

# MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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## NATO'S WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INITIATIVE: ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

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This thesis analyzes the Weapons of Mass Destruction Initiative (WMDI) taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1999. The analysis considers the achievements of the WMDI as well as the obstacles and challenges the Alliance faces in countering WMD threats. For over a decade, the Alliance has been concerned about threats posed by biological, chemical, nuclear, and radiological weapons. In 1994, NATO established the Senior Political-Military Group on Proliferation and the Senior Defense Group on Proliferation to implement alliance policy on WMD proliferation. Through the WMDI, NATO enhanced its efforts to address these threats through the establishment of a WMD Center at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, to facilitate dialogue and coordination relating to threat assessment and to develop responses to such threats. At the Prague Summit in November 2002, the Allies made firmer commitments to develop capabilities to respond to WMD threats. The new measures include the Prague Capabilities Commitment and the NATO Response Force.

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Weapons of Mass Destruction, Initiative

## UNITED STATES LAND BORDER SECURITY POLICY: THE NATIONAL SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF 9/11 ON THE "NATION OF IMMIGRANTS" AND FREE TRADE IN NORTH AMERICA

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The 9/11 terrorist attacks spawned heated debates about border security roles in preventing terrorism. The United States is generally known as a "nation of immigrants," welcoming those seeking economic and religious freedom. This thesis explores the effects of three policy options (increased manpower/financial resources for border inspection agencies, technology, and private sector-government cooperation) on the prevention of terrorism within U.S. borders. It also explores the effects of those policy options on trade flows and the movement of legitimate people across international borders. Scope is limited to land border security policy from 1990-2003. Three case studies are included: (1) the Border Patrol's "prevention through deterrence" strategy, which began in 1994 and benefited from a monumental increase in manpower/financial resources to the INS; (2) an analysis of which border technology options are the most secure and inexpensive means of preventing illegal immigration, stopping the introduction of contraband into the United States, and maintaining legitimate flows of commerce/people that have increased since the passage of NAFTA; and, (3) an analysis of why private sector-governmental partnerships that both increase transportation security while lowering border wait times developed on the U.S.-Canadian border, but not on the U.S.-Mexican border. Implications are drawn for U.S. policymakers.

**KEYWORDS:** Border Security, Illegal Immigration, NAFTA, Free Trade, Mexico, Canada, Border Patrol, INS, Terrorism, Cooperation, C-TPAT, SENTRI, Biometric Identification

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## **THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION: ORIGINS AND IMPLICATIONS**

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This thesis examines the origins and implications of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) established in 2001 by China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. It analyzes the organization from the Chinese, Russian, and Central Asian states' perspective. Chinese and Russian motives for creating the SCO appear to have been threefold. First, both sought an organization dedicated to providing security and stability to the Central Asian region. Second, both wished to foster stronger economic ties with the oil and natural gas-rich former Soviet republics. Finally, both favored stemming the influence of external powers, notably the United States. The Central Asian states' motives for joining the SCO emanate from security and economic needs. The increase in the U.S. military presence in the region since October 2001 has drawn no response from the SCO. Although some Russian politicians and military officers have criticized it, the governments of China and Russia seem to realize that the U.S. presence may help bring stability to the Central Asian region. Many uncertainties burden the SCO's future. It may constitute another failed attempt to establish a security alliance or turn into a significant voice in international politics, especially with the inclusion of additional members.

**KEYWORDS:** Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Central Asia, Anti-terrorism, Islamic Extremism, Regional Security

## **U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: COMMUNICATION AND MISPERCEPTION IN THE TAIWAN STRAIGHT**

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Taiwan's political status remains the central, most difficult issue in U.S.-China relations. The question has created tensions that erupted in three crises of direct confrontation between the United States and China in the Taiwan Strait. The central dilemma in solving these conflicts has been that both states tied vital national interests to the issue. Despite the fact that both sides have managed to avoid the Taiwan question when negotiating agreements in less sensitive areas, Taiwan's status continues to present the greatest risk factor for a future, armed conflict between the United States and China. This thesis examines the three Taiwan Strait crises and argues that experiential learning coupled with a realpolitik view of international relations has led decision-makers to follow consistent modes of behavior when handling them. The development of positive relations between the United States and China after 1971 has not mitigated the inherent risks presented by the Taiwan question. The thesis concludes that the value of strategic ambiguity is overestimated, given the likelihood of misperception by both parties in a mutual deterrence relationship. Since a future crisis may not be averted, the United States and China must develop robust lines of diplomatic communication to avoid inadvertent escalation.

**KEYWORDS:** Taiwan, People's Republic of China, Cross-Strait Relations, Deterrence, Strategic Culture, Strategic Ambiguity, Learning Behavior, Coercive Bargaining, Taiwan Strait Crisis, U.S. Foreign Policy, Chinese Foreign Policy

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## U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN LATIN AMERICA: MAKING THE MANTA FORWARD OPERATING LOCATION WORK

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The U.S. military's regional concerns in the 1990s focused on the drug war, improving interoperability, and carrying out regional engagement. In the new millennium, military activities have expanded to encompass a growing concern with Colombia's drug problem and the "war on terrorism." After the closure of Howard Air Force Base, Panama, the U.S. established forward operating locations (FOLs) as tools for the realization of its goals in the region.

This thesis examines both the international and domestic politics involved when establishing FOLs in Latin America and its implications for future efforts in the region. It focuses on the Manta FOL because it is essential for U.S. strategy in Colombia and best illustrates the challenges of dealing with local opposition to a U.S. military presence. This thesis concludes that Manta is viable because it is more cost-effective, improves military-to-military relations, and demonstrates the existence of external influence upon actors of domestic politics, which can be used as a bargaining asset to sustain its military presence. It is important to understand why the Manta FOL was a success, in order to create a model when establishing future FOL agreements in the region.

**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Latin American Relations, Latin America, Forward Operating Locations, Manta, Ecuador, Counternarcotics Missions

## CORRELATION OF IDENTITY AND INTEREST IN FOREIGN POLICY: IMPLICATIONS FOR MONGOLIA

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Since the collapse of the Communist bloc, Mongolia has pursued the independent foreign policy with balanced relations attached to the two great neighbors-Russia and China. Meanwhile, the search for a "third neighbor" (the United States, Japan and/or the collective community of democracies) has been seen as the alternative approach to the existing "neighbor-oriented" policy. The thesis argues that both approaches are not mutually exclusive schools of foreign policy, but rather constitute the common approach that is described within this research as "bufferism."

To present an alternative vision of the nation's foreign policy orientation, the thesis covers the major schools of international relations and identifies the two major causes of policy: identity (based on constructivism) and interest (based on realism). As a nation, Mongolia faces the identity trilemma and the security dilemma, without much preference given to any of these options during the last decade. Hence appears the nation's ambiguity in identity, security, and economic development. The thesis puts the argument that without prioritizing one option, Mongolia faces the risk of degrading into a failing state isolated from global affairs. Thus, the reconciliation of its identity and interest, as well as of its aspirations, must lead to a rational choice of a Sino-centric East Asian policy dimension over any other.

**KEYWORDS:** Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy Factors, Foreign Policy Equilibrium, Identity, Interest, Small States, Mongolia, Buffer, Russia, China, United States, Globalization, East Asia, Central Asia, Eurasia, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, Regionalism

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## **EXPOSING THE SEAMS: THE IMPETUS FOR REFORMING U.S. COUNTERINTELLIGENCE**

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U.S. counterintelligence is in need of reform. The September 11, 2001 attacks against America by Al-Qa'ida highlight this fact but are not in themselves the reason counterintelligence should be reformed. Not surprisingly, these attacks have stirred a general debate on how U.S. intelligence ought to be reformed to more adequately protect the nation. However, amidst these various discussions one aspect of American intelligence capabilities seems to be conspicuously absent: counterintelligence. A review of counterintelligence functions and organization reveals that U.S. counterintelligence must be reformed organizationally. The current counterintelligence community structure hinders the effective employment of this crucial intelligence capability. In order to resolve this problem, the author proposes a threefold approach to that reform: (1) centralize U.S. counterintelligence operations under a single agency that will have the authority to conduct both domestic and foreign operations, (2) leave the remaining offices of counterintelligence located throughout the federal government in place to provide investigative and analytical support to the central operations agency, and (3) devolve U.S. counterintelligence down to the state and local levels, along with encouraging greater private sector participation, in order to provide wider coverage of the threats that both spies and terrorists pose to U.S. national security.

**KEYWORDS:** Counterintelligence, Intelligence Reform, Espionage, Spies, Spying, Counterespionage, Foreign Intelligence Services, Double Agents, Moles, Terrorism, Counterterrorism, September 11, 9/11, Terrorists

## **A HOUSE DIVIDED: THE DECLINE AND FALL OF MASYUMI (1950–1956)**

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This thesis analyzes the rise and fall of Masyumi during the era of the provisional parliament in Indonesia (1950-1956). As the largest of the pre-Suharto Islamic political parties in a country with an overwhelming Muslim majority, Masyumi was poised in 1955 to achieve political ascendancy, and thus to achieve its primary objective of establishing an Islamic state. Ultimately, Masyumi's leaders failed to unify Indonesian Muslims, and they consequently lost much of their moral and political authority. In an important demonstration of the malleability of Islamic and ethnic identity politics, Masyumi's struggle was eventually submerged within a greater struggle by the Javanese to assert cultural hegemony over the entire Indonesian archipelago. This thesis describes Masyumi's role in precipitating not only its own fall, but also in helping to bring about the collapse of Indonesia's first attempt at parliamentary democracy.

Indonesia's Islamist past contains many important lessons for U.S. policymakers dealing with this largest of all Muslim countries, particularly in light of the war on terror. Understanding the contingent and variable nature of Masyumi's Islamic politics can help shed light on the present ideological battles in Indonesia.

**KEYWORDS:** Indonesia, Islam, Islamist, Masyumi, Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama

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## **IS SAUDI ARABIA A NUCLEAR THREAT?**

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Saudi Arabia may become one of the next states to acquire nuclear weapons. The Saudis have the challenge of securing a large border area with a relatively small populace against several regional adversaries. The 1979 Iranian Revolution and subsequent overthrow of the Shah, a U.S. ally, sent shockwaves across the Gulf states and prompted the Saudis to increase defense spending and purchase the longest-range ballistic missile in the Gulf region: the Chinese CSS-2. These missiles have since reached the end of their lifecycle and the Saudi regime is now considering their replacement.

This thesis examines the potential for the Saudis to replace their aging missile force with a nuclear-tipped inventory. The United States has provided for the external security of the oil Kingdom through informal security agreements, but a deterioration in U.S.-Saudi relations may compel the Saudis to acquire nuclear weapons in order to deter the ballistic missile and WMD threats posed by its regional adversaries. Saudi Arabia has been a key pillar of the U.S. strategy in the Persian Gulf. However, a nuclear-armed Saudi Arabia would undermine the international nonproliferation regime and would trigger a destabilizing arms race in the region.

**KEYWORDS:** Saudi Arabia, Proliferation, Nuclear Weapons, Ballistic Missiles

## **OCEANS APART: THE UNITED STATES, THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT**

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Both the United States and the European Union support the promotion of international justice, yet disagree over the utility of the International Criminal Court. The controversy that the Court has generated among members of the long-standing trans-Atlantic partnership is indicative of deeper differences between the United States and EU members and it has the potential to threaten alliance cohesion. This thesis examines American policy toward the Court and its foundations, as well as the actions taken since the May 2002 withdrawal of the U.S. signature to the Rome Statute establishing the ICC. It then reviews EU policies toward the Court and their foundations, focusing on reactions to American policies and to the controversy associated with U.S. actions since the May 2002 withdrawal. The thesis analyzes the dispute between the United States and the EU over the ICC, focusing on the disparity in power, the roles of sovereignty and the U.N. Security Council, disagreements over means of achieving agreed ends in international law, the dispute's politicized nature, and the degree to which both sides seem to be "talking past one another." Finally, the thesis evaluates scenarios for the Court's development and their potential effects on European-American relations, and offers recommendations.

**KEYWORDS:** International Criminal Court, ICC, American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2002, Transatlantic Relations, International Institutions, Unilateralism, Multilateralism, Strategic Cultures, United Nations, NATO, European Union, United States

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## **IS IRAN RIPE FOR A NEW REVOLUTION?**

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Many Middle East observers have been pondering Iran's future. History has been unkind to those seeking to predict the course of Iranian politics. Robert Gurr, in his book "Why Men Rebel," suggests the use of "Relative Deprivation" theory as a framework to analyze the potential for politicization of social discontent. Some aspects of "Relative Deprivation" are therefore applied to Iran in order to examine the prospects of regime change in Teheran. A large population born mostly after the 1979 revolution, the advent of reformists like Mohammed Khatami, and various geopolitical events in recent years serve as key issues in the application of "Relative Deprivation" towards Iran.

**KEYWORDS:** Iran, Reformists, Relative Deprivation, Gurr, Regime Change

## **COUNTERPROLIFERATION STRATEGY: THE ROLE OF PREVENTIVE WAR, PREVENTIVE STRIKES, AND INTERDICTION**

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This thesis analyzes the potential effectiveness of preventive war, preventive strikes, and interdiction as tools for the United States to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Examination of these three counterproliferation techniques is important because the George W. Bush administration has given more prominence to military operations to deal with WMD threats. Six historical cases of preventive war, preventive strikes, and interdiction against adversarial WMD programs are examined to show the conditions that make military options desirable and effective and the issues that make their implementation difficult. These case studies reveal that interdiction and preventive strikes are viable and can be effective under very limited legal, political, and military circumstances. Although the United States successfully conducted a preventive war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, this strategy is not likely to succeed in the cases of Iran and North Korea.

**KEYWORDS:** Preventive War, Preventive Strikes, Preemptive Strikes, Interdiction, Iraq, North Korea, China, Soviet Union, Second World War, Counterproliferation, Weapons of Mass Destruction

## **THE U.S. NAVY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY: FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE WAR ON TERRORISM**

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This thesis analyzes the determinants of change in the doctrine and force structure of United States naval forces in Europe from the publication of the Maritime Strategy in 1986 to the contemporary post-11 September 2001 security environment. Four factors are examined as possible determinants of change: (1) geopolitics, including changes in the political and security environment in Europe; (2) inter-service competition for resources, influenced by congressionally mandated jointness in military operations; (3) the influence of key policy-makers in the United States political and military command structure, including the U.S. Navy, the Department of Defense, and elected officials of both the executive and the legislative

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branches; and, (4) relations between the United States and its NATO Allies. The thesis concludes that certain factors were more influential than others in specific circumstances, but all contributed to shaping doctrine and force structure.

## **MISSILE DEFENSE FOR TAIWAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS IN EAST ASIA**

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The potential provision of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) capabilities to the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan carries an array of implications for U.S. interests and purposes in East Asia. Although missile defense would assist Taiwan in defending itself from Chinese ballistic missiles, it could generate adverse repercussions that impede Washington's ability to meet its strategic and foreign policy goals.

This thesis addresses how the delivery of BMD to Taiwan might affect U.S. security interests in East Asia. Beijing's long-held fears of U.S. "hegemony" and containment may incite China to undertake political, strategic, or armed courses of action contrary to U.S. interests. Closer defense ties between Taipei and Washington might also jeopardize the ambiguity of the U.S.-China-Japan strategic triangular relationship, thereby weakening regional stability. Additionally, Japan may encounter difficulties in reconciling its role in a possible crisis in the Taiwan Strait, producing complications for the U.S.-Japan security alliance. Lastly, BMD in Taiwan could have unfavorable consequences for Washington's national security strategy, particularly its desires to stem the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and to foster cooperative relationships with other nations.

**KEYWORDS:** Ballistic Missile Defense, People's Republic of China, Republic of China on Taiwan, Japan, East Asia, Ballistic Missiles, Taiwan Strait

