of the country. The stability and structure of civil-military relations in Guatemala will depend not only on the military but also on the consensus reached by all elements of civil and political society as to how best to utilize the armed forces in support of the democratic state. Currently, Guatemala does not have the institutional mechanisms by which to control the military. Nevertheless, civil-military relations are stable and the military fully supports the democratization process. Further research is recommended in order to investigate the role of the democratic institutions in Guatemala in the monitoring and implementation of defense policy.

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

KEYWORDS: Democracy, Guatemalan Peace Accords, President Jorge Serrano, 1993 Attempted Coup, Latin America Civil-Military Relations, Guatemalan Military, Guatemala

OUT OF THE DRAGON'S MUSEUM: MOTIVATIONS FOR THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (PLA) EQUIPMENT MODERNIZATION

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This thesis explains the PLA's equipment modernization program by identifying Beijing's primary threat perception and how that affects Chinese modernization choices. Competing motivations for the PRC's military modernization will be evaluated in the context of three highly publicized recent weapons purchases: Su-27 FLANKERS, KILO SSs and SOVREMENNY DDGs.

The PLA's equipment modernization program is motivated by concerns over sovereignty and territorial integrity. This thesis concludes that China's equipment upgrade program is primarily the result of the PRC leadership's perception that the United States Navy is China's most likely adversary. Future weapon acquisition policies such as foreign acquisition of advanced platforms, indigenous production of modern weapons, emphasis on older generation equipment, or a combination approach will be evaluated in the context of present trends.

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The PLA's modernization program is intended to support national strategic defense priorities by purchasing advanced weapons to provide a near-term capability while concurrently attempting to remedy shortcomings in the PRC's military-industrial infrastructure. Understanding the PLA's actions as a response to the regime's perception of the U.S. Navy as a threat highlights both the great importance that China's leaders place on sovereignty issues and the significant challenges facing their military modernization program.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Conventional Weapons, Surface/Under Surface Vehicles - Ships and Watercraft, Air Vehicles, Battlespace Environments, Manufacturing Science and Technology (MS&T)

KEYWORDS: China, PRC, People's Liberation Army, PLA, PLAAF, PLAN, Military Modernization, KILO, FLANKER, SOVREMENNY, Military-Industrial Complex, Strategic Culture

OSLO AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: THE NEGOTIATING DILEMMA

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With the increased threat posed by terrorism and the growth of "rogue states" the importance of achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East is greater than ever. However, the peace begun in Madrid in 1991 and marked by the historic 1993 Oslo Accord between Israel and the PLO has floundered.

This thesis provides a means for understanding the failure of the current peace process by analyzing why Israel and the PLO agreed to the terms of Oslo. While Israel was motivated by the opportunity to solve its security and political dilemmas on acceptable terms, the PLO was motivated primarily by concerns of organizational survival.

The Oslo process departs from other successful settlements in two ways. First, Oslo focused on short-term arrangements, without consensus on the nature of the final outcome. An examination of successful settlements shows that the parties agreed to the outlines of a final settlement prior to commencing formal negotiations. Second, the vast imbalance of power between the two parties has made Oslo a "hegemonic peace," which itself perpetuates instability in both the weaker and stronger states. Only parties enjoying a relative "balance of power" have concluded successful peace settlements in the Middle East.

Given these structural anomalies, it was concluded that the Oslo peace process will not achieve a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Oslo Accords, Middle East Peace Process, Cooperative Agreements, Hegemonic Peace, Balance of Power Peace

THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA AND THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

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This thesis examines the future of conflict resolution in Africa and the role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the process, based on the 1993 OAU's "Mechanism" (MCPMR). It argues that, in Africa, historical evidence suggests a

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continuing pattern of internal conflicts aggravated by destabilization attempts. It also seeks to demonstrate that for various reasons, the OAU has been weak in this type of conflict. This opens two options. One, making the OAU irrelevant, is to maintain the present track and end up between an evil and a lesser evil scenario.

The first is the intervention by a regional power, using a sub-regional organization. Here the risk is to see the regional power, in the absence of a watchdog, use the organization for its own agenda, as in the Nigerian interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The other scenario is the intervention by a country or group of countries for purely selfish reasons to change another country's political leadership, as in the Angolan interventions in Zaire and Congo.

The second option, less likely without substantial reforms, is for the OAU to use the support available from the international community to establish itself as a forum, an organizer, a legitimizer and a watchdog.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Conflict Resolution)

KEYWORDS: Peace Operations, Peacekeeping, Africa, Organization of African Unity, Mechanism, Preventive Diplomacy, Conflict Management

HYDROPOLITICS AND THE PROSPECT FOR PEACE IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

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Of all the disagreements associated with the present Arab-Israeli conflict, perhaps none is more important than the discord and outright hostility generated by the increasing absence of the most fundamental of all human needs, water. Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip began after the 1967 Six Day War, Israeli military orders have denied Palestinian involvement in the management and development of water resources and have limited increases in water consumption by the Arab population for both agricultural and domestic use. As a result, Israelis consume a significantly larger amount of water per capita than Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Water is a vital commodity and an essential element necessary to satisfy accelerating rates of urbanization, industrialization, and population growth—trends that will continue through 2020. This thesis sets out to assess what affect the increasing demands on water resources will have on the Arab-Israeli conflict. This thesis will argue that the issues concerning hydropolitics, such as water rights (sovereign versus natural), and the relationship between and disagreement over water and territorial sovereignty, may serve to destabilize and ultimately fracture any “final settlement” agreement. The growing scarcity of water is a threat to regional stability in the Middle East. As such, it has significant implications for U.S. foreign policy and military strategy.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Hydropolitics, Water, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Resource Scarcity, U.S. Foreign Policy

OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA - EVOLUTION AND IMPACT ON FOREIGN POLICY

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After the demise of Soviet communism, the People's Republic of China (PRO) is often considered an anachronism and relic of a failed philosophy and system. Moreover, Chinese leaders are assumed to be abandoning their communist roots in all

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but official rhetoric as the country pursues economic modernization. In fact, the Chinese form of communism has evolved significantly. Struggle has given way to stability, austerity to prosperity, and hostility to peaceful co-existence. This transition has had tremendous ramifications for PRO foreign and security policies. What was once a highly articulated and systematic ideology, providing a distinct and accurate guide to policy choices in the international arena, has become more akin to a set of general principles to guide behavior in an increasingly complex system. This thesis asserts, however, that while many of the specific tenets of Maoism have fallen to the wayside or been modified, many of the concepts, language, and *thought processes* of Chinese communism continue to form the thinking of Chinese policy-makers, thus they interpret and justify foreign policy choices in ideological terms. Consequently, ideology is more relevant to political processes in China than is commonly recognized.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: China, Communism, Maoism, Chinese Communism, Chinese Communist Party

OVERCOMING THE ARMS TREATY: PATHS TO NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE

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Some of the most heated debates taking place on Capitol Hill surround a proposed American National Missile Defense (NMD) system. The debate is not new. For twenty years, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and its underlying acceptance of mutual assured destruction (MAD) enjoyed widespread support among U.S. leaders. Events of the early 1990s shook support for America's "no missile defense" posture to its very core. The fall of the Soviet Union, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ballistic missile technology, and the Gulf War presented new challenges to existing strategic doctrine. As a result, a renewed push for a U.S. National Missile Defense system began in earnest, and a new round of debates began over the utility of the bilateral ABM Treaty in a multilateral post-Cold War international environment.

This thesis identifies four distinct paths which the United States could follow in addressing the NMD-ABM Treaty debate. Each path is characterized by distinct factors which historically have influenced past ABM system debates. The most likely path to NMD that the United States is following, based on these driving factors, is identified. The potential implications which this prevalent NMD path may have on U.S. Navy force structure and planning is also addressed. Understanding how the current NMD debate is structured and driven enables one to discern which path to NMD deployment the United States is on. This realization can help shape future force planning considerations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Strategic Defense)

KEYWORDS: ABM Treaty, National Missile Defense (NMD), Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD); United States-National Security, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

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DECISIVE IMPACT ASHORE: REVOLUTIONS IN FIREPOWER AND CAMPAIGNING FROM THE SEA

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Sea-based firepower represents the single greatest opportunity for the naval services to provide decisive influence ashore. With the dramatic shift in warfighting priorities from open ocean to littoral warfare, fire support of land operations continues to grow in importance. Rapid technological change enables the development of advanced weapons systems and munitions that radically extend the breadth and depth of naval firepower. Technological and conceptual trends indicate that an increasing portion of land-based fire support can, and will, be relocated to the sea-base.

This thesis examines the potential for replacing current Marine Corps field artillery with a mixture of surface fires, dedicated close air support, and light armored vehicle-mounted mortars in support of far-ranging operational maneuver. Using a spreadsheet-based model derived from lethality data, the author analyzes the relative benefits of advanced weapons and munitions in: (1) halting a two corps attack and (2) a follow-on sea-based land campaign. Simulation runs demonstrated that advanced sea-based weapons are an order of magnitude more effective than Marine Corps field artillery. To leverage the potential revolutionary operational and organizational applications, the naval services must invest in: (1) a maritime combined arms concept and (2) potential firepower technology.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Conventional Weapons, Modeling and Simulation

KEYWORDS: Sea-Based, Fire Support, Surface Fire Support, Rail Gun, Field Artillery, Advanced Munitions, Weapons, Maritime Combined Arms, Campaigning

NATO AND POST-COLD WAR GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS (1990-1997)

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In 1990, at the end of the East-West conflict, a new actor with a different status and attitude appeared in the European political arena: the united Germany. The evolving European system poses special challenges for Germany and the United States, raising questions about their ability to influence the course of events. In fact, German-American relations during the 1990-1997 period played a central role in satisfying the post-Cold War needs of Bonn and Washington. In the new European state system, the new *Ostpolitik*, European integration, and a continued German-American security connection within the Atlantic Alliance are the defining elements. This thesis examines some of the implications of NATO's new cooperative relations with former adversaries in Central and Eastern Europe and of the construction process of the European Security and Defense Identity for the international system and for the shared interests and policies (and national power) of Germany and the United States. It also analyzes how these developments might affect the future European security architecture and the transatlantic relationship.

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

KEYWORDS: NATO, United States Security, German Security, Central and Eastern European Security, European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), NATO Enlargement

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ECHOES OF REVOLUTION: IRAN'S PATH INTO THE MODERN WORLD

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The 1979 Islamic Revolution has become for Western scholars and native Islamists alike the defining event of the Iranian experience. Shrouded in the garb of political Islam, the revolution represents to the American mind a step backward into a future of pre-industrial authoritarianism—a rejection of modernity. This thesis asserts that the cycles of Iranian social and political upheaval are in fact outgrowths of changes in the state's socio-political structure resulting from a transition in the mode of production and subsequent capitalization of the economy.

The resulting attempts by an emerging middle class to balance political with economic viability consequently produced a series of structural corrections beginning with the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. While not the culminating event of Iranian societal development, the 1979 Islamic Revolution represents an opportunity for middle class hegemony.

The direct outcome of the Islamic Revolution—the circulation of elites, is likely to evolve into a power-sharing arrangement in which the market-driven interests of the modern middle class dominate. As a recognizably populist event, the Islamic Revolution ultimately represents Iran's path into the modern world.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Socio-Political Development)

KEYWORDS: Iranian Political Development, Modernization, Iranian Liberalization

TERRORISM AND ORGANIZED CRIME: THE ALLIANCE OF TOMORROW? HOW TO COUNTER A POSSIBLE FUTURE THREAT

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While in the post—Cold War era threats to international security have become less direct and apocalyptic, they are today more diffuse and insidious. With the probability of large scale, high intensity conflicts decreasing during the 1990s, terrorism and transnational organized crime—each in itself—constitute an increasing and serious threat to the national security of affected nations. Any alliance of these two criminal phenomena is likely to cause a disproportional increase of the overall threat.

The thesis, while following an analytical/inductive approach, tries to identify the rationale for such alliances. Although aims and objectives of terrorists and organized criminal groups are different by nature, alliances of convenience have already formed in the past. With globalization apparently working in the favor of terrorists and organized crime, it seems to be only a question of time before they begin merging and start working jointly. Since those criminal organizations tend to exploit the weaknesses of international cooperation by increasingly operating in the transnational sphere, any attempt at a successful counter—strategy has to meet this threat where it originates. Against this background, international cooperation of law enforcement agencies becomes increasingly important. “Internal Security,” it seems, acquires a transnational dimension.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security)

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, Organized Crime, Narcoterrorism, Russian Mafia, Transnational Threats, Future Threats, Alliances, International Cooperation

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SOLDIERS AND STATESMEN: CIVIL MILITARY CASE STUDIES OF THE NATO DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

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The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was organized on a two-track structure. The military part of the Alliance was to be involved in immediate military planning for the defense of the Alliance. The NATO civilian part was to provide objectives and political coordination for the military planners. It turned out that NATO military officials achieved relatively independent positions from their civilian superiors and were able to influence political debate not only on the basis of military expertise, but also based on their own political assessment. General Lauris Norstad, who assumed the position of SACEUR in 1956, exercised a great deal of independence from his civilian superiors. During his tenure, Norstad was involved in a debate over NATO nuclear structure. He also influenced several decisions regarding the change in the NATO strategic concept. After France's departure from the NATO military structure, the Alliance adjusted its structures and created the International Military Staff. This institution proved to be very successful in influencing the NATO debate in the late 1980s. Both cases prove that the NATO military component is deeply involved in the political decision-making process.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Policy)

KEYWORDS: NATO, Decision-Making Process

ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION IN SYRIA: PROSPECTS FOR REGIME STABILITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION

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From 1985 to 1991, Syria experienced a severe economic crisis. In response, the regime of Hafez Al-Asad implemented economic reforms designed to move the Syrian economy toward free-market capitalism. As seen in authoritarian regimes around the world during the past thirty years, political liberalization often accompanies economic reform. Yet, scholars and policymakers have typically viewed Syrian economic reform as politically unimportant: mere tactical maneuvers that strengthened the Asad regime by restoring economic growth. This thesis reevaluates the political importance of the reforms from a political economy perspective. Two surprising conclusions are reached: (1) the political legacy of the economic reforms has so weakened the Asad regime that prospects for political stability within Syria are poor and (2) transition to democracy, or political liberalization, is the probable outcome of the coming instability. The ramifications of these conclusions are two-fold. First, they serve as a warning to U.S. policymakers, suggesting that regional stability will remain elusive until the root causes of regional economic underperformance are addressed. Additionally, by explaining the political outcome of the 1985 Syrian economic crisis with a political economy model, this thesis undermines the notion of cultural exceptionalism as it is commonly applied to the Middle East.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Economic Liberalization, Democratization)

KEYWORDS: Economic Liberalization, Democratization, Political Economy

