

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE BULGARIAN QUEST FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001

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The thesis examines the challenges the Republic of Bulgaria has experienced since 1989 in striving to become a member of NATO. This thesis describes how NATO has addressed the security challenges arising from the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the emergence of new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

By highlighting the efforts Bulgaria has undertaken to meet NATO membership requirements, this thesis will show the country has been a reliable partner to NATO since 1992, and once included in a future round of Enlargement, Bulgaria will be a viable Alliance member.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (End of the Cold War, New-Democracies, Bulgaria and NATO)

KEYWORDS: NATO after 1989, New Democracies, Bulgaria in its Search for Security, PFP, MAP, DCI, Bulgaria's Membership in NATO

THE THREAT OF INADVERTENT NUCLEAR WAR IN SOUTH ASIA

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This thesis assesses the potential for a specific type of accidental nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan. Known as inadvertent war, such a conflict would be the result of a mistaken attempt at preemption, the launching of a nuclear attack by one nation in the mistaken belief that the other was doing likewise or was about to do so. While nuclear weapons can ordinarily be expected to exert a sobering influence on decision-makers, an escalating spiral of military activity during a crisis may generate different situational imperatives. Inadvertent war becomes possible when decision-makers perceive that conflict is inevitable and that there is a significant advantage in striking first.

Evidence suggests that there is good reason for concern about the threat of inadvertent nuclear war in South Asia. The nuclear force structures adopted by India and Pakistan can be expected to exert a particularly strong influence on the potential for both of the necessary conditions for inadvertent war. The current arsenals of these countries, small and heavily dependant upon aircraft for weapons delivery, may invite preemption in the event that nuclear war appears imminent. If India and Pakistan increase their nuclear delivery capabilities by deploying nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, the potential for inadvertent war will be even greater. In the context of a military confrontation in South Asia, ballistic missiles are likely to contribute both to perceptions of first-strike advantage and to reinforcing military alerts that can lead to the belief that nuclear war is inevitable.

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DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Ballistic Missiles, Inadvertent War, India, Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear Weapons, Pakistan, South Asia, Weapons of Mass Destruction

RUSSIAN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS SINCE 1991:IMPLICATIONS FOR UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCES

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This thesis analyzes the Russian Federation's conventional arms transfers since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia looks to the sale of conventional arms as a promising source of capital income and a viable method to maintain its state defense industry. Due to a substantial decrease in sales volume, the international conventional arms market has become extremely competitive over the last decade. This competitiveness has driven exporters, including Russia, to offer latest technologies employed in such advanced weapons as supersonic anti-ship cruise missiles, acoustically quiet submarines, and fourth generation fighter aircraft. The continued worldwide proliferation of advanced Russian conventional arms will remain a major concern for the United States Navy in the foreseeable future.

Navies throughout the world, in particular China's People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), are aggressively purchasing Russian advanced naval equipment and related technologies to improve their maritime capabilities. The United States Navy, accordingly, will increasingly encounter and possibly be engaged by advanced Russian conventional arms within the decade. Initiatives which curtail proliferation and minimize the impact of these weapons on regional stability should be implemented, thereby, reducing the potential threat to forward-deployed naval forces. The United States needs to strengthen current policies including the Wassenaar Arrangement arms control agreement, continue U.S.-Russian cooperative efforts in converting Russia's defense industry, and maintain a viable naval presence in the Western Pacific to counter the PLAN's modernization program.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Conventional Weapons

KEYWORDS: Russian Federation, Soviet Union, Russian Defense Industry, Conventional Arms Transfers, Arms Control, United States Navy, Sino-Russian Relations

NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION'S EMERGING SECURITY ROLE

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Since 1999, the member states of the European Union (EU) have been pursuing capabilities to conduct conflict prevention and crisis management operations. The EU has no intention of usurping NATO's role in collective defense; but it intends to strengthen its influence in international politics and to acquire more options for crisis management.

This thesis analyzes the EU's emerging role in the management of international security challenges and its implications for the future of NATO, the trans-Atlantic link and the EU itself. It explores the nature and scope of the crisis management role the EU intends to play, critically examines the prospects for the development of the requisite military capabilities in the EU, and assesses the impact of the EU's emerging role on NATO. From the standpoint of the United States (and other non-EU NATO Allies, such as Norway and Turkey), close NATO-EU cooperation is imperative. The thesis concludes that the extent to which NATO and the EU coordinate their planning will be a decisive factor in the success of the CESDP. The

EU's emerging security role is a new test for the strength and resilience of the trans-Atlantic ties given formal expression in NATO.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security, Strategy)

KEYWORDS: NATO, European Union, Transatlantic Relations, European Security and Defense Policy, Crisis Management

**ADAPTATIONS IN NATO AND EUROPEAN NAVAL COMMAND
ORGANIZATIONS SINCE 1989**

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This thesis analyzes post-1989 organizational and capability adaptations of NATO and European naval command organizations. Specifically, this thesis examines how the adaptations of the Striking and Support Forces Southern Europe (STRIKFORSOUTH), the European Maritime Force (EUROMARFOR), and the Combined Amphibious Forces Mediterranean (CAFMED), as well as the definition of the European Multi-national Maritime Force (EMMF) concept, strengthen the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within NATO and endow the European Union (EU) with a naval dimension. These organizational adaptations are intended to help the member nations of NATO and the EU meet evolving international security challenges. However, they have also raised significant questions about whether NATO European allies are willing to fund NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI) to address military and naval deficiencies. The capabilities gap between the naval forces of the United States and those of NATO European allies poses noteworthy challenges, including interoperability.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Surface/Undersurface Vehicles - Ships and Watercraft, Conventional Weapons

KEYWORDS: CAFMED, Common Foreign and Security Policy, EMMF, EUROMARFOR, European Union, European Security and Defense Identity, NATO, STRIKFORSOUTH, Western European Union, United States

**DEFINING AND COPING WITH WICKED PROBLEMS: THE CASE OF FORT
ORD BUILDING REMOVAL**

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Globalization and interdependencies have given rise to a new type of problem—some call them “wicked.” Wicked problems are confounding experts in many disciplines of study. They are inherent to policy and strategic planning issues in civilian and military settings. The traditional, linear methods of problem solving are inadequate to address the complexity of wicked problems, and thus require new methods of problem solving. This thesis begins with a review of the definitions of wicked problems and strategies for coping with them found in academic literature.

In order to demonstrate the utility of these concepts to a military audience, the building removal aspect of the Fort Ord base closure is utilized as an illustration of a wicked problem. The thesis first

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identifies the characteristics of a wicked problem in the Fort Ord case, and then proposes a strategy for coping with Fort Ord building removal. The Fort Ord example is not unique within the Department of Defense, and lessons learned from this illustration are applicable not only to other closed bases and to future rounds of base closure, but also to other issues marked by complexity and interdependence.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Environmental Quality, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Other (Strategic Planning, Problem Solving, Decision-making, Leadership)

KEYWORDS: Wicked Problems, Problem Solving, Coping Strategy, Fort Ord, Base Closure, Base Reutilization, Base Reuse, Base Realignment and Closure, Building Demolition, Building Deconstruction, Building Remediation, Hazardous Materials, Lead Based Paint, Asbestos

THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE IN THE AEGEAN SEA: ITS RAMIFICATIONS FOR NATO AND THE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLUTION

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Since 1974 the Aegean Sea has been a topic of much dispute for Greece and Turkey. In spite of many attempts to resolve the problems, the dispute goes on to this day. Over the years it has cost both countries some lives, cost Greece and Turkey politically and economically, and has been a detriment to NATO defense planning and operations. Continued tensions therefore not only hold the potential for disastrous war between two members of the same alliance but also hold the potential to pull other countries into this conflict.

Stability in the region and, consequently, Europe is therefore at risk and must be restored through resolution of these disputes between Greece and Turkey. Resolution has not been attained, though, mainly because of each country's intense nationalism and pervasive mistrust of the other country. This nationalism and mistrust of the other country must be overcome if a resolution is to be reached. Fortunately, the current governments of both Greece and Turkey are much more moderate and pro-resolution than their predecessors, and an ironic amelioration of relations thanks to devastating earthquakes in both Greece and Turkey in 1999 indicate that the time is ripe for a push toward resolution.

This thesis therefore examines the Aegean dispute in detail, shows its impact on NATO, looks at the attempts at resolution over the past thirty years, and discusses the current prospects for resolution.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Greece, Turkey, Aegean Dispute, NATO

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CASE OF VENEZUELA UNDER HUGO CHAVEZ

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This thesis examines the actions of democratically elected leaders perceived to create threats to democracy. These leaders are often political outsiders who come to power after established politicians and the "traditional" way of conducting democratic politics have been discredited. Once in power, some of their actions are seen as nonconforming with established democratic norms. This thesis investigates the areas where setbacks and major threats to democracy have occurred in Venezuela and how the international community might respond most effectively to such threats.

This thesis advances four definitions of democracy drawn from the relevant literature, delegative, liberal, and substantive. It then examines the actions of the government on the different dimensions of democracy set forth by those definitions, elections, human rights and civil liberties, checks and balances, and militarism. Although the Chavez regime conforms to the minimal conditions of an electoral democracy, it is shown to fall short of accepted standards of liberal democracy. It also falls short of the vision of participative democracy advanced by President Chavez himself. This thesis concludes by offering policy recommendations on how to deal with these regimes.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Democratization)

KEYWORDS: Challenges to Democracy, Electoral Democracy, Liberal democracy, Delegative Democracy, Participative Democracy, Civil Liberties, Checks and Balances, Militarism in Venezuela, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Authoritarianism, Hugo Chávez Frias, Bolivarian Revolution

DEMOCRATIZATION IN BOSNIA: A MORE EFFECTIVE ROLE FOR THE MILITARY

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Since the end of the civil war in 1995, the United States and the world community have poured enormous amounts of money and resources into Bosnia and Herzegovina in an attempt to create a sustainable peace for all of Bosnia's citizens based on the principles of democratic governance. But at times, it seems that although the fighting has stopped the country is no closer to being a functioning, stable democracy than it was when the multi-national intervention force first arrived more than five years ago.

This thesis examines democracy theory and the democratization process to provide an explanation for why the international effort has been unsuccessful so far, and explores alternative ways to address some of those shortcomings. This thesis argues that the Stabilization Force (SFOR) has the ability to be a more effective partner in fostering consolidated democracy in Bosnia. It concludes by identifying military capabilities such as civil affairs, Special Forces and intelligence collection that could directly contribute to successful democratization.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Democratization)

KEYWORDS: Bosnia, Conflict Resolution, Conflict Suppression, Democratization, IFOR, SFOR, Stabilization