

# MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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## **THE AGREED FRAMEWORK AND KOREAN ENERGY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (KEDO): THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN KOREAN SECURITY**

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The United States is moving from a leading security guarantor of the Republic of Korea to a mediator of the Korean dispute. The United States should understand this fundamental change and adjust its relationship with the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to maintain the possibility of Korean reunification. The Agreed Framework is a deal between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to stop the North Korea's nuclear program in exchange for energy resources. The Agreed Framework forces the United States to go beyond its traditional Republic of Korea supportive policy to deal with the North Korea's nuclear ambition.

The United States should assess the goals of the People's Republic of China, South Korea, North Korea, and Japan on the Korean peninsula to determine if a change in policy will enhance the probability of a soft landing by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. To conduct this assessment, the goals of all nations and North Korea's nuclear ambition have been developed. A graphical summary of the subjective analysis was completed to pick the United States policy option that shows the best credible and clear logic, and mitigates most effectively any international criticism that may dilute the sound reasoning of future policy. United States should change its current policy to mediate the Korean dispute and increase the probability that all concerned nations meet their goals on the Korean peninsula.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** United States, North Korea, South Korea, Republic of Korea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Foreign Policy, Nuclear Proliferation, Korean Energy Development Organization, Agreed Framework, KEDO

## **THE MODERN OLYMPIC MOVEMENT: THE CONFLUENCE OF REALISM AND IDEALISM**

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To paraphrase Clausewitz, the modern Olympic Games have often been politics and war by other means. The Olympics have been both a barometer of and an arena for international politics, in spite of the fact that they were revived specifically not to be held hostage to the politics of the day. This thesis examines the Olympic movement from its rebirth in 1894 through today and the proposition that the realism of international politics has affected the character of the Games. This study also argues, however, that the Olympic ideals have had a confluent affect in the arena of international politics and society.

The Olympic Games have always been more than mere athletic competition. Given that they are a focal point for billions of people around the world for a brief two-week period, the Games are a natural

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forum to play out ideological and political battles. The Games have been used as the site of symbolic battles between nations, as well as a stage in which individuals, groups, and nations have made political statements. However, they have also been a powerful global symbol of unity, excellence, and peace.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Modern Olympic Games, International Politics

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY IN EUROPE

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Since the end of the Cold War, multifaceted risks have constituted the main danger to the security of Europe. These range from interstate disputes and social, ethnic, religious, and economic crises, to the effects of globalization on economic and ecological development. To face these risks, the European nations, unified within the European Union, are going to develop along with their common economic and financial policies a common, integrated, mutually agreed-upon security, and defense policy. Last year, the British initiative to take the lead in creating a European Union defense force calls to mind the European Defense Community Treaty (EDC) of 1952, which was a remarkable attempt by Western European powers to develop a supranational European army. France's failure to endorse the EDC Treaty made it perfectly clear that France is a key actor in European security and is crucial to the progress of a common security and defense policy in Europe. The recent Franco-British joint declaration on European defense is reminiscent of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which sketched out a new framework of a common foreign and security policy (CFSP) in Europe and will come into force this year. All have in common the attempt to integrate the European nations' security and defense policies into a common framework in order to overcome the prevalence of national interests in the area of security and defense issues.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Security and Defense Issues)

**KEYWORDS:** European Defense Community (EDC), France's Security and Defense Policies, Amsterdam Treaty, Security and Defense Policies in Europe

### U.S. POLICY AND RUSSIAN INTERESTS IN THE TRANSCAUCASUS SINCE 1991

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This thesis examines United States policy towards the Transcaucasus countries—Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia—since they gained their independence in 1991 and evaluates the implications of United States policy for the future stability of the region. The thesis assesses the security interests of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia; and evaluates the interests and policies of Russia and the United States in the region. The thesis concludes that the prospects for the countries of the region will depend mainly on three factors: their own domestic stability and political leadership, Russia's policies, and Western policies. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, United States policy in the Transcaucasus has been ineffective in promoting the independence and prosperity of the Transcaucasus countries. For various reasons, including the emphasis placed on ties with Russia, the United States has been unwilling to pursue an assertive policy towards the region. The thesis recommends a United States policy that would promote compliance with OSCE principles regarding the newly independent states and particularly Russia. This would help the region's countries build their own security structures and would promote constructive regional cooperation.

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** U.S. Policy, Transcaucasus, Russian Interests, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Post-Cold War Security and Stability

**THE SHIFTING PARADIGM OF POST-COLD WAR COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT  
TO USAF OPERATIONS: A MIDDLE EASTERN CASE STUDY**

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The threat to U.S. Operations in the Middle East has changed significantly since the end of the Cold War, and although counterintelligence methodology has changed with it, additional modifications are needed. This thesis demonstrates the gap that has emerged in the ability of counterintelligence forces to counter the threat.

Increased military presence in the Middle East and the removal of the Cold War's checks and balances increase the impact of "rogue states" and non-state actors. Current counterintelligence methodology fails to adequately address the non-state-based threat. Revolutionary information technologies and the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons ensure that non-state actors will pose a counterintelligence threat as great, or greater, than the state-based threat. The implication of this is significant. The Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI), the USAF Agency tasked with counterintelligence support, must restructure itself to meet this emerging threat.

A classified annex to this thesis is published under separate cover. This annex outlines current AFOSI methodology and makes policy recommendations to allow AFOSI to better address the non-state-based threat.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Chemical and Biological Defense, Computing and Software, Electronic Warfare, Manpower, Personnel, and Training

**KEYWORDS:** Counterintelligence, Terrorism, Cyberterrorism, Iran, State Sponsors of Terrorism

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY  
TOWARDS THE CYPRUS PROBLEM (1959-1974)**

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The Cyprus issue appeared during the late-1950s when Britain decided to grant the Cypriot people their independence. The Republic of Cyprus emerged in 1960 provided with an unworkable constitution. As natural as it would be expected to be, intercommunal problems arose just after independence on Cyprus. Greece and Turkey became involved from the beginning as the "motherlands" of the two Cypriot communities. Since after 1963 there was mounting violence on the island republic, the danger of a military confrontation between Greece and Turkey was imminent. War between these two NATO allies in the midst of the Cold War would inevitably cause a defense vacuum in the east Mediterranean.

Therefore, the United States, the leading nation of the western power structure, undertook efforts to resolve the dispute and maintain the power balances in the region. The U.S. foreign policy achieved its main goals to prevent Greece and Turkey from fighting with each other, simultaneously maintaining U.S. relations with both countries at an acceptable level, and successfully applied the policy of Soviet détente. However, the U.S. foreign policy of "evenhandedness" generated other side effects that would affect the future U.S. foreign relations in the future.

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This thesis debunks these side effects by examining the context within which the U.S. foreign policy applied, as well as the detailed U.S. diplomacy that concluded with the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Cyprus Problem, United States Foreign Policy

### **DETERMINANTS OF U.S. SECURITY POLICY IN BULGARIA**

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The end of the Cold War era of bipolarity has raised many important questions concerning the role of the United States in the Balkans. The United States and its NATO allies have made various commitments regarding the security challenges that have arisen in that region since the early 1990s. The United States declared its support for political and economic reform in Bulgaria and committed its attention and resources to promote Sofia's engagement in Western security institutions. The main U.S. interest in the Balkans, including in Bulgaria, is to maintain the region's stability and security, so that conflicts there do not affect U.S. interests in Western Europe and the Middle East. America's security interests in the Balkans stem from the new role it plays as a major guardian of international order and from the objectives flowing from this role – promoting democracy and free-market economic systems. It is therefore in the interests of the United States to support political and economic reform in post-communist Bulgaria.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Bulgaria, NATO)

**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Bulgarian Relations, Cold War in the Balkans, U.S.-Bulgarian Security Relations, U.S. Strategic Interests in Bulgaria

### **RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY SERVICES:**

**AN INDICATOR OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM**

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Russia is nominally a democracy, but less than ten years ago it was a communist state. This thesis gauges the level of Russian democratic reform by analyzing the nature of its intelligence and security services. The autonomous and penetrative nature of the KGB clearly reflected the totalitarian nature of the Soviet Union. Now that Russia is a democracy, it follows that the current intelligence and security forces should be much less powerful than the KGB had been. Currently, the crises of regional militant nationalism, corruption, organized crime, and economic turmoil have allowed the services to retain a higher level of power than one would expect in a democratic state. Executive, legislative, and judicial oversight is dubious. Current laws allow the services to conduct penetrative investigations and surveillance. These same crises have created the conditions for a demoralized and underpaid security intelligence apparatus that is susceptible to corruption and freelancing. The conclusion of this thesis is that Russia's intelligence and security services are indeed less powerful than in the Soviet era, but they still are not appropriate for a liberal, democratic state. Russia still has not made the full transition to democracy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Federation, Soviet Union, Intelligence

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### **REINVENTING VIETNAM: *DOI MOI* AS A NEW REVOLUTION?**

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Deep changes have taken place in Vietnam in the 25 years since the end of the Vietnam War. In this tumultuous period Vietnamese society, economy, and polity have been remade several times. No change in Vietnam is more dramatic than the transformation of its economy from a Stalinist centrally planned system to a capitalist market. Yet, unlike the states of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, Vietnam has retained its communist polity.

Among developing states Vietnam is one of a few which are depicted as being relatively strong, able to impose its will on society. Its dramatic economic transformation is often credited to the stewardship of a progressive communist leadership. A closer examination of *Doi Moi (Renovation)* Vietnam's economic reform program suggests the opposite, that Vietnam is more typical of weak Third World states than once thought. Using a dual-level analysis incorporating elements of balance of power theory, internationalization, and Joel S. Migdal's study of weak Third World states in strong societies, this thesis will show that *Doi Moi* is the product of accommodations made by Vietnamese communists at all levels of society to maintain political control in the face of strong domestic and international pressures to liberalize.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Vietnam, Economy, Economic Reforms, Doi Moi, Communist Party, Communism, Capitalism, Balance of Power, Internationalization, Globalization, Comparative Politics, Dual-Level Analysis

### **PROTESTANT PARAMILITARIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1969-1992**

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Northern Ireland has been the scene of a violent conflict between Catholics and Protestants for the past thirty years. Each side in the conflict has its own paramilitary or terrorist groups. The Catholic terrorists, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), are well known. However, the Protestant community produced its own band of terrorists that are responsible for about one third of deaths related to the conflict. This thesis is a case study of those Protestant paramilitary organizations in Northern Ireland and the nature of what has been termed "pro-state" terror. It examines the rise of two key paramilitary groups, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), as well as their composition, operations, and shortcomings. The roots of the paramilitary activity, Protestant strategic culture, and Ulster Protestants' unique relationship with Great Britain are discussed. The close relationship with Britain led to claims of security force collusion with the Protestant groups. The notion of collusion and a specific intelligence operation against the UDA involving a British Army agent, Brian Nelson, are assessed. The thesis concludes with observations regarding the impact of Protestant paramilitaries on the conflict and the need for continued intelligence on their activities and intentions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** British intelligence, Northern Ireland, Counterterrorism, Terrorism

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### **NATO AND EUROPEAN SECURITY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

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The dramatic political changes in Europe during the late 1980s and the early 1990s which marked the end of the Cold War and the bipolarity between two political systems did not simultaneously put an end to instabilities, crises, and conflicts. New threats to security arose quickly and unpredictably as the war in Bosnia and the conflict in Kosovo demonstrated. Within this geopolitical landscape NATO managed to change the priority of its tasks – redefining its military *raison d'être* and emphasizing its political role. This study analyzes NATO's development during the post-Cold War era and its future strategic rationale, focusing on three cornerstones for European peace and stability: NATO's "open door" enlargement policy, NATO-Russian cooperation in the Permanent Joint Council, and NATO's new Strategic Concept.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO-Russian Relations, NATO Enlargement, NATO's Strategic Concept, NATO and Russian Strategic Culture

### **NATO'S NEW MEMBERS: WHAT CAN THEY LEARN FROM SPAIN?**

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When Spain joined NATO, the country was very different from those initial signatories or even those that aligned themselves with the Organization after the original treaty establishment of 1949. Like the three countries currently embarking on NATO integration, Spain was a newly formed democracy still in the process of democratic consolidation when the NATO accession papers were filed. However, in contrast to Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, for several decades Spain had looked to the west and even though not a member of NATO, Spain maintained close ties with several NATO countries.

Even with these differences, there is still much to be learned from Spain's integration into NATO. Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland should carefully study the path Spain followed into NATO and determine what may or may not suit them from this experience in their current undertaking. Can Spain serve as an example for the three new members? A look at the differences and similarities between Spain and the three may provide insight for the way Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland proceed in their integration process.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Spain, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, NATO Enlargement, NATO Expansion