

SOCIETAL FACTORS IN EVALUATING POLICY FOR CHINA AND ISLAMISM

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## Abstract

America's enduring conflict with both the Chinese and Islamism proceeds without the requisite understanding of the cultural drivers of the actual struggle. Policy and overt military action against these two different societies to date uses an antiquated method to determine foreign policy and national security. Further, this approach fails to consider internal ideology and relevant data that may reveal inadequacies or the unsustainability of the adopted policies and military strategies. This thesis revisits the argument between multipolar and universal global society perspectives by conducting a qualitative analysis of each culture against Huntington's "*Clash of Civilizations*" theoretical model. Additionally, quantitative data is used to assess the implications of the fertility rates of each society with respect to recommendations for policy changes.

The societal analysis of these two civilizations using religion, culture, history, and population reveals that: 1) the core tenets of Islamism rejects liberal principles; 2) Due to historical and cultural aspects, current U.S. policy appears imperialistic to a distrustful and wary China; and 3) the growth of the Islamic population and the decline of the Chinese civilization offer opportunities for the U.S. to revise its strategy and foreign policy toward these two societies. These ideas challenge some of the foundational elements of our liberal democracy, and they support the need to re-evaluate theory in relation to civilizational clashes. This study provides a contribution to the growing body of research on similar topics concerning foreign policy and cultural analysis.

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## **Chapter I: INTRODUCTION**

The present security situation in the United States may require some fundamental revision due to the changing nature of the global environment. The United States has been involved in the longest war in its short history through its efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan to combat Islamic fundamentalism. At the same time, it has also been involved in combating the expanding military and political influences of a rising power in the Far East with China. On the surface level, both of these potential future enemies present unique, but equal threats to the American way of life. This thesis seeks to compare and contrast the two societies of China and the Muslim world using the critical factors of culture, history, and population growth in order to ascertain specific policy changes that may be required to ensure our enduring national security into the future. These two specific areas of the globe were established as a source of study and research due to the ongoing American efforts in both the Pacific theater<sup>1</sup> and the Islamic Middle East.<sup>2</sup> The added complexity to the current two front conflict scenario includes the waning public support for war in general and the large amount of money that is invested to safeguard the rest of the world. Continuing to spend money and combat adversaries in the current manner is neither feasible nor sustainable.

Traditional thought viewed China through the lens of a rising power that may eventually force the United States into another Cold War type of conflict where both

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Lieberthal, "The American Pivot to Asia Why President Obama's turn to the East is easier said than done," *Foreignpolicy.com*, December 21, 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/12/21/the-american-pivot-to-asia/>.

<sup>2</sup> "The World Factbook South Asia:: Afghanistan," *cia.gov*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>.

superpowers vie for dominance in a divided and contested world.<sup>3</sup> This theory requires China to last as a viable threat to the United States well into the future and is supported by many views including those that originate from within China itself. In an uncertain future, China is currently displaying the outward signs of conflict with goals to eventually maintain the ability to conduct global power projection through its naval forces and by aggressively using contested waters for natural resource excavation.

On the other side of the same continent, the model of the expanding Muslim population can be used as a sign or symptom of eventual conflict with the Western world. Studies have shown that Islam is currently the fastest growing global religion, and as a result, there has been substantial points of friction and conflict along the way.<sup>4</sup> The rise of fundamental Islam within the conflict environment presents a unique problem that threatens the Western way of life from both internal and external sources. Although many experts do not agree with each other concerning the root causes of radicalization, they do agree that it is a condition that must be answered by Western society because radical Islamic extremism is a threat to its existence.

China and the Muslim world are two separate societies that present competing issues to the US security apparatus which must be thoroughly explored and answered in order to determine the best course of action for future strategy. The comparison between the societies of China, Islamism in the Middle East, and the United States reveals conflicting interests deeply embedded in both culture and history; with this understanding

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<sup>3</sup> Ted C. Fishman, *China, Inc. The Relentless Rise of the Next Great Superpower* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 271-285.

<sup>4</sup> G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), 191.

firmly in place, population growth of the Muslim world and the internal decay of the Chinese population reveal the need for policy shifts during an era of necessary consolidation of efforts and assets.

Historical examples of opening a two front war displays that such actions are only accomplished with significant costs to the nation in both blood and treasure.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the United States can no longer afford to wage wars as if assets, money, and political capital are unlimited. The need for consolidation of efforts is vital to the success of the nation against present and future adversaries. Re-organizing strategic priorities will allow American political and military efforts to focus on specific and realistic problems in order to avoid a future of perpetual conflict with any potential enemy that may arise on the horizon. This means that military efforts may or may not need to be combined with diplomatic efforts when applied to a certain situation. In terms of China, the evidence will reveal that a diplomatic effort, absent of military power, may be more helpful in maintaining a strategic and peaceful relationship. In the case of fighting Islamism in the Middle East, the U.S. response may need to seriously consider an interest based approach that does not necessarily include our original 1918 mandate of spreading democracy across the globe.<sup>6</sup>

The actual comparative analysis between China and the Islamic Middle East in this study uses Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theory<sup>7</sup> as a model and also

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<sup>5</sup> *Logistics in World War II Final Report of the Army Service Forces* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1993), 244-251.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 30.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 29.

the fertility rates as a measure of comparison for each country. This accomplishes the identification of the source of deep-rooted conflict that each culture maintains with Western civilization. It also offers a predictive model to identify whether China or the Islamic Middle East may become the larger threat in both the near and long term. The cultural analysis and comparison between Islamism and the Western form of liberalism deconstructs the ideology to its basic principles. Although liberalism and Islamism are contrasting and opposite beliefs, the main cause of the clash between these two specific societies is the common ideology<sup>8</sup> of universality.<sup>9</sup>

The unfortunate side-effect of universality as the binding principle of both of these growing ideologies is eventual conflict when these two inconsistent viewpoints eventually meet. The inclusion of the entire Islamic community in the Middle East was not intended to have the reader come to the conclusion that all Muslims will eventually become enemies of the United States; however, the study does make the connection between the shared philosophies of the Koran and Sharia Law. In this manner, the real connection should be that Islamists who become enemies of the United States come from the greater Muslim population. The underlying effects of radicalization are not incorporated into this research. Instead, examples of already radicalized Islamists groups are used as examples to highlight the distinct differences between liberalism and fundamental Islam. In many of the regions where Islamists dominate in government and other key societal billets, it may be extremely difficult for the United States to maintain

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<sup>8</sup> G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), 191.

<sup>9</sup> "Declaration of Independence," *archives.gov*, accessed July 2016, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

its original footing of propagating liberal democracy around the globe.<sup>10</sup> Against these forms of governance, a realist and interests based approach to foreign policy may be necessary to avoid becoming mired in a state of perpetual conflict.

The cultural analysis comparing China and the United States explores the existing conflict largely through the lens of history. Each society's individual histories hold the key to understanding transformation and the eventual outcomes of conflict in the present age. The United States explored its beginnings and became a nation where exceptionalism and its own form of ideological expansion became norms of the present. The United States was able to grow and nurture the key concept and belief that their form of republican governance was not only special, but a shining example for the rest of the world.<sup>11</sup> Bleeding this concept into expansionistic views such as Manifest Destiny<sup>12</sup> eventually led to the US introducing this ideology on the world stage. These ideas, which were developed from the very beginnings of US history, came into violent conflict with modern Chinese nationalism that was born out of subjugation from Western powers.

This study uses the Opium Wars, the Boxer Rebellion, and the conflict with the Japanese to display the proximate cause for Chinese expansionism in the modern day. The conduct of Western powers during the Opium Wars in particular is a subject that is used to display the growth of distrust and the reason why advocates of liberalism appear to be synonymous with imperialists to the Chinese. The study of recent Chinese history is

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<sup>10</sup> Barack Obama, "National Security Strategy," *National Archive*, February 2015, <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>, 4.

<sup>11</sup> John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity (1630)," *Hanover Historical Texts Project*, August 1996, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>.

<sup>12</sup> John L. O'Sullivan, "John L. O'Sullivan on Manifest Destiny, 1839," *mtholyoke.edu*, accessed July 2016, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm>.

crucial to avoid similar mistakes made in the past. A build-up of military power against China without a proper diplomatic response may only spur additional efforts by China to expand.

Population analysis is also used as a major factor for comparing the Muslim world and China against each other. Both of these regions and societies are a compilation of separate factions and ethnicities; however, they do share commonalities that can be compared in the perspective of a current or future threat to the United States. The formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 shaped a new nation with one history, culture, and destiny.<sup>13</sup> This much larger entity is analyzed to understand the changes in population and why it is critical to both the future of the society itself and to the US global security perspective. The population centric analysis uses a case study methodology involving China's one-child policy that was first instituted in the late 1970s.<sup>14</sup> This paper specifically analyzes the historical perspective to gain an understanding of why such a harsh and militant policy was introduced and enforced. Further analysis involves the real impacts of the policy over the last 30+ years and the educated predictions of experts in order to determine whether China is a real enduring threat to the United States. In accomplishing this study, the findings may result in echoing experts' views<sup>15</sup> of an ancient civilization like China being in a state of decay rather than in a form of growth.

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<sup>13</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105.

<sup>14</sup> "How China's One-Child Policy Led to Forced Abortions, 30 Million Bachelors," *NPR*, February 1, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/02/01/465124337/how-chinas-one-child-policy-led-to-forced-abortions-30-million-bachelors>.

<sup>15</sup> Meera Senthilingam, "How quickly can China come back from its one-child policy?," *CNN*, October 13, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/health/china-one-child-policy-population-growth/>.

Much like China, the Islamic Middle East is not a singular state or even a coalition of Muslim states that may act as a threat to the future of US global security, but it is the growing population and Islamists views that presents a communal and potential threat as an outlier to the Western way of life. The identification of the Muslim world, particularly Islamist regimes, as a threat to the United States is due to the extensive history of conflict between the two entities in combination with the present war and current domestic struggles with Islamic fundamentalists.<sup>16</sup> In contrast with China's one-child policy, the global Muslim population is assessed in this paper through their teachings of encouragement of procreation as a vital part of marriage. This form of education directly correlates to Islam being identified by experts as one of the fastest growing religions in the world.<sup>17</sup> In comparing philosophies of the Chinese and Muslim world in respect to procreation and reproduction, this study identifies the key differences in each policy and makes the correlation toward future growth models. It is important to note that the growth of the global Muslim population is not limited to land or resources due to the ideology that drives it. This is a major contributing factor behind why there has not been a need for extensive and united population control among Muslims like there was among the Chinese.

There are several threats to the United States that are present in this current era, but not included in this particular study. The argument may be made to include Russia,

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<sup>16</sup> Major Brian P. Sharp, *British Colonization of Iraq, 1918-1932* (Quantico, Virginia: United States Marine Corps Command and General Staff College, 2008), 17-20.

<sup>17</sup> Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo, introduction to *Managing Muslim Mobilities Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime*, ed. Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2-5.

North Korea, or Iran into the assessment; however, the model that will be used only includes current strategy and will not include policy that is developing or currently in the development phase. The conflicts and aggression that Russia has exhibited in the recent past only include data up to 2008 for the invasion into Georgia. It is so new that current experts are struggling to gain a full understanding of the situation in order to develop a mature strategy in order to combat the threat. Although Russia may be used in order to account for U.S. policy changes, the amount of resources that are expended for this endeavor are currently only a fraction of the amount used and spent in order to combat the growing Muslim threat as well as the Chinese problem in the Pacific region. Similar arguments can be made concerning Iran, where U.S. policy has only recently changed to lift decade's long sanctions, and North Korea, where strategy mostly involves diplomacy and not the full array of the instruments of power that involve mobilization of military forces. Another important reason for not including these countries is a lack of time and resources for research for a project this size. These three countries are unique in their own right and would require additional analysis and subsequent addendums which fall outside the scope of this thesis.

In this examination, the results will scrutinize policies like the Pacific Pivot that displaces a majority of resources to combat the Chinese threat and compare it to the current threat that may rise out of the Middle East. The curious aspect of this analysis is the fact that the United States currently appears to be drawn in two directions by choice. America is steeped in the longest war in its history and still attempting to use its full arsenal in order to deter Chinese aggression half a world away in the Pacific Ocean region of the globe. In comparing the two threat regions, the final recommendations will

include how the U.S. must adjust and consolidate its efforts in order to successfully move into the next century. Although express mention of where these assets can be applied is not described, continued research may allow further conclusions to be drawn as to whether these assets should be dedicated to other threat regions around the world.

Following the model of a comparative case study, this project seeks to relate China and the Middle East through population growth and ideology in order to ascertain which of these current threats are more enduring for the U.S. security apparatus. More specifically, the paper attempts to disprove the conventional knowledge concerning China's growth and future rise to prominence while concurrently supporting the conventional model of an expanding Muslim world. It also seeks to prove that the root cause for conflict with these regions is deeply embedded in culture and history. The methodology for population analysis uses the detrimental effects of China's one-child policy on the prospects of global eminence compared to the religious encouragement of the Muslim faith for healthy procreation and expansion. The comparison will also provide an argument for contrasting the two major ideologies of Chinese and Islamic nationalism in attempting to explain the meteoric rise of the Muslim faith in today's society. The goal of this paper is to provide a comprehensive analysis of each of these two societies within the specific framework of population analysis and global ideological influence. Comparing them in relation to the current defense environment will eventually produce an educated recommendation for consolidation and re-organization within the larger U.S. strategic framework.

## **Chapter II: OPERATION EAST VERSUS WEST: A GLOBAL WAR OF IDEOLOGIES**

The United States of America continues to struggle with conflicts in the Middle East against Islamic fundamentalists, and it cannot seem to find a way to achieve a decisive victory in the longest military campaign in its short history. From many accounts, it appears as though this is due to a lack of understanding in the West in relation to Islamic culture. The United States of America developed the majority of its fundamental values from the thinkers of the Enlightenment and the byproducts that were brought forth from the French Revolution. The ideology that resulted from these movements included such topics as reason over religion, a distrust of a monarchical authority, and the abolishment of an aristocracy.<sup>18</sup> Several writers during this time were instrumental in establishing the guidelines for liberal thought and secular governance. These thoughts were instrumental in the creation of documents such as *The Declaration of Independence*,<sup>19</sup> which has noticeable similarities to the French Revolution era document called *Declaration of The Rights of Man*.<sup>20</sup>

The Enlightenment era thinkers would have completely disagreed with the conditions and ideology of the Islamic movement in the Middle East. The Islamic style of

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<sup>18</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Dem.TheEnlightenment(1).mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course\\_id=102568\\_1&content\\_id=2860139\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course_id=102568_1&content_id=2860139_1).

<sup>19</sup> "Declaration of Independence," *archives.gov*, July 4, 1776, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

<sup>20</sup> National Assembly of France, "Declaration of the Rights of Man - 1789," *Yale Law School*, November 4, 2008, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=C033216287X&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215638>.

governance, contrary to anything that was incubating in the United States and Europe, was vastly different and in direct conflict with many of the ideals of the French Revolution. Islam's main source of all governance and social law was derived from Sharia, which was believed to be the inspired laws of God. In sharp contrast to the thinkers of the Enlightenment, Islam not only encouraged religious aspects in every part of life, it demanded it of all Muslims. Islam was also thought to be a universal concept that could be applied to all human life. The idea of universality had similarities with Enlightenment thought, but it was also the idea that led to the two separate ideologies being forever locked in conflict with each other. The concepts of Enlightenment thought, which the United States largely adopted as its own, caused a conflict of ideologies with the Islamic cultures of the Middle East region of the world even before armed combat occurred. Recognizing the cultural clash between these two civilizations will assist us in analyzing the root causes of the conflict itself and propose recommendations for policy change through the lens of historical and religious comparative case studies.

### Theoretical Framework

This chapter will argue that a major conflict of interest exists between the Western liberal society of the U.S. and the Islamic culture of the Middle East. Conflicts arise in these parts of the world due to each society's belief in the universality of their particular brand of culture.<sup>21</sup> While liberal values, which argue for equality, progress, and secular governance, were identified by its founding thinkers as a universal concept,<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 29.

<sup>22</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Have We Reached the End of History?* (Santa Monica, California: The RAND Corporation, 1989), 4-8.

Islam was also an ideology that was equally believed to be a universal concept for the rest of the world. Islam's ideals of governance from the fundamentals of the Koran and Sharia law came into direct conflict with the principles of liberal thought.<sup>23</sup> Fundamental Islam went even further into categorizing the globe into two major population groups, which included Muslims and everyone else.<sup>24</sup> As a result, this conflict can be explained at the cultural levels of each society and refutes many scholars who described a future world of either one cosmopolitan society<sup>25</sup> or the onset of a liberal world order.<sup>26</sup>

Multipolar societies are an eventuality of internal cultural struggles between separate societies. This results in a need to reassess relationships with other non-Western countries.<sup>27</sup> Our current foreign policy, which was outlined by our National Security Strategy, largely followed the tenets of the universality of the liberal world order. This characterization was specifically identified through the need to perpetuate the ideals of democracy.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, perpetuating liberalism can be assumed through the model in which the U.S. attempts to both establish and foster democracies throughout the world.<sup>29</sup> Although some Islamic societies have recently adopted the Western concept of

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<sup>23</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 142.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 32.

<sup>25</sup> Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilization A Peace Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Henrik Schmiegelow (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 10-12.

<sup>26</sup> David Held, *Cosmopolitanism Ideals and Realities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010), 84-92.

<sup>27</sup> Andrey Makarychev, *Russia and the EU in a Multipolar World Discourses, Identities, Norms* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2014), 107-108.

<sup>28</sup> Barack Obama, "National Security Strategy," *National Archive*, February 2015, <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>, 4.

<sup>29</sup> "Gender Equality and Female Empowerment," *USAID*, March 30, 2017, <https://www.usaid.gov/jordan/gender-equality-womens-empowerment>.

democratic rule, there are too many examples of Islamic nations rejecting the ideology of liberalism by electing to be ruled by traditional Islamists.<sup>30</sup> These issues pose a significant foreign policy problem for the U.S. and may require more of a realist approach to future conflicts and diplomatic relations with Islamist ruled nations.

### Enlightenment Thought

Before the age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution, three major principal institutions governed the pre-modern political order. These ideas included monarchy, aristocracy, and the church.<sup>31</sup> These well-established institutions began to be challenged with the advent of the Enlightenment and famous writers of the period such as Voltaire, John Locke, and Immanuel Kant. The Enlightenment period in Europe was a time when people began to question the established order by seeking answers to life's questions through other than conventional means. The idea of religion as a basis for morality began to be challenged by claims that the institution was corrupt and that modern reason and scientific advances were superior models to follow. The traditional belief that all of mankind was naturally evil was also gradually replaced by Enlightenment thought to the belief that men were generally capable of goodness, and that this goodness was brought forward through education. During this time, thinkers like Immanuel Kant were proponents for the belief that human progress was prevented by institutions such as religion. Kant believed that the goodness of man could eventually progress to a state of

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<sup>30</sup> Erin A. Snider and David M. Faris, "The Arab Spring: U.S. Democracy Promotion in Egypt," *Middle East Policy*, September 15, 2011, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00497.x/full>.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Dem.TheEnlightenment(1).mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course\\_id=102568\\_1&content\\_id=2860139\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course_id=102568_1&content_id=2860139_1).

utopia, which was a common theme of Enlightenment thought.<sup>32</sup> In a similar way, the ancient order of respect for authority and hierarchy were challenged with ideas of equality among humanity. This gave way to the introduction of basic human rights and the implementation of such ideas which became popularized in the rise of democratic styles of governance across Europe. The major themes of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of reason over religion, progress, and equality are what shaped Western liberal thought and America into the country that is represented today.

Particularly strong opponents of religion during the time of the Enlightenment were Baron d'Holbach and Voltaire. Their negative views of religion, particularly Christianity, at that time in history were based off of a blending of religious influence with governance techniques. Baron d'Holbach's argument against Christianity placed an emphasis on using human reason and the study of tangible things in order to produce a stable base for social morality.<sup>33</sup> His vice versus virtue stance placed a large amount of responsibility on the individual instead of the reliance on a higher power to control a person's actions.<sup>34</sup> In support of d'Holbach's views, Voltaire also came out as a strong opponent to Christianity and its influences on society. Voltaire connected society's dependence on Christianity and religion as a form of fanaticism.<sup>35</sup> His critique was most

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<sup>32</sup> Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 554-555, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215692>.

<sup>33</sup> Baron D'Holbach, "No Need of Theology... Only Reason..." in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 148-149, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215685>.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>35</sup> Francois-Marie Arouet De Voltaire, "Reflections on Religion," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 117-119, Web,

interesting in respect to the clergy of that time period in Europe. He wrote that the clergy should only have power in relation to spiritual things alone and not in the temporal.<sup>36</sup>

The influences on the American style of governance by these two prominent thinkers can be seen in the relationship that the United States government currently has with Christianity and other religions. Voltaire spoke out against such matters during the French Revolution when he denounced state-sponsored religions. He believed state- sponsorship of religion led to a conflict of interest which was accurately framed when he wrote, "... if you have two religions in your land, the two will cut each other's throats; but if you have thirty religions, they will dwell in peace."<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, Madison made a similar comparison while describing the power relationship between multiple factions in his *Federalist #10*.<sup>38</sup> This style of logic was applied to the establishment of the American style of governance with the application of a freedom to practice any religion, and it even filtered into how the US formed political parties.<sup>39</sup> The influences from the Enlightenment era thinkers shaped the unique form of secular authority that currently characterizes U.S. government. The current combination of religious tolerance and separation of religious ideals from governance supports the argument that the U.S. form

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<https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215684>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>38</sup> James Madison, "The Federalist No. 10 The Utility of the Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Factions and Insurrection (continued)," *constitution.org*, November 22, 1787, <http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa10.htm>.

<sup>39</sup> "Bill of Rights Article the third," *archives.gov*, September 25, 1789, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill\\_of\\_rights\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill_of_rights_transcript.html).

of government is modeled off of the liberal framework that was established by the Enlightenment thinkers.

The idea of progress, specifically in reaching forward to new ideas, was also a powerful influence in the writings and themes of the Enlightenment period. The ideology of progress considered establishing new boundaries by casting off the old order. Marquis de Condorcet was a strong proponent for this line of logic. He wrote of the re-distribution of wealth and the creation of social programs in order to assist the elderly, widows, and orphans.<sup>40</sup> He also described a world where scientific advances and human reason would open up a society with infinite possibilities.<sup>41</sup> This theme of progress also crossed into the realm of casting off religion in an effort to connect further with reason. Christianity was viewed not only as a hindrance to governance, but it was also viewed as a hindrance to scientific progress due to the perception of religion clinging to archaic beliefs when compared to science.<sup>42</sup> The desires for progress were displayed throughout the history of the United States with such things as Manifest Destiny, the space race, and the gigantic leaps in aviation and computer technology. This principle of liberal thought was also displayed in the realm of global relations and governance with the propagation of liberal democracy world-wide. There are many concrete historical examples of the U.S. attempt to encourage progress throughout the world through governance, but U.S. foreign policy during the Vietnam War period most accurately characterized the drive to promote

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<sup>40</sup> Marquis De Condorcet, "The Future Progress of the Human Mind," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 30-31, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215687>.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

progress through the growth of liberal democracies. The popular strategy during this time period was containment of the communist threat by raising democracies in fringe countries like Vietnam.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, the existing conditions and cultural notes of the Vietnamese people were not considered when implementing this plan. As a result, the corruption and lack of equality in the South Vietnamese government did not wholly reflect the desired U.S. strategic outcome to produce a liberal democracy to combat the incursion of communist ideology.<sup>44</sup> Although it is still too early to make a solid determination, the similarities in the U.S. approach between the past and present may result in similar outcomes in both Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>45</sup> The cultural aspects of the environment may be different, but the U.S. has not changed its strategic approach to promoting liberal democratic values regardless of the culture or history of the society in which it is applied.<sup>46</sup>

Another Enlightenment theme in which the United States drew influence from was the ideology of the equality of mankind. This theme was deeply pondered upon by influential Enlightenment thinkers such as Kant, Locke, Paine, and Rousseau. Thomas

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<sup>43</sup> Gregory A. Daddis, "Out of Balance: Evaluating American Strategy in Vietnam, 1968-1972," *War & Society*, October 2013, <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=eda1cf38-1d65-4e6f-acdd-4786c9f0bbde%40sessionmgr101&vid=1&hid=122>, 253-256.

<sup>44</sup> "1955 Diem declares himself premier of Republic of Vietnam," *History.com*, accessed January 16, 2017, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/diem-declares-himself-premier-of-republic-of-vietnam>.

<sup>45</sup> Philippe Le Billon, "Corruption, Reconstruction and Oil Governance in Iraq," *Third World Quarterly*, 2005, <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=66b4862d-e995-4182-a4f6-1227ad61ee23%40sessionmgr101&vid=1&hid=122>, 686-690.

<sup>46</sup> Barack Obama, "National Security Strategy," *National Archive*, February 2015, <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>, 4.

Paine attacked the monarchy and the hereditary model of perpetuation in his writings.<sup>47</sup> He described America as a land where the lack of a monarchical style of government led to freedom and equality.<sup>48</sup> He further described the situation in Europe where these Enlightenment ideas were actually hunted and stifled by the ruling class and the hereditary model of governance by kings and queens only out of fear for their positions.<sup>49</sup> John Locke also wrote similarly about the monarchy. Locke wrote that the equality of mankind essentially disqualified an absolute monarchy as a legitimate form of government.<sup>50</sup> This alluded to a foundational theory of liberalism that all hereditary models of governance should be removed. Due to this, his writings greatly influenced the conduct of revolutionaries during the French Revolution in respect to monarchy and the hierarchy of the aristocracy. Kant and Rousseau moved deeper into the practical realm with their writings of equality. They both concluded with ideas on how to address equality in governance. Rousseau wrote about combining several partial societies in order to limit the eventuality of unrestrained individual liberty.<sup>51</sup> His writings concerning this topic influenced how the American government was set up according to these principles

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<sup>47</sup>Thomas Paine, "The Rights of Man," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 472, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215691>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 471-472.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 471.

<sup>50</sup> John Locke, "Politics and the State The Second Treatise of Civil Government," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 401, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215688>.

<sup>51</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "The Social Contract," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 437-438, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215689>.

through representation of many partial societies in order to create a legislative branch. American adoption of a democratic republic as the sole form of governance also ran parallel to Kant's conclusion of the necessity of a republic to protect equality within society.<sup>52</sup>

Due to the existence of individual self-interest and what the Enlightenment thinkers believed was a universal principle of equality, Kant wrote that subjugation could not succeed in preventing future conflicts. It was only through the formation of a republic and uniting partial societies that this could be accomplished for future progress. These concepts and defenses of the ideology of the equality of mankind influenced the founding fathers of the United States and the fundamental principles of the American Revolution. The creation of such documents like *The Declaration of Independence* and *The Federalist Papers* show how similar the thought process was to the thinkers of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution with documents such as *The Rights of Man*. Equality can be described as a fundamental truth that every American citizen lives under in this country today, and the origins of the ideology in the thinkers of the French Revolution explains the extensive US international efforts of propagating the ideals of equality for all mankind.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 557, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=T033924790W&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215692>.

<sup>53</sup> "Gender Equality and Female Empowerment," *USAID*, March 30, 2017, <https://www.usaid.gov/jordan/gender-equality-womens-empowerment>.

## Islamic Principles

Islamic traditions and culture grew independently from the West, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution. Before the advent of globalization and the intermixing of cultures and societies, other nations were largely left untouched by each other's influences. As a result, the Islamic culture and religion had room to grow. It was an ideology that was vastly different from the writings of the Enlightenment thinkers. It began with the prophet of the religion, Mohammad, when he established himself as a ruler in Medina and later entered Mecca in order to destroy the shrines of idolatry in 630 A.D. In this aspect, the religion of Islam was similar to the Christian and Jewish faiths because they all consistently taught a doctrine based off of monotheism. Mohammad and his followers developed a method of governance that incorporated religion into every aspect of society. According to many prominent Islamic writers and theorist, Sharia law, which was the result of Mohammad's interpretation of the rules and laws of God, was all encompassing and a universal idea that was meant for all of mankind. Sharia law established strict guidelines for criminal law, dress code, personal conduct, marriage, diet, and even economics.<sup>54</sup> It incorporated the ideology into every aspect of daily life by demanding total and complete submission to the will of God in the individual's daily life. Seyyed Hossein Nasr described the Islamic religion and style of governance in a way for the Western world to understand by making a comparison to Christianity and Judaism. According to Nasr, Islamic life was a very ritualistic form of life as displayed by ceremonious washing of the body and the requirement to pray five times a day in a

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<sup>54</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Foundations of Islamic politics.mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course\\_id=102568\\_1&content\\_id=2860200\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id=102568_1&content_id=2860200_1).

specific fashion.<sup>55</sup> The ideas of prayer, holy months, and fasting shared similarities with Christian and Jewish faiths.

Stark differences between the specific faiths were manifested when comparing the doctrinal ideals of daily life and governance. Islam and Sharia law incorporated governance into its laws. Muslims believed in an unadulterated rule by God, which was distinguished from a normal theocracy because it was not run by the clergy.<sup>56</sup> The focus on religion in governance and the cultural ties to Islam made it particularly resistant to the influences of liberalism. The particularity of this resistance was recently captured in the Egyptian free elections after the Arab Spring movement. Although the Egyptian people transitioned from an authoritative to a democratic government, the majority still chose to be ruled by a government that was dominated by Islamists as the majority.<sup>57</sup> The observable dissimilarities of how Islam viewed religion in governance, progress, and equality are important to realize in creating an accurate comparison to the liberal Western worldview.

One of the largest concepts incorporated in Islamic government was religion in governance. Although many countries that claim to be Islamic have differing governing styles, the common theme among them is the application and recognition of Islam as the main proponent for how government is established and organized. The Muslim world,

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<sup>55</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam Enduring Values for Humanity* (New York, New York: Harper San Francisco, 2002), 130, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=W050307840Y&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215648>.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>57</sup> Fouad Ajami, "The Arab Spring at One A Year of Living Dangerously," *HeinOnline*, 2012, <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora91&div=30&id=&page=>.

according to Nasr, viewed the world in three distinct categories: abode of Islam, abode of Peace, and abode of conflict or war.<sup>58</sup> The abode of Islam established areas where Islam was the majority view or religion, the abode of Peace described situations or locations where Islam was the tolerated minority view, and the abode of conflict and war was described as areas where Islam was in conflict with the majority view. These three categories summarized how deeply the religion was ingrained into the society. It was incorporated to the point that societal comparisons were conducted in reference to the level of Muslims within a particular area, nation, or society. Youssef Choueiri described a version of Islam where all human action must be an act of worship to God.<sup>59</sup> Although much of Choueiri's writings can be seen as descriptions of fundamentalist and extreme views, this concept of daily worship to God is a common thread that can be found among the majority of Muslims around the world.

Another view that expressed religion in government was that of Qutb. He expressed the opinion that Sharia was the only legitimate method of governance and that God needed to be the ruler of society. He took it a step further in that same direction by declaring that society also had the obligation to practice the laws that were prescribed by God.<sup>60</sup> Qutb also attempted to define jihad as a way to seek to eliminate all human

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<sup>58</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islam in the Modern World Challenged by the West, Threatened by Fundamentalism, Keeping Faith with Tradition* (New York, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2010), 18, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=W050307840Y&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215658>.

<sup>59</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 126, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215660>.

<sup>60</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 4 Jihaad in the Cause of God," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 5, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215666>.

kingship and reinstate a rule by God. In his opinion, the right to legislate was with God alone.<sup>61</sup> The common subject in Islamic culture was the identity of being ruled by God alone. As a result, Islamic tradition and religion cannot be separated from governance. This was particularly displayed in the countries that were recently impacted by the Arab Spring movement, especially in Egypt. Although democratic elections were instituted, the Islamist organization known as the Muslim Brotherhood quickly took the majority seats in parliament. Islamic societies may leave space for populist manifestations like democracy to take place;<sup>62</sup> however, the underlying conflict with liberal values will still persist even with revolutionary conditions due to the existing culture.

The idea of progress is a current point of contention in the Muslim world. Modernists currently support Western influences and encourage revision of portions of the Islamic faith, while traditionalists seek to resist change and the liberal Western worldview. In terms of progress, Traditionalist Muslims seek to prevent the Islamic faith from incorporating ideas such as liberalism because it appears to be an invasive Western idea. A prominent traditionalist thinker, Qutb, viewed the West as a negative influence due to moral decay. He not only attacked the West in general with his writings, but he also targeted other religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Choueiri also described fundamentalist Islamic views of Scripture and the doctrine of Jews and Christians to be flawed.<sup>63</sup> He described that fundamental Islam criticized the Bible as something that was

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>62</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

<sup>63</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 128, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215660>.

man-made, and thus, should not be followed or respected like the Quran.<sup>64</sup> The traditional view taken to the farthest extent was the fundamentalist and extremist ideology that currently emanated from all corners of the Muslim world. Qutb explained these ultra-traditionalist views in his writings by describing jihad as "... the continuation of God's politics by other means."<sup>65</sup> With this reference to Clausewitz, Qutb made his views sound militaristic and extremely resistant to change in a revolutionary manner. Other ultra-traditionalists like Qutb divided societies into two different categories: Islamic and jahili. Qutb described a jahili culture as something that was backwards or degenerative.<sup>66</sup> In this manner, he targeted the Western world and any other culture that was not Islamic, and created a viewpoint of universality within the traditionalist Islamic view.

A modernist view can be described by the writings of Muqtedar Khan and how he described a possible method for progress in the Muslim world. Khan proposed a gradual change and a step in the direction of democracy. Although democracy was a concept with Western origins, Khan proposed the idea that an Islamic society can be free and democratic without necessarily looking exactly like the United States of America.<sup>67</sup> He laid out a practical method of accomplishing this by suggesting the use of Shuras in order

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>66</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 7 Islam is the Real Civilization," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 2, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215667>.

<sup>67</sup> M.A. Muqtedar Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse Theory, Debates, and Philosophical Perspectives* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2006), 155, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215659>.

to develop and refine Sharia for the present age.<sup>68</sup> Khan looked at this problem set through a practical lens and made the connection that Sharia can be manipulated by man because it was an interpretation by man. This is why the current world view of Sharia law looks so different across the spectrum of modern Muslim countries. Organizations like the Taliban in Afghanistan held strict standards for personal conduct while Sharia law in places like Tunisia looked more modern and progressive for a Muslim country.<sup>69</sup> Khan and others like him proposed to combine reason with religion in order to create a modern and progressive view of Sharia and Islamic traditions.

Both the traditional and modernist views of Islam have followings and support throughout the Muslim world. The modernist opinion can actually be seen at a disadvantage because it was not a set and established principle in the majority of countries under the Muslim umbrella; however, movements like what was popularly termed as the Arab Spring brought new awareness to the modernist movement.<sup>70</sup> At this point, the idea of progress in the Muslim world can easily shift with the majority in one way or the other; however, it does not appear that secularists or modernists will be the dominant view in the future. According to Abushouk, the rise of liberal democracies in places like Egypt is obstructed by the Islamic values that foster submission to authority

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>69</sup> Michael J. Totten, "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?," *World Affairs Journal*, December 3, 2012, 1, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215626>.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 1.

and the absence of cultural prerequisites for a democracy.<sup>71</sup> A rise in democracy alone may still place Islamic countries at odds with the liberal values and interests of the US.

Equality in the Muslim world is another interesting topic to consider when attempting to understand the culture and the methods of governance that follow. Equality is not a theme that is stressed by any Islamic nation when compared to the United States or any other Western society. Muslim nations particularly in the Middle East rank very low on the spectrum of women's rights and freedom of speech when compared at a global level.<sup>72</sup> Many Muslim countries are also known for oppression of freedom and equality by actively seeking out and hunting down the minority view or ethnicity. In Syria, the ruling Alawite minority rules the country with an iron fist and suppresses the majority due to a real fear that they will be wiped out if the majority ever took control. The situation in Syria is a rare occurrence in the Muslim community.<sup>73</sup> Usually, it is the minority that is oppressed through various methods of subjugation and violence. This is epitomized by places like Iraq and Afghanistan. In Iraq, under the rule of Saddam Hussein, the Sunni ruling party oppressed people with the Shite view of Islam as well as the Kurdish ethnic minority.<sup>74</sup> After the U.S. led invasion and subsequent turnover of power in the country, the Shite took control and began a similar method of oppression

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<sup>71</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

<sup>72</sup> Michael J. Totten, "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?," *World Affairs Journal*, December 3, 2012, 1, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215626>.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> "Life Under Saddam Hussein: Past Repression and Atrocities by Saddam Hussein's Regime," *Office of the White House Press Secretary*, April 4, 2003, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/nea/rls/19675.htm>.

against the Sunni view of Islam.<sup>75</sup> In this particular country, equality was not something that was stressed under the rule of either Islamic party. Afghanistan is another example that had similarities with Iraq, but it was a country with distinct differences in the way that oppression occurred. Afghanistan's Taliban movement brought with it a strict set of laws that were derived from Sharia law. This did not create a situation of equality or freedom, but instead, subjugated the population to endure a strict dress code and an oppressive religious lifestyle that was free from expression. This movement actively stifled women's rights and the freedom of speech.<sup>76</sup> The lack of the existence of equality in these countries can be traced to the understanding of Sharia law.

Qutb was one of many Islamist scholars who interpreted that Islam should be resistant to anything that was seen or perceived as passive resistance or active aggression against God. He actually wrote revolutionary statements claiming that Muslims had the God-given right to step forward and take control of the political authority if it showed a weak stance in support of Sharia.<sup>77</sup> Along with the views of Qutb, the majority of Muslim extremist groups can be categorized as violent hate groups. In the writings that were published by Al Qaeda, the organization identified America and its citizens as targets due

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<sup>75</sup> Patrick Cockburn, "The Shia are in power in Iraq – but not in control," *Independent*, March 6, 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/the-shia-are-in-power-in-iraq-but-not-in-control-8523280.html>.

<sup>76</sup> Zachary Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan," *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 4, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/afghanistan/taliban-afghanistan/p10551>.

<sup>77</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 4 Jihaad in the Cause of God," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 17, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215666>.

to the support that they gave to Israel.<sup>78</sup> Considering the lack of equality in the Muslim world, it is interesting to have witnessed a movement like the “Arab Spring” where citizens of Muslim countries conducted protests in order to demand something akin to equality. These organized protests across the Islamic world held the common theme of a demand for more democratic processes for governance and a need for equality among the citizenry. These demands met with measured success for instituting democratic processes in places like Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately for U.S. strategic interests, these revolutions did not wholly result in liberal democracies. Places like Egypt remain with limited competition and continued restriction on civil liberties for all of its citizens.<sup>80</sup>

#### West versus East: A Comparison

The United States made a gross miscalculation of the universality of liberal values when entering into conflict in the Islamic world. In order to understand an armed conflict and form a coherent strategy, a nation, as a whole, must know itself, know its enemy, and know the environment in which it is about to enter in order to operate. As a nation, the U.S. failed to some degree in every one of these measures of effectiveness. There was a lack of consideration for the differences that could have been observed in how these differing cultures view religion, equality, and progress. These observations were necessary in order to either win in an armed conflict against Muslim extremists, or assist

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<sup>78</sup> Raymond Ibrahim editor, *The Al Qaeda Reader* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 12, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=M065322860X&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215639>.

<sup>79</sup> Michael J. Totten, “Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?,” *World Affairs Journal*, December 3, 2012, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215626>.

<sup>80</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, “The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?,” *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

the leadership of the United States in making the determination not to pursue such a grand measure of building a liberal democracy in unknown territory. These key comparisons are vital to understanding what went wrong and what America can do to avoid such a situation in the future of armed conflict among Islamic nations in the Middle East and abroad.

The differences in comparing the impact and integration of religion in governance is the largest contrast between Islamic societies and the liberal, secular view of America, which was largely adopted from the Enlightenment period. The United States largely turned into a secular society that stressed the separation of church and state. This secularization of governance and society is currently moving the population of the United States further away from Christian and religious values in government. This can be seen in the current legislation at the state and federal level removing religious icons from government property such as courthouses and legislative buildings. It is also displayed in current legislation favoring individual rights over religious rights like in the case of the baker in Colorado that refused service to a gay couple.<sup>81</sup> Conversely, Islamic societies are so deep-rooted in their religion that it affects every aspect of governance and daily life.

The ideas behind Islamic governance actively seek to eliminate human kingship in order to establish a rule by God through Sharia law. According to Qutb, all other societies beside the Islamic society is seen as backward and degenerative.<sup>82</sup> Conflict is

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<sup>81</sup> Cristian Farias, "Colorado Court Says Bakery Discriminated Against Gay Couple By Refusing to Make Wedding Cake," *Huffington Post*, August 13, 2015, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/jack-phillips-gay-wedding-cake\\_us\\_55ccb488e4b0cacb8d331dd7](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/jack-phillips-gay-wedding-cake_us_55ccb488e4b0cacb8d331dd7).

<sup>82</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 7 Islam is the Real Civilization," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 2, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215667>.

created when there is an absence of tolerance among neighboring civilizations. Although democracy was recently adopted in some Islamic countries, the idea was adopted apart from the liberal values of the West.<sup>83</sup> Even Islamic modernists like Khan agreed that liberalism was negatively associated with the West as it was seen as counter to Islamic ideology.<sup>84</sup>

It is altogether another issue that both societies, the American and the Islamic, both believe that their respective forms of governance are universal. This pits these two ideologies in direct conflict with each other and can only lead to conflict. The United States failed to recognize the differences in the application of religion in an Islamic society. It was currently displayed by the U.S. assisted government of Afghanistan. In a society that embraces Sharia in all aspects of life, the U.S. led coalition of Western powers established a secular form of government that mirrored the American system of governance. It included the three heads of government as part of a checks and balances system in the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.<sup>85</sup> Much like Khan and other influential writers of the Islamic society have published, secular and liberal forms of government are still seen as a foreign and invasive style of governance that is contrary to Muslim ideals. This is why the government is rejected by the majority of the citizens of Afghanistan. The

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<sup>83</sup> Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *City University of New York*, January 2, 2012, <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/cuny/cp/2012/00000044/00000002/art00002>.

<sup>84</sup> M.A. Muqtedar Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse Theory, Debates, and Philosophical Perspectives* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2006), 152, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215659>.

<sup>85</sup> "The World Factbook South Asia:: Afghanistan," *cia.gov*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>.

government's span of influence is currently limited to within the city limits of Kabul.<sup>86</sup> The ineffective government setup can be attributed to the failure of the United States to understand the religious factor in Islamic governance. The belief that that reason over religion is a universal concept still negatively effects our foreign policy and strategy overseas.

The contrary concept of progress in the Muslim world was another aspect of the Islamic society that was not considered by America when it entered into armed conflict. It was vastly different from the American drive for progress. The history of the United States has been rich in innovation in everything from science and technology to governance. The liberal democracy that was the current mode of governance in America can also be seen as a form of progress because of the lineage that can be traced back to monarchies and aristocracies in Europe. In a sense, the United States evolved into a form of secular governance that facilitated providing the people with a voice through representation for both the legislative and executive branches of government. This form of progress was seen as a positive accomplishment that perpetuated the popular ideologies that were drawn from the Enlightenment movement.

In contrast to this view, progress in the Muslim world was defined by an end to human kingship and a rise to a rule by God.<sup>87</sup> This was determined by the strictest codes that were derived from Sharia law. To many thinkers of the Enlightenment, this idea of

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<sup>86</sup> Charles L. Barry and Samuel R. Greene, "What Democracy for Afghanistan? An Analysis Utilizing Established Norms and Five Non-Western Case Studies," *Center for Technology and National Security Policy National Defense University*, September 2009, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a507806.pdf>.

<sup>87</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 4 Jihaad in the Cause of God," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 4, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215666>.

creating a rule by God would actually be seen as regression in society. The strict definition of jihad was one of the reasons why the establishment of a liberal, secular democracy failed in Iraq and continues to fail in places like Afghanistan and Egypt. It was also rejected as a result of the Muslim world's past history with the West following World War I.<sup>88</sup> Due to the perception of the West being invasive and counter to Islamic fundamentals, any idea that was derived from the West was also rejected and considered as something that was against God. Although the Islamic world preached about the benefits and requirements for progress, the definition of the term was far different from the description of progress in American society.

Equality was another aspect that was far different in comparison between the Eastern and the Western styles of thought, particularly when comparing the United States to the Muslim world. The government of the United States was founded on the principles of equality. The initial rocky birth of the country during the American Revolution can be traced back to revolutionary thoughts that were published in the *Declaration of Independence*. The movement was characterized by the quote that was directly drawn from the document that was inspired by the Enlightenment thinkers, "... that all men are created equal..."<sup>89</sup> It was debated in the past as to whether this statement was published in order to be made applicable to people of different color or gender, with the most famous debates concerning this issue being centered around the Lincoln-Douglas debates;

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<sup>88</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Foundations of Islamic politics.mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course\\_id= 102568\\_1&content\\_id = 2860200\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id= 102568_1&content_id = 2860200_1).

<sup>89</sup> "Declaration of Independence," *archives.gov*, July 4, 1776, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

however, this key statement has transformed in the American culture to mean something that is universal and not just limited to the United States.

Until recently, this type of revolutionary movement did not occur in order to create a more equal institution for the people in the Islamic world. Life in these countries, specifically in the Middle East, could be described as the opposite of freedom. From Syria to Iraq prior to 2002, the Middle East was known to be an area that did not have positive assessments on the topics of women's rights, freedom of speech and press, and the protection of minorities.<sup>90</sup> Fundamentalist Islam and jihad taught that their faith was superior to the faith of Christians and Jews.<sup>91</sup> This has encouraged violent movements and the rise of extremist groups in the region that specifically target Western powers and the Jewish nation of Israel. Discrimination went further in Muslim countries to include suppressing the rights of women and religious minorities so that they had little input on the outcomes of their own lives. For the most part, many of these countries outlawed women from being educated, voting, and seeking divorce from abusive relationships.<sup>92</sup> In addition, the freedom of press and speech was also not a protected right in the majority of these countries. Some of these countries ranked among the lowest in the world in respect to this aspect of equality.<sup>93</sup> The recent uprisings in 2011 gave the world an interesting

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<sup>90</sup> Yasmine Ryan, "How Tunisia's revolution began," *Aljazeera*, January 26, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/01/2011126121815985483.html>.

<sup>91</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 140, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215660>.

<sup>92</sup> Caitlin Dewey, "7 ridiculous restrictions on women's rights around the world," *The Washington Post*, October 27, 2013, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2013/10/27/7-ridiculous-restrictions-on-womens-rights-around-the-world/>.

<sup>93</sup> "Freedom of the Press: in the Middle East, widely curtailed and often violated," *United Nations Officer of the High Commissioner*, May 3, 2012, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/FreedomofthePressintheMiddleEast.aspx>.

perspective into the lives of the people who inhabit Islamic nations. The Arab Spring gave some credence to the idea that equality was not only an American or Western concept; however, the continued lack of civil liberties in nations like Egypt quickly countered the argument and perpetuated the view that Islamist views do not include equality for all mankind. It appeared that, much like Khan's argument in his published writings, the Islamic world may seek to become more progressive in order to gain more individual freedom, but Islam was still distrustful of the West and the foundational constructs of the liberal democracy.

### Assessment and Analysis

The United States lost the battle of ideologies in the Middle East because it failed to recognize the existence of real cultural differences. The understanding of how the separate societies of the East and West interpret topics such as religion in politics, progress, and equality is vital in order to achieve peaceful relations. The specifics of the current democracy experiment in the Middle East displays the critical role cultural analysis plays in relation to the integration of liberal ideology. In Iraq, free democratic elections were facilitated apart from the liberal principle of equality. As a result, the election brought forth the rise of another oppressive government that actively sought to suppress the rights of minorities.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, in Afghanistan, the United States used what was originally believed to be the universal principle of equality through the institution of free democratic elections in order to establish governance throughout the country.

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<sup>94</sup> Patrick Cockburn, "The Shia are in power in Iraq – but not in control," *Independent*, March 6, 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/the-shia-are-in-power-in-iraq-but-not-in-control-8523280.html>.

Unfortunately, the ethnically balanced democracy can currently only demonstrate power within the city of Kabul due to rampant corruption and the idea that it is a puppet of the U.S. government.<sup>95</sup> Egypt is yet another example of an Islamic country who rejected liberal concepts of governance in their democratic elections. After the seemingly liberal revolution of the Arab Spring, the majority of Egypt chose to be ruled by Islamist organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood and other Salafist administrations.<sup>96</sup> As a country, the U.S. failed to recognize that Islamic societies are ideologically and culturally different from American society. Our incorrect assumptions that democracy has one liberal categorical application is a historical occurrence that will continue to haunt us for future generations.

Many of the foreign relation short comings in the Middle East occurred due to our interventionist stance for overall societal change. In the specific example of Islamic fundamentalist groups, each organization traced their origins to a moment in history when forces representing Western powers conducted themselves in ignorance of the Islamic way of life. The antagonist in these types of operations, the United States and its Western allies, must always look forward from the present day in order to determine the consequences of actions or inactions based off of misjudgment or misinformation. The rise of extremist organizations such as Hamas, Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and ISIS could have been predicted based off of historical analysis and the in-depth examination of the

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<sup>95</sup> Kenneth Katzman, "Afghan Governing Capacity and Performance," *Congressional Research Service*, 2011, <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=a64753d9-709c-4a08-b741-caf2a7dfbec%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#db=tsh&AN=69693209>, 32-34.

<sup>96</sup> Fouad Ajami, "The Arab Spring at One A Year of Living Dangerously," *HeinOnline*, 2012, <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora91&div=30&id=&page=>.

Islamic culture. Based off of the contrasts in the Islamic community of religion in politics and equality, the rise of ISIS was an inevitability due to the oppression that was occurring at the hands of the Iraqi government and the lack of trust that the population had with politics due to U.S. influences. The weakened support for the government allowed the opposition to grow, and having many revolutionary Islamic ideas to draw from, created a situation for violence to occur toward minority groups that did not hold the same faith or ethnicity as the majority view. In order to combat and prevent these extremist groups in the future, it is also important for Western powers to also understand the origins of their thought processes when applying foreign policy. The Enlightenment era and French Revolution brought about very different and contrasting ideas than our neighbors in the Middle East. The Western belief that liberal ideals are universal and the subsequent proselytizing that follows may have detrimental effects on the future of security cooperation with Islamic countries.

The solution to our current civilizational problem with Islamic fundamentalism already exists within the structure of foreign Middle East relations. Since 1933, the U.S. maintained steady associations with Saudi Arabia based solely off of interests. Although the government structure was an Islamic monarchy, the U.S. interacted with the Saudi government for economic purposes alone.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, the realist international logic of association based off of interests occurred even during the Cold War era when Saudi Arabia maintained one of the worst human rights records in the world.<sup>98</sup> Unlike our

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<sup>97</sup> Bradley J. Bowman, "Realism and Idealism: US Policy toward Saudi Arabia from the Cold War to Today," *US Army War College*, 2006, <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA490797>, 90-92.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

interventionist activities in places like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Egypt in the present day, Saudi Arabia was never pressured to change because of the existing belief that it would damage U.S. economic interests.<sup>99</sup> The existing relationship with Saudi Arabia challenges the conventional belief of cosmopolitanism and the need to intervene in other cultures to provide a secure world for U.S. interests. Operating within the parameters of a realist global strategy would greatly alleviate financial burdens of defense and diplomacy within the Middle East. This view provides a viable solution to the existing clash of civilizations and our seemingly endless conflict with Islamic fundamentalism. Instead of a war on ideologies, the U.S. should posture itself for financial and positional advantage within a realist framework of international relations.

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 95.

### **Chapter III: THE ORIGINS OF THE STRATEGIC US-CHINA RELATIONSHIP**

The nationalism ideologies of America and China are so diametrically opposed that they will continue to be locked in conflict into the future. In order to begin to understand the scope of this enduring problem, it is important to recognize the path that each ideology took to develop into what it is in the present day. The study of the past, in both American and Chinese history, reveals significant indicators for why these two ideologies seem to always be in contention. The United States and its ideals of global exceptionalism trace its roots back to the founding of the nation and the various philosophies and conflicts that helped to shape it. It is something that is deeply integrated with individualism and principles that were derived from the Christian faith in being a chosen people of the New World. Although American exceptionalism is something that has changed since the founding of the nation, the influences from the past are still prevalent in the current ideology. On the contrary, China is an older society that originally had an initial spark of nationalistic feelings as a result of Western influence. The spread of British power during the colonial era helped to shape negative feelings and a deep seated distrust of the West that still persists in the present day. The single most influential aspect of unifying the once fractured Chinese nation into one voice was the imperialistic aspirations of the world powers during the nineteenth century. The overreach that was committed against China concerning Western influence, combined with the ancient existing culture of collectivism, created a scenario that was ripe for the rise of strong and expansionistic nationalist rhetoric. The historical lineages and transforming ideologies of these two current world powers help to expand our outlook of the polar opposite viewpoints of American exceptionalism and Chinese nationalism.

## Framework of Analysis: Cultural and Historical Conflict

This chapter will argue that another major conflict of interest exists between the Chinese society and the United States in particular. Conflicts arise due to ingrained differences that result from cultures, history, and national origin.<sup>100</sup> American exceptionalism and the drive to spread liberal values throughout the world stand directly at odds with Chinese sentiment which has grown from a history of oppression from the West. The fundamental tenets of liberal values which argue for equality, progress, and secular governance<sup>101</sup> may sound easily digestible to those in the West, but Eastern thought, which is heavily influenced by a collective mindset, tends to reject these principles. The exploration into the reasons behind China's wanton rejection of liberal values can be traced back to the formation of a culture molded under Confucianism. As a result, this conflict can be described at the most basic levels of each society's cultural origins and provides another example that refutes many scholars who describe a future world of either one cosmopolitan society<sup>102</sup> or the onset of a liberal world order.<sup>103</sup> Due to the internal cultural conflict between both societies, it would be very difficult to avoid clashes in the future due to misunderstandings or misaligned interests. Foreign policy that promotes a future world that prescribes to one universal liberal values system<sup>104</sup> may not

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<sup>100</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 29.

<sup>101</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Have We Reached the End of History?* (Santa Monica, California: The RAND Corporation, 1989), 4-8.

<sup>102</sup> Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilization A Peace Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Henrik Schmiegelow (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 10-12.

<sup>103</sup> David Held, *Cosmopolitanism Ideals and Realities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010), 84-92.

<sup>104</sup> Barack Obama, "National Security Strategy," *National Archive*, February 2015, <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>, 4.

be feasible or sustainable. The conflict with Chinese culture poses a multi-faceted problem that requires a deeper understanding and knowledge of what makes the country, its culture, and its people function as a threat society to the American national interest. The knowledge of both national origin stories may reveal that the solution is hidden more in diplomacy than overt military action.

### America: A City on a Hill

The development of a distinct American culture was a unique process with current global ramifications. It was an important concept because the effects of American exceptionalism were felt in the far reaches of the globe and in every major conflict zone throughout modern history. It was also important to realize the specific processes that created this mentality by tracing the origins of this idea to the original founding of the country, and by observing the events that helped to shape and transform it into modernity. This was the reason why American exceptionalism has such distinctive notes of Christianity and the need to proselytize the U.S. brand of liberal ideology. With the ideas of Christianity and liberalism, the U.S. recognized itself as a shining example for the rest of the world very early during its inception. In this manner, America became a symbol of freedom and individual liberty in conjunction with becoming a country. It took a significant amount of time for the country to realize its potential on the world stage and the self-imposed responsibility that it would have to endure in propagating the message of progress, but the enlightenment of such facts still affect U.S. foreign policy today. American exceptionalism as a dominant ideology initially began with Puritan emigration to the American colonies; it was further transformed through the American Revolution and the adoption of the concept of Manifest Destiny.

American exceptionalism is a peculiar ideology that traces its roots back to the time of Puritan emigration and Christian inculcation into early colonial society. The Puritans had several reasons for leaving their ancestral homeland of England to venture into the unknown and often dangerous New World during the 1600s. These reasons included a state of religious decay in Europe and the ability to proselytize the gospel in America.<sup>105</sup> Prominent figures such as John Winthrop and William Bradford cited these circumstances to move into the unknown. The beginnings of American exceptionalism were seen in the writings and philosophies of these two men concerning the importance of their mission.

William Bradford, one of the founders of the Plymouth Colony, continually described the movement of Puritans as a Christian mission that consisted of a group of true keepers of the faith that were moving to begin God's work.<sup>106</sup> This created the effect of raising a special people to answer God's calling to move to America in order to fulfill His will. In this manner, the ideology of exceptionalism was allowed to gain a critical foothold in the New World through Puritan influence. They were viewed as God's pathfinders in the New World for his chosen people.<sup>107</sup> This type of religious language was echoed by John Winthrop with his statements in *Christian Charity* when he referred to all of the British colonies in America as a collective city on a hill.<sup>108</sup> He also made

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<sup>105</sup> Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop America's Forgotten Founding Father* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 157.

<sup>106</sup> John Adair, *Founding Fathers The Puritans in England and America* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), 117-118.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>108</sup> John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity (1630)," *Hanover Historical Texts Project*, August 1996, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>.

comparisons to the colonists as being of a special breed of citizen that were blessed by God by comparing them to the Biblical references of the children of Israel.<sup>109</sup> In identifying his statements with the American Colonies as a whole, John Winthrop effectively described an American brand of Christianity that Tocqueville referred to as a Christianity that was democratic and republican.<sup>110</sup> This brand of Christianity set the conditions for a people that were used to a monarchical style of government, and who were historically uncomfortable with the idea of a republic, to eventually embrace the concept as a distinctive American notion.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to the Puritan Christian ideology that fed American exceptionalism origins, the conditions of the Old World were also a factor in providing a perspective of America as a land of opportunity. While the Puritans were emigrating, the conditions of the Old World included political struggle, a general lack of economic opportunities, and conflict over religious influence.<sup>112</sup> These conditions propagated the notion of America as a safe haven and continued to feed John Winthrop's ideology of the country being a shining city on a hill where "the eyes of the world were upon us."<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> John Adair, *Founding Fathers The Puritans in England and America* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), 117-166.

<sup>110</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Harvey C. Mansfield, Delba Winthrop, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 275.

<sup>111</sup> Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop America's Forgotten Founding Father* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182-183.

<sup>112</sup> John Adair, *Founding Fathers The Puritans in England and America* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), 117-179.

<sup>113</sup> John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity (1630)," *Hanover Historical Texts Project*, August 1996, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>.

These feelings of American exceptionalism were still prevalent during the American Revolution, but the ideology began to change to something more secular while still maintaining large amounts of Christian influences. The shift in ideology from loyalty to rebellion as a means of independence occurred rather rapidly, and was partially due to British influence in feeding exceptionalism philosophy. As a compilation of colonies, America was dependent on its hereditary and political master to provide economic stability and necessary military intervention. With the exchange of these vital aspects of colonial life, individual colonists, who identified as British, gave their undying loyalty to crown and country. The initial rift between the American colonies and England occurred shortly after the French and Indian War.<sup>114</sup> England became bitter at the fact that they had to expend an extensive amount of resources to come to the aid of the American colonies while it was perceived that Americans lived in relative isolation from the cruelties of the rest of the world. In stark contrast, England's decisive response to attacks on the colonies raised additional loyalty among its subjects and fed a feeling of importance among colonials.<sup>115</sup> The undying loyalties of the colonies did not begin to subside until the British, in their disgruntled state, began to impose taxes and stringent controls on local governance.<sup>116</sup>

The draconian taxation systems that were placed on the colonies showed a special lack of awareness of how unique the colonies were compared to England. In the colonies, widespread property ownership and the early separation of religion from governance

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<sup>114</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Understanding the American Revolution Issues and Actors* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1995), 54-56.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

gave the American colonials a vastly different way of life compared to their British counterparts.<sup>117</sup> The misunderstandings that resulted from impositions from England led to anti-British sentiment among wealthy landowning colonials.<sup>118</sup> American founding fathers such as Jefferson felt frustrations from England not recognizing a natural cadre of leadership that was beginning to rise in the colonies.<sup>119</sup> As a result of feelings of being slighted by the British crown, the movement of the American Revolution began. Exceptionalism was displayed during this time from documents such as the Declaration of Independence. The early writings of the founding fathers, much like the Puritans, displayed notes of the importance of the mission as a calling from a higher authority.<sup>120</sup> The Declaration of Independence specifically mentioned the universality of concepts such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.<sup>121</sup> It also described the conditions of a higher power that assigned these universal rights for a future independent society in America. The writings of the founding fathers referred to independence as a righteous endeavor seeking out self-evident rights that made America special.

The divine nature of universal truths that were established through the American Revolution further developed and revealed themselves in the form of an idea called Manifest Destiny. This idea had elements of John Winthrop's argument that Americans

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>119</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 180-181.

<sup>120</sup> Hugh F. Rankin, *The American Revolution* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1964), 79.

<sup>121</sup> "Declaration of Independence," *archives.gov*, accessed July 2016, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

were a chosen people placed in exceptional conditions according to divine right. The original ideology of Manifest Destiny was proposed by John O’Sullivan when he described America as a nation of progress and individual freedom. He further described the country as a society that was destined to be the great nation of the future.<sup>122</sup> Lincoln was also an advocate for Manifest Destiny as a requirement for holding the nation together during a time of Civil War. His Inaugural Address in 1861 highlighted aspects of this concept by specifying the language in the Constitution that addressed the United States as “a more perfect union.”<sup>123</sup> He also mentioned that America was a favored land and that it was able to work through difficulties as a result.<sup>124</sup> Although these statements showed signs of the special qualities of the nation, there was arguably no greater statement made that described American exceptionalism than Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address.<sup>125</sup> His closing statement epitomized Manifest Destiny when he stated, “A government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth...”<sup>126</sup> It was the persistent feelings of divine right and geographical predestination that translated Manifest Destiny into expansion to the western territories of the United States.

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<sup>122</sup> John L. O’Sullivan, “John L. O’Sullivan on Manifest Destiny, 1839,” *mtholyoke.edu*, accessed July 2016, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm>.

<sup>123</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “First Inaugural Address, March 1861,” in *The Nationalism Reader*, ed. Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books, 1995), 287.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>125</sup> Robert W. Johannsen, “The Meaning of Manifest Destiny,” in *Manifest Destiny and Empire American Antebellum Expansionism*, ed. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 18.

<sup>126</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “Gettysburg Address,” *teachingamericanhistory.org*, November 19, 1863, accessed July 2016, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/gettysburg-address/>.

The concept of divine right, as defined by Americans during that time, was an idea similar to the notion of the Promised Land of Israel. Americans viewed the territory to the west of the original colonies as something that God intended for them.<sup>127</sup> This was accurately captured as early as 1779 with a letter from James Lovell to Horatio Gates that mentioned that the land to the west was something that God intended for the country.<sup>128</sup> The idea was also captured by influential politicians such as John Quincy Adams who compared America to a successful Roman Empire.<sup>129</sup> The other aspect of Manifest Destiny that drove American expansionism was geographical predestination. The belief in geographical predestination described a right of a nation to claim territory within its natural borders.<sup>130</sup> Originally, American interests assigned these natural borders to extend south to Florida and west to the Mississippi River; however, after the Louisiana Purchase, this broad concept of Manifest Destiny combined itself with elements of divine right and the desire for national glory to extend its natural borders to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>131</sup> Strangely, the concept of expansion through the justification of Manifest Destiny ran counter to the secular principles of equality and the right of self-determination.

Naturally, the American people found that they were forcefully inhabiting and taking lands that belonged to the native population. This expansion characterized

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<sup>127</sup> Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), 14-15.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>129</sup> John Quincy Adams, "Speech on Independence Day," *teachingamericanhistory.org*, July 4, 1821, accessed July 2016, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-independence-day/>.

<sup>130</sup> Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), 43.

<sup>131</sup> Charles Wilkes, "Commercial Destiny in the Pacific," in *Manifest Destiny*, ed. Norman A. Graebner (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1968), 35-37.

American exceptionalism up until the time of the World Wars. As a nation that was prescribed by God according to the original Puritan sentiment, America saw the westward land as a domestic affair that transcended the negative aspects of subjugation in order to rightfully claim what was theirs and create a buffer zone for national security.<sup>132</sup> Once the territory was theirs, America prescribed to isolation and the development of regional hegemony in the western hemisphere.

The ending of World War I and the leadership of Woodrow Wilson brought American exceptionalism to the world stage. America was largely forced to shift from policies of isolationism to that of interventionism due to rapidly expanding power and the gradual collapse of the international system based on the European model.<sup>133</sup> America's expansion of power was inevitable due to the rapid growth of the population and consumption of energy. Between the civil war and the turn of the century, American coal production spiked to record levels and the immigration doubled the population of the country. Additionally, American energy consumption during this time hit a record high that encompassed more total energy consumed than the leading global powers of the era combined.<sup>134</sup> With the inevitable fact that America had to be involved in world affairs, Woodrow Wilson took on an American exceptionalism perspective of proselytizing the universal principles of democracy to the world.<sup>135</sup> The spread of democracy as a messianic duty of American exceptionalism was not a new concept at the turn of the

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<sup>132</sup> Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963), 17-19.

<sup>133</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 29.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

century. Prior to Woodrow Wilson, the idea was published in the *Democratic Review* of March 1840 claiming that democracy was the last best revelation of human thought.<sup>136</sup>

Wilson took this belief to the international environment when he addressed the joint session of Congress in 1918. In his address, he mentioned several ideas associated with American exceptionalism including spreading American liberal ideals as universal, defining what is humane and honorable in national conduct, and even identifying and adjusting international borders in order to promote peace in the region of Europe.<sup>137</sup>

Woodrow Wilson emphasized the universality of American values as something that was sacred enough to devote the lives of its citizens toward. This transformation of Manifest Destiny was brought forward through the ages as the defining element of U.S. foreign policy.<sup>138</sup> Fundamentals of this version of Manifest Destiny are still in use today and can be observed in how America uses its military forces globally.

American exceptionalism was firmly established as a global presence because of Puritan influences, independence rhetoric during the American Revolution, and the adoption of Manifest Destiny as an enduring ideology. The Puritans' contributed to the special rhetoric of being a chosen people in a chosen land much like the Israelites of Biblical times. This rhetoric fed into the concepts of independence during the American Revolution when the founding fathers recognized God-given rights that all men were endowed with. They began to focus the idea of American exceptionalism into a force for

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<sup>136</sup> "Democracy must finally reign," in *Manifest Destiny*, ed. Norman A. Graebner (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1968), 23.

<sup>137</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Conditions of Peace," *The American Presidency Project*, January 8, 1918, accessed July 2016, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65405>.

<sup>138</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 46.

humanity, equality, and individual liberty which endured into the future. Following the American Revolution, the events of the decline of European influence and the rise of American power set the conditions for the localized exceptionalism message of the American people to spread throughout the globe. The concept of manifest destiny, which was initially used to expand U.S. territory, transformed into foreign policy during the Wilson administration and forever changed the international posture of America. The ideals of spreading democracy and the universality of liberty, which are used by present day administrations,<sup>139</sup> originated from the expanded elements of Manifest Destiny.

### The Yin to the American Yang

Chinese nationalism is a unique ideology that was bred by both external factors in the fires of revolution during the colonial era and through internal influences with the existing cultural focus on Confucianism. The problem of nationalism in China is exceptional in the fact that the complexities of the issue encompass ideas of foreign influence and existing Chinese cultural roots. It is not a simplistic problem that can be narrowed down to a single variable. The external factors involve the imperialistic overreach of many of the global powers during the nineteenth century. The negative aspects of colonialism and abuse by external powers were a major contributor to the rise of nationalistic feelings in China. This was similar in nature to the German ideology after World War I, which claimed that a once glorious people unfairly felt the bitter embarrassment of defeat and subjugation.<sup>140</sup> This only encouraged the nationalistic

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<sup>139</sup> Martin Dempsey, "The National Military Strategy of the United States of America 2015," *Joint Chiefs of Staff*, June 2015, [http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Publications/2015\\_National\\_Military\\_Strategy.pdf](http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Publications/2015_National_Military_Strategy.pdf), 5.

<sup>140</sup> David Kaiser, "Treaty of Versailles," *The Reader's Companion to Military History*, 1996, <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/treaty-of-versailles>.

feelings within the Chinese people that laid dormant in the collectivist culture that was influenced by elements of Confucianism. The collectivist culture of the Chinese people, with the focus on the larger whole rather than the success of one individual, set the conditions for the nation to unite in one voice. The key element that the imperialistic nations of the time contributed to the cause of nationalism was uniting the entire ethnic population against a common enemy. This combination of factors successfully mobilized an entire nation and pushed it toward the path of developing a strong nationalistic ideology. The roots of the nationalistic ideology in China can be traced back to former conflicts with Western powers and existing East Asian neighbors; these conflicts effectively unlocked the underlying potential within the existing Chinese culture.

The earliest conflict with Western powers that sparked the beginnings of Chinese nationalism was the First and Second Opium Wars during 1839 and 1857 respectively.<sup>141</sup> The British were China's major European trade partner during this time. The main issue that England had with Chinese economic trade was the fact that, while the British were very interested in Chinese goods, the Chinese showed an equal amount of disinterest toward European goods. In order to counter these feelings in China, the British introduced cheap opium into the Chinese marketplace.<sup>142</sup> This addictive drug became England's chief export to China, and it kept the large European power in possession of a very strong foothold in the Middle Kingdom. With the level of addiction running rampant in his kingdom, the Emperor of China issued a ban on the substance which subsequently

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<sup>141</sup> Philip V. Allingham, "England and China: The Opium Wars, 1839-60," *Victorian Web*, 2006, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/opiumwars/opiumwars1.html>.

<sup>142</sup> Roger R. Thompson, "Military Dimensions of the 'Boxer Uprising' in Shanxi, 1898-1901," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 289.

was a contributing factor to the start of the First Opium War. In 1839, a special emissary from the Chinese Emperor began to strictly enforce the Emperor's ban on opium by arresting foreign merchants and confiscating large quantities of opium.<sup>143</sup> This act officially began the First Opium War. Unfortunately for the Chinese, they were significantly outmatched by the British who were much more technologically advanced and tactically savvy. The first war was over within a few years in 1842.<sup>144</sup>

The strategic defeat during the First Opium War marked the beginning of Chinese embarrassment in defeat. The British began adding insult to injury by forcing the Chinese to sign several unequal agreements that included relinquishing control of Hong Kong, opening several additional ports for trade with the British, requiring millions of dollars to be paid in reparations, and giving England favored nation status in terms of international trade.<sup>145</sup> The level of subjugation and embarrassment was on par with Germany's Treaty of Versailles when they were forced to relinquish portions of their sovereign territory and agree to monetary penalties.<sup>146</sup> The abuses that China had to endure during this time period made the people suspicious of Western authority. It also gave the people their first reason to unify against a known enemy through nationalistic ideology.

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<sup>143</sup> Philip V. Allingham, "England and China: The Opium Wars, 1839-60," *Victorian Web*, 2006, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/opiumwars/opiumwars1.html>.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> "The Opening to China Part II: the Second Opium War, the United States, and the Treaty of Tianjin, 1857-1859," *Office of the Historian United States Department of State*, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/china-2>.

<sup>146</sup> David Kaiser, "Treaty of Versailles," *The Reader's Companion to Military History*, 1996, <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/treaty-of-versailles>.

The First Opium War was reason enough to create strong animosity against the West, but the Second Opium War in 1857 further solidified a hatred that continues to propagate itself even to the present day. The Second Opium War occurred due to the combination of overreach of the British using their favored nation status and the Chinese continuing to rebuff Western influence on their society.<sup>147</sup> The British justified the Second Opium War due to the Chinese refusal to meet some of the agreements that they had previously signed decades prior during the First Opium War. During this conflict, several Western nations including France, the United States, and Russia entered into coalition operations for their own interests.<sup>148</sup> Upon conclusion of the fighting, China was forced to sign treaties with the Western nations that were involved. Many of the stipulations of the treaty granted the Western nations certain privileges including unlimited access into the interior of China, establishment of embassies in Beijing, and low tariffs on imported goods.<sup>149</sup>

The treaty that ended the Second Opium War effectively placed the entire territory of China under Western rule and created a large multinational colony out of the sovereign nation. The Emperor was no longer in control of his own country; he was only a puppet governor that benefitted off of Western commerce. This action further embarrassed the Chinese and was a contributing factor to the Emperor's loss of legitimacy with the population. The two Opium Wars marked the first time in history that

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<sup>147</sup> Philip V. Allingham, "England and China: The Opium Wars, 1839-60," *Victorian Web*, 2006, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/opiumwars/opiumwars1.html>.

<sup>148</sup> "The Opening to China Part II: the Second Opium War, the United States, and the Treaty of Tianjin, 1857-1859," *Office of the Historian United States Department of State*, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/china-2>.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

the legend of Chinese military might was tested against a foreign invading power from the West. The losses that China had to endure forced the population to rapidly re-engineer their definition of strength. The shock that the people of China felt was even more intense when Western powers took advantage of the situation in order to reap benefits through subjugation. The resulting indignation from the indigenous population quickly spread into a movement that was nostalgic for a return to national strength.

The Opium Wars set the conditions for strong anti-Western sentiment and continued growth of nationalism. The Boxer Rebellion, which occurred shortly after the Opium Wars in 1896, characterized the attitudes of the Chinese people toward the established ruling party as well as toward Western authority. The dispute that sparked the rebellion occurred in a mining operation in the Shanxi Province.<sup>150</sup> The clash between Western business interests with their Chinese labor force began to materialize as resources began to run low. The lower yield in the mines meant that the laborers were gradually paid lower wages from their British masters.<sup>151</sup> The insurgency quickly spread throughout China with church burnings and desecration of other western occupied buildings.<sup>152</sup> A coalition of Western nations was called together in 1900. The Western coalition included the United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Britain, Italy, and Russia.<sup>153</sup> The movement was violently and brutishly quelled by an Allied Campaign

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<sup>150</sup> Roger R. Thompson, "Military Dimensions of the 'Boxer Uprising' in Shanxi, 1898-1901," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 289.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 301-303.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>153</sup> Trevor K. Plante, "U.S. Marines in the Boxer Rebellion," *National Archives*, 1999, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/winter/boxer-rebellion-1.html>.

through China that was known for murder, looting, and unlawful seizure of property. The Western powers effectively crushed the rebellion using similar tactics in Beijing.<sup>154</sup> This marked a time when Western powers involved regular citizens that were not a part of a standing army or insurgency.

The specific string of abuses against the civilian population, combined with the nationalist sentiment that was rising due to the Opium Wars, solidified the anti-western stance that was a common theme through generations of power struggles in China. In quelling the violence through brutal methods, Western powers guaranteed that the nostalgic sentiment for a return to power that was developed during the Opium Wars gained prominence among the people of China. The outcome of the rebellion gave the Chinese a strong objective in which to rally and unify the popular feelings of reminiscence. In this way, Western powers had a significant and defining role in encouraging the rise of nationalism in China after the Boxer Rebellion. Evidence of the finality of this conflict are persistent even in today's contemporary Chinese nationalism. In the early 90s, Chinese nationalism was characterized as being focused on anti-American sentiment because certain aspects of the western liberal agenda were seen as imperialistic.<sup>155</sup> This allowed the society to unify under a single banner after the tragedy at Tiananmen Square.

The Opium Wars and the Boxer Rebellion shaped Chinese nationalism to be anti-Western in nature, but conflicts with Japan also assisted in unifying the nation against a

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<sup>154</sup> Roger R. Thompson, "Military Dimensions of the 'Boxer Uprising' in Shanxi, 1898-1901," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 313.

<sup>155</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 94.

common enemy. The Sino-Japanese War in 1931 characterized the Chinese mistrust for its neighbor to the east, and it created additional reasons to rally against an enemy.<sup>156</sup> The Japanese invasion occurred during a very inconvenient time for the Chinese as they were steeped in a civil war. The Communists, which were led by Mao Zedong, were attempting to wrestle power from the Nationalists which were led by Chiang Kaishek.<sup>157</sup> These movements were the first manifestations of the nationalistic sentiment that was incubating during the conflicts with the west. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria and later Shanghai were not categorized as civilized occupations. The Japanese treated the Chinese as less than human and viewed them as something subordinate to themselves. The atrocities that occurred later in the campaign in Nanking resulted in the murder of thousands of Chinese at the hands of Japanese soldiers.<sup>158</sup> The rampant mistreatment of ethnic Chinese shocked the few western observers that remained in the country after the initial invasion while the Japanese plundered the ancient city;<sup>159</sup> however, this attitude that the Japanese maintained was not a new phenomenon.

It was well known in China that Japan was attempting to erase Korean culture through history, language, and education in the 1920s. The Chinese were able to observe Japanese action and treatment of its colony in Korea as a precursor of events to come. Korean citizens were only allowed to speak Japanese and learn Japanese history in

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<sup>156</sup> Hans Van De Ven, "New States of War: Communist and Nationalist Warfare and State Building (1928-1934)," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 395.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

<sup>158</sup> "Nanjing Massacre," *History.com*, <http://www.history.com/topics/nanjing-massacre>.

<sup>159</sup> "Scarred by history: The Rape of Nanjing," *BBC News*, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/223038.stm>.

schools.<sup>160</sup> The fact that Japan thought of themselves as superior to Koreans was common knowledge among the educated Chinese population at the time.<sup>161</sup> It established the beginnings of popular nationalism against the expansion of Japan even as early as the 1920s.<sup>162</sup> The belief that Japanese expansion was evil combined with the eventual loss of territory that resulted from the Sino-Japanese War led to another event in history that challenged the notion of Chinese strength and sovereignty. China viewed Japan as another enemy, but the implications of being invaded by an East Asian neighbor with similar cultures greatly affected China's view of the world. The aggressive actions of the Japanese, both against China and other neighbors such as Korea, began the Chinese nationalist view of the necessity of protection through expansion.<sup>163</sup> In order to combat Japanese and other hostile expansions in the future, China fully adopted a form of nationalism that promoted expansion itself. It was aggressive actions from Japan during the Sino-Japanese war that was the proximate cause to this portion of the Chinese nationalist philosophy. Although ages have passed since then, the ideology of Chinese expansion is something that is still prevalent today. The modern problem of China creating island chains in the South China Sea as well as firmly claiming disputed islands

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<sup>160</sup> Xiaoqun Xu, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China The Chenbao Fukan and the New Culture Era, 1918-1928* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), 138-140.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-137.

<sup>163</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, *Monsoon The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power* (New York: Random House, 2010), 284.

with Japan as sovereign territory<sup>164</sup> can be traced back to the negative ramifications of Japanese Imperialist philosophy during the twentieth century.

The ancient existing culture of China was also a major factor in the rise of nationalistic sentiment in the Middle Kingdom. Confucianism was a widely believed ideological philosophy that involved strong elements of collectivism. These ideals of collectivism were integrated into every facets of ancient China prior to the arrival of Western powers.<sup>165</sup> Confucianism was viewed by the Chinese as all-encompassing, which meant that it was integrated into the social ethic, political ideology, and scholarly traditions of the culture.<sup>166</sup> In every aspect of the term, Confucianism was considered a way of life. The collectivist aspect of the Confucianism way of life was best characterized in the concepts of filial piety. Filial piety demanded close familial ties within a society. These ties ran deeper than what was acknowledged in Western cultures because sacrifice of the individual in order to achieve group harmony was an essential aspect of filial piety. It stressed recognition and reverence for the source of life within the family body.<sup>167</sup> The Confucianism concept of filial piety can best be related to the western concept of loyalty to kin.<sup>168</sup> This belief in a certain established way of life paved

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<sup>164</sup> Everett Rosenfeld, "South China Sea: Beijing watches as The Hague ruling looms," *CNBC*, 2016, <http://www.cnbc.com/2016/07/11/south-china-sea-beijing-watches-as-the-hague-ruling-looms.html>.

<sup>165</sup> Uichol Kim, "Individualism and Collectivism Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 25.

<sup>166</sup> Tu Weiming, "Confucianism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Confucianism>.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Edward Wong, "A Chinese Virtue Is Now the Law," *The New York Times*, 2013, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/03/world/asia/filial-piety-once-a-virtue-in-china-is-now-the-law.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/03/world/asia/filial-piety-once-a-virtue-in-china-is-now-the-law.html?_r=0).

the way for paternalism and legal moralism to assist the population in viewing the state as an extension of the family.<sup>169</sup> Once this transition was achieved, the ability to command the loyalties of the population became much easier because it was part of the institutional culture.

The other key components to the rise of nationalism within Chinese culture were devotion to the cause and the notion of saving face, which were also collectivist elements of Confucianism. Devotion allowed for a much broader perspective than filial piety and encompassed a connection to the ethnic family in a tribal sense.<sup>170</sup> This allowed the broader view of ethnic Chinese to feel an attachment to one another even before the idea of filial piety translated into loyalty to the state. The Confucianism notion of devotion allowed the cultural mindset to be open to filial piety toward the state as China moved through its troubled period of revolution and conflict. The notion of saving face was also a key factor to the growth of a Chinese nationalism.<sup>171</sup> Saving face in Confucianism commanded that the individual sacrifice their own personal beliefs in order to achieve group harmony.<sup>172</sup> The internal collectivist culture of Confucianism within China created a loyal body of citizens who were willing to sacrifice their own personal comforts and beliefs for the greater harmony of the whole of China.

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<sup>169</sup> Uichol Kim, "Individualism and Collectivism Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 27.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>171</sup> Yunxiang Yan, *The Individualization of Chinese Society* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2009), 64-65.

<sup>172</sup> David Yau-Fai Ho and Chi-Yue Chiu, "Component Ideas of Individualism, Collectivism, and Social Organization An Application in the Study of Chinese Culture," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 155.

The collectivist elements of Chinese culture allowed the ideas of Marxism to rapidly take hold within society during the civil war, and it continues to be a strong influence on Chinese nationalism in the present day. Marxism, much like Confucianism, was an ideology that promoted collectivism.<sup>173</sup> Marxism was especially attractive to the population in China during the People's Revolution because they were coming out of a time of intense abuse by wealthy western nations and destructive war. Setting aside self-interest, Marxism taught individuals to bind together in revolution against an oppressive upper class that was only focused on material gain.<sup>174</sup> These types of teachings allowed the Chinese people to naturally set their ancient collectivist beliefs and values into practice against a hated enemy. After Tiananmen Square and the fall of Communism around the world, China changed to a more globalized and commercial based society; however, they still maintained a deep rooted connection to their Confucianism roots by creating policies such as incrementalism.<sup>175</sup> China identified the fallacy of revolution in society after the fall of Communism and continued to seek an attitude of social harmony through incrementally changing governance.<sup>176</sup> Although this may seem like a shift to individualism and liberalism, the core beliefs of Chinese culture have remained largely unchanged in the aspects of devotion to the ethnic state and saving face.<sup>177</sup> The notion of

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<sup>173</sup> Karl Marx, "Chapter II. Proletariat and Communists," *Marx.org*, accessed 2016, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch02.htm>.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>177</sup> David Yau-Fai Ho and Chi-Yue Chiu, "Component Ideas of Individualism, Collectivism, and Social Organization An Application in the Study of Chinese Culture," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 154.

change while maintaining harmony continues to display China's connection with their past ancient culture.

Past conflicts with stronger nations as well as ancient culture shaped a Chinese nationalism that was strong, expansionistic, and anti-Western in nature. The origins of the conflicts that shaped nationalism in China displayed an alarming concern with the perception of Western imperialism even in the modern day. It was the expansion of Western power without regard to the sovereignty and culture of other nations that created the modern day behemoth of China. The current disputes that are causing wide spread international distress in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea can be attributed to aggressive actions from the past that the present day world is still being forced to manage. It is important to acknowledge the past and combine it with our knowledge of Chinese cultural roots in order to arm the present day international community with the necessary tools to begin to solve the problems in East Asia. The cultural tendencies of China are equally important to its much published history; however, it is often overlooked when decisions are made at the international levels of leadership. A full realization of the origins of Chinese nationalism is necessary to avoid the same pitfalls of past colonial powers in relation to the rest of the world.

### Conclusion

The origins of both American exceptionalism and Chinese nationalism show the root cause of division and faction within these two societies. The development of American exceptionalism into a transferrable ideology through the concept of Manifest Destiny is viewed as a positive element of the culture within our borders. The modern view of Manifest Destiny holds liberalism and democracy at the forefront of importance

in US relations with other countries. This is described as some of the highest priorities in foreign policy since Woodrow Wilson's messianic mandate in 1918. Exceptionalism is also displayed in how the United States operates with its military forces overseas. Currently, the United States is conducting operations in the South China Sea in order to contain the threat of Chinese expansionism. The practical display of naval power demonstrates the self-imposed responsibility of the United States to provide freedom through control of hostile forces much like Wilson attempted to do by requiring a re-drafting of borders after World War I.

It is critical to the problem of Chinese nationalism to address that similar conditions during the nineteenth century with Western military forces set the conditions for a rise of anti-Western sentiment. While our foreign policy of providing democracy and the propagation of universal truths may be well accepted as absolute fact in America, it is often viewed through the lens of skepticism and hostility from nations with a clear history of subjugation from Western powers. In specific reference to China, not only does this message appear to be ideological imperialism, but the ideals of individualism and self-interest also oppose well-established values that are at the core of Chinese culture. The relatively collectivist society of China can be described as a polar opposite to the American culture, which is arguably the most self-interested society in the world today.

The clash of American exceptionalism and foreign policy with Chinese nationalism and culture provide a conundrum for modern day policymakers to solve. For this reason, it is important to note the historical background of both countries in reference to the rise of nationalistic feelings. To avoid continued anti-Western sentiment, the

tyranny of the global perception of imperialism must be discussed and solved.<sup>178</sup> As China is a current rising global power in the international community, it is critical that we do not repeat the same mistakes of our predecessors in the region of East Asia. The global reliance on a positive relationship between China and the United States is extremely high in reference to stability both politically and economically. China provides us with an interesting perspective in the fact that it may be time for the United States to chart a new course in foreign relations with countries that prescribe to philosophies that differ from the combination of liberalism and democracy. Diplomacy, not additional military build-up, in this region may be the overwhelming answer for this particular cultural conflict.

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<sup>178</sup> “Could Asia really go to war over these?,” *The Economist*, September 22, 2012, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/docview/1069228076?accountid=11752>.

## **Chapter IV: THE ENDURING THREAT TO US NATIONAL SECURITY**

The ever changing world within the realm of national security is largely centered on the rise and fall of nations and societies around the globe that have been identified by the United States as a threat to its existence. The identification of these threat nations and the enduring nature of the threat itself is highly debatable and very open to discussion and analysis. In analyzing past conflicts of the United States, it is clear that threats require a high level of resources to combat the spread of its influences.<sup>179</sup> It is critical to the sustainable future of the United States to accurately determine who the emerging or enduring threat of the future will be in order to re-balance our limited resources of supply and manpower toward a unified goal of defending the country in the most efficient and effective manner. Re-focusing our national defense efforts is even more critical in this current age due to pockets of potential conflicts that may arise around the globe. In view of these current events, emerging future threats to the United States may specifically involve China and the Islamic region known as the Middle East/North Africa region or MENA. China signifies rising feelings of ethnic nationalism and expansionism throughout the Far East section of the world.<sup>180</sup> They specifically threaten the global security situation through current negative engagements with their neighbors in reference to fishing rights and naval encroachment.<sup>181</sup> At the same time, the United States is still

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<sup>179</sup> *Logistics in World War II Final Report of the Army Service Forces* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1993), 244-251.

<sup>180</sup> Ted C. Fishman, *China, Inc. The Relentless Rise of the Next Great Superpower* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 271-285.

<sup>181</sup> Bonnie S. Glaser, "Armed Clash in the South China Sea Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 14," *Council on Foreign Relations Press*, April 2012, <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/armed-clash-south-china-sea/p27883>.

involved in its longest historical military campaign in the Middle East combatting Islamic extremism.<sup>182</sup> The growth of the global Islamic population threatens to tip the balance between Western society and Islamic nationalism. These two very real threats are currently forcing the United States to engage and evaluate its current strategy to determine where the overall emphasis should be placed. Analyzing overall population growth and densities, as well as the exportability of an ideological framework, may reveal a better understanding of the viability for China or the Islamic MENA as a greater and more enduring threat to the future of the United States.

#### Framework of Analysis: Population and Ideology

One of the aspects for the model for comparing the two threat societies of China and the Islamic world is population growth. The subject of predicting the rise and fall of civilization through the lens of population growth and decay is highly contentious; however, most experts tend to agree on the overall replacement rates for births in order to maintain the status quo and achieve a total growth of zero. The exact number that most experts agree upon is that every woman of child-bearing age must give birth to an overall average of 2.1 children during the course of her child-bearing years in order for a society to achieve a zero growth.<sup>183</sup> This average birthrate is termed by population theorists as the total fertility rate of the society. Any average number that falls below this will result in an average total decline in the population over the course of a few years and will eventually lead to the elderly population of that particular society outnumbering the

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<sup>182</sup> Adam Taylor, "These are America's 9 longest foreign wars," *The Washington Post*, May 29, 2014, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/05/29/these-are-americas-9-longest-foreign-wars/?utm\\_term=.3b1de788f6ca](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/05/29/these-are-americas-9-longest-foreign-wars/?utm_term=.3b1de788f6ca).

<sup>183</sup> Steven W. Mosher, *Population Control Real Costs, Illusory Benefits* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 260.

youth. If this model is taken toward its extreme, the model for decay leads to a complete collapse of a civilization.<sup>184</sup><sup>185</sup> Some studies of former empires throughout history have compared these particular decay models with the timeline for their demise. Many of these same studies found that no society that fell below the optimal mark of 2.1 for the total fertility rate was ever able to make a full recovery.<sup>186</sup> On the contrary, many of these same population theorists and experts agreed that too rapid of a population increase would result in shortages of resources to sustain the society; however, there were no similarities in a distinct number that was agreed upon by the majority of theorist to distinguish what was defined as too much or too rapid.<sup>187</sup> The simple answer was that at a rate above the 2.1 mark, a society was in danger of the effects of over-population within one generation. Comparing the two societies of China and the Islamic world through the study of population may display a greater understanding of which society will progress into the future.

The other major model for comparing these two ancient civilizations is the cultural ideology and its accessibility to the rest of the world. This framework compares the nationalism and ideologies that are derived from each country in order to determine the enduring nature of each civilization. In particular, this comparison contrasts the ethnic

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<sup>184</sup> Leon F. Bouvier and Jane T. Bertrand, *World Population Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Santa Ana, California: Seven Locks Press, 1999), 143-144.

<sup>185</sup> G. Nargund, "Declining birth rate in Developed Countries: A radical policy re-think is required," *National Center for Biotechnology Information*, 2009, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4255510/>.

<sup>186</sup> Steven W. Mosher, *Population Control Real Costs, Illusory Benefits* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transactions Publishers, 2008), 211.

<sup>187</sup> Leon F. Bouvier and Jane T. Bertrand, *World Population Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Santa Ana, California: Seven Locks Press, 1999), 145-146.

nationalism that is derived from Chinese culture<sup>188</sup> with the religious nationalism that originates from the Islamic faith.<sup>189</sup> The study does not particularly involve what each of these ideologies are defined by, but it contrasts each of their accessibility and exportability to the rest of the world. In this additional comparison along with the population theoretical model, the assessment will display the likelihood of migration from a particular civilization and ease of conversion into a specific ideology in order to allow for additional expansion and global influence. The model of comparing the exportability of ideologies will provide additional support to the argument of which society will endure into the future and justify its existence as a threat to the United States.

#### The Assessment of Chinese Futures

The overall expansion and growth of the leviathan that is China can be examined under the close scrutiny of the model of population and ideological reach. China is a very ancient culture and has proven to be one of the most resilient societies in the history of the world. As one of the oldest societies known to mankind, China was successful in providing the world with many innovative aspects of societal change; however, these changes occurred apart from the growth and development of the Western way of thought. In essence, China's independent rise to prominence in the Far East happened in a vacuum which fostered a very contrasting culture and society to arise.<sup>190</sup> These were the roots of

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<sup>188</sup> Uichol Kim, "Individualism and Collectivism Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 27.

<sup>189</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islam in the Modern World Challenged by the West, Threatened by Fundamentalism, Keeping Faith with Tradition* (New York, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2010), 18.

<sup>190</sup> Tu Weiming, "Confucianism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Confucianism>.

the inevitability of conflict between the Western and Eastern way of thought. The influences of these ideologies contrasted so heavily that its affects can still be observed in the individual family element and how filial piety plays a large role within the collective Chinese mindset.<sup>191</sup> A further contributing factor to the eventual conflict between West and East was the expansiveness in territory and population of China. Moving from ancient development into the current state of China, it is a country that claims one of the largest contiguous land masses as its sovereign territory, and along with this, it naturally claims one of the largest population densities within the globe. The natural size of China provides a unique problem to the United States in reference to conflict and threat analysis because the country's population outnumbers the United States in a 4 to 1 ratio.<sup>192</sup> The alarming growth of China's population as well as Chinese influences through culture and ideology creates the framework for analyzing the viability of maintaining China as a threat into the future.

The history of conflict between East and West, specifically in China, began to manifest itself during the early 1800's when China first opened its borders to trade with Western nations like England. In an effort to control and limit relations with the West while continuing to modernize as a society, the ruling class in China felt that it was necessary to strictly maintain its unique culture by limiting the access of Western nations

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<sup>191</sup> Uichol Kim, "Individualism and Collectivism Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 25.

<sup>192</sup> G. Scott Thomas, "China, India and U.S. are top 3 in world population," *The Business Journals*, July 6, 2011, <http://www.bizjournals.com/bizjournals/on-numbers/scott-thomas/2011/07/china-india-and-us-are-top-3-population.html>.

to physical locations within the interior of the country.<sup>193</sup> The initial trade relationship greatly benefitted China over its Western trade partners due to the large demand in Europe for foreign oriental goods. The unique fascination of a culture that was closed off for hundreds of years unequally yoked West and East in a power struggle where the ancient Chinese civilization was dominant. In response to this unequal relationship, the British made an effort to create a demand for uniquely Western goods into the market in China to create an economic foothold for the West. This was the British response of introducing a highly addictive drug called opium into virgin territory like China.<sup>194</sup> The addictiveness and easy access to the drug quickly created a shift in balance toward Western dominance within the trade agreement. In a society that preached serenity through balance, the extremes and decadence of a drug addicted population shocked the ruling class into action, which varied to include everything from passing policy against opium to eradicating British opium storehouses in local port cities.

Following these deliberate actions, the trade relationships and agreements moved to a state of being tense and uneasy, especially during the later portions of the 1800's when tensions with Western nations erupted in armed conflict over trade during the First and Second Opium Wars.<sup>195</sup> The results of these two conflicts, which included Western economic control of port cities and access to the interior of China, shaped the perception

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<sup>193</sup> "The Opening to China Part II: the Second Opium War, the United States, and the Treaty of Tianjin, 1857-1859," *Office of the Historian United States Department of State*, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/china-2>.

<sup>194</sup> Roger R. Thompson, "Military Dimensions of the 'Boxer Uprising' in Shanxi, 1898-1901," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 289.

<sup>195</sup> Philip V. Allingham, "England and China: The Opium Wars, 1839-60," *Victorian Web*, 2006, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/opiumwars/opiumwars1.html>.

of Chinese thought in Western affairs. Westerners solidified their status as foreign invaders and bullies during these two historical conflicts, and this continued uneasy relationship was the proximate cause for rebellion and revolution for future generations.<sup>196</sup> The lack of a display of strength from the ruling class during this time led to feelings of bitterness throughout the population and effectively ended the dynastic form of rule within the borders of China.

Although the historical conflict between China and the West provided a prominent stage for the development of future aggression, the Communist Revolution and the society that was shaped following this nodal event helped to shape the current national security threat environment of China in relation to the United States. After the effective end of dynastic rule in China, the large Asian nation suffered from many unfortunate circumstances and events that helped to further set the conditions for revolution to occur. These series of events includes the seeds of revolution with internal and localized uprisings against the West followed by a brutal invasion that was conducted by one of its closest neighbors in the Far East region, Japan.<sup>197</sup> During this time, feelings of nationalism began to surface through the rise of two powers on separate sides of the political argument. The commonality between both of these parties spoke to the strength of nationalistic sentiment in China at the time. Both the Chinese Nationalists and Communists wanted a strong China that was largely free of undue outside influences. Through the efforts of Mao's communist agenda and the appeal to the collectivist

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<sup>196</sup> Roger R. Thompson, "Military Dimensions of the 'Boxer Uprising' in Shanxi, 1898-1901," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans Van De Ven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 289.

<sup>197</sup> Xiaoqun Xu, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China The Chenbao Fukan and the New Culture Era, 1918-1928* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), 140.

mindset of the Chinese people that was established through ages of Confucian ideals, the communist party won the revolution and gained control of the government in China.<sup>198</sup> It was in 1949 that Mao gained control of the whole of China with his Communist party and began to institute the totalitarian state that was necessary in order to establish and enforce one of the strictest population policies known to mankind.

China's infamous one-child policy that was instituted around 1979 showcased a nation's whole-hearted adoption of a population theory that involved the necessity of societal survival in regions of limited resources; however, it was short-sighted in the fact that it did not incorporate the necessity of a steady replacement rate of population in order to successfully sustain a civilization.<sup>199</sup> China's unrealized problems with population growth were attributed to its early successes as a society. After the communist revolution and the period of war and famine that preceded it, China's standard of living and infant mortality rate greatly improved.<sup>200</sup> Intuitively, this would have been the case in any society that met an intense period of war with a similar period of peace; however, its effects were felt greater in a country like China because it was already so large in terms of land and expansive in terms of a base population. The time period between 1949 and 1980 displayed a population increase in the overall population by 80 percent. This relative economic success, coupled with a population boom, led social scientists and

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<sup>198</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen The Politics of Transition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105.

<sup>199</sup> Karen Hardee-Cleaveland and Judith Banister, *Family Planning in China: Recent Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Center for International Research U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1988), 25-28.

<sup>200</sup> Liu Zheng, "Population Planning and Demographic Theory," in *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Liu Zheng et al. (Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981), 1-3.

population theorists within China to rapidly view the population as a problem for the future sustainment of the Chinese civilization.<sup>201</sup>

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, social scientists began to survey and study the intake of food and water of the average Chinese citizen in order to extrapolate that data into a larger study of the issues of the uncontrollable population growth within China. Their findings and recommendations provided enough evidence for the necessity of a short-term solution in order to slow the population growth to match the natural resources that were available within the borders of China.<sup>202</sup> The arbitrary number that was designated by popular theorists at the time established a goal of intentionally stagnating the population of China to 1200 million by the end of the century.<sup>203</sup> Projecting recommendations to truncate the population displayed the gravity of the overall situation and the urgency in which the policy required implementation because any ideas to control population growth went against the fundamentals of the Marxist ideology in which China was operating under. Under Marxist philosophy, a greater population provided more laborers for the collective benefit of the society.<sup>204</sup> Although this was the popular view of the early Communist government in the 1950s, theory

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<sup>201</sup> Gabe T. Wang, *China's Population: Problems, Thoughts and Policies* (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999), 185.

<sup>202</sup> Renkou Lilun, "The Control of Our Nation's Population Growth According to Plan," in *Population Theory in China*, ed. H. Yuan Tien (White Plains, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1980), 23.

<sup>203</sup> Liu Zheng, "Population Planning and Demographic Theory," in *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Liu Zheng et al. (Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981), 24.

<sup>204</sup> Susan Greenhalgh, *Just One Child Science and Policy in Deng's China* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008), 93-95, 105-106.

quickly gave way to practicality in light of the simplified studies conducted by Chinese social scientists in the late 1970s.<sup>205</sup>

When policies of convenience and volunteerism proved ineffective, China instituted a harsh and comprehensive one-child policy in order to act on what popular thinkers in the country believed to be of absolute necessity.<sup>206</sup> The initial stages of the one-child policy reflected the recommendations of the majority of social scientists and population theorists within China, which encouraged late marriage and a voluntary one-child policy.<sup>207</sup> Although this was initially proposed and instituted through the use of tax incentives and other monetary pay-outs, by late 1979, the government of China was requiring all couples to sign a one child pledge for each of their households.<sup>208</sup> The specific one-child policy that was adopted limited urban couples to one child, granted second children to rural couples only under special circumstances, and gave the authority for minority couples to have two children if they chose.<sup>209</sup>

The enforcement methods that followed implementing the one-child policy into law can only be described as draconian. Data that was collected between 1983 and 1985 showed that over 50 percent of couples in China used sterilization in one partner.<sup>210</sup> The

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<sup>205</sup> F. Huang Shu-tse, "China's Views on Major Issues of World Population," in *Population Theory in China*, ed. H. Yuan Tien (White Plains, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1980), 102.

<sup>206</sup> Liu Zheng, "Population Planning and Demographic Theory," in *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Liu Zheng et al. (Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981), 22-24.

<sup>207</sup> Zhang Lizhong, "Birth Control and Late Marriage," in *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Liu Zheng et al. (Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981), 117-118.

<sup>208</sup> Karen Hardee-Cleaveland and Judith Banister, *Family Planning in China: Recent Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Center for International Research U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1988), 25.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

same data also displayed that many unplanned second children were aborted through force or coercion in many cases.<sup>211</sup> The government of China also used harsh monetary fines as a form of coercion to maintain population stagnation for the foreseeable future. One example of the fines that were imposed included a fine during the pregnancy phase of an unauthorized child and the institution and collection of the same fine for 7 years following the pregnancy. The added harshness in this form of monetary punishment also included that the amount of the fine was 10-20 percent of the combined income of both the husband and wife's salary.<sup>212</sup> With the backing of a totalitarian regime in charge of the government, these controlling measures were extremely successful in stagnating the population growth of China; however, as a society, China did not incorporate a view of sustaining population replacement rates for the future in light of cultural norms and nuances that were ingrained within its people for generations.

The negative effects on China's society and potential growth through the one-child policy that was instituted from 1979 to 2015 is very evident when observing the current replacement rates and the gender ratios of male to female inhabitants. At the peak of Chinese expansion and economic success, the Chinese total fertility rate was between 5 and 6 births per woman of child bearing age.<sup>213</sup> This tipped the balance within the global population and allowed China to maintain one of the world's largest majority

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<sup>211</sup> "How China's One-Child Policy Led to Forced Abortions, 30 Million Bachelors," *NPR*, February 1, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/02/01/465124337/how-chinas-one-child-policy-led-to-forced-abortions-30-million-bachelors>.

<sup>212</sup> Karen Hardee-Cleaveland and Judith Banister, *Family Planning in China: Recent Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Center for International Research U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1988), 48.

<sup>213</sup> Meera Senthilingam, "How quickly can China come back from its one-child policy?," *CNN*, October 13, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/health/china-one-child-policy-population-growth/>.

groups; however, after the one-child policy, the total fertility rate was significantly reduced in some areas to less than one child born per child bearing woman. After the more stringent aspects of the one-child policy were relaxed in 2015, China's fertility rate increased to around 1.6, which is still under the normal average for a population to continue to subsist within the next 50 years without a decline.<sup>214</sup> This data alone may determine that China's society is in decay; however, additional information that is covertly missing from the raw fertility data is the cultural aspect of the integration of Confucianism into the Chinese society as a whole.

China's cultural and societal influences on logic and ideology favors the male heir as the most desirable portion of propagation of a society.<sup>215</sup> As a result, the one-child policy not only had a detrimental result on the total fertility rate for the society, but it also had a significant impact on the male to female ratio within the social structure. There is evidence that many potential female births were avoided through abortion during the one-child policy era in order to produce a single male heir for a family. Currently the ratio in China is at an imbalance of 120 men to 100 women, which is a significant deviation from the steady state numbers of 105 to 100.<sup>216</sup> The consequences of this uneven distribution through favoritism of one gender could result in 30 million men who cannot find wives within the next decade in China. The combination of a very low total fertility rate with the propagation of ancient Confucianism principles of favoring a male heir may lead to

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<sup>214</sup> Aileen Clarke, "See How the One-Child Policy Changed China," *National Geographic*, November 13, 2015, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/11/151113-datapoints-china-one-child-policy/>.

<sup>215</sup> Joshua Kurlantzick, "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls, and the Consequences of a World Full of Men," *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 13, 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/unnatural-selection-choosing-boys-over-girls-consequences-world-full-men/p25271>.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

even further decline of the Chinese society moving into the future. In certain respects to ancient civilizations, this may be the tipping point for the Chinese society to never fully recover from the misguided population policies of the past.

### Islamic Expansion

Another major competitor for global influence in the modern age is Islam and the region known as the Middle East and North Africa. This region has been recently steeped in conflict with the United States, and it does not appear that this tension will stop at any point in the predictable future.<sup>217</sup> The consistent threat with ongoing conflicts overseas in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria have combined with internal threats of radicalized individual converts to the faith to make Islam a serious and credible potential threat to the United States. This is not to single out a particular religious group as a threat to national security; however, the analysis reveals that our current enemy is comprised of radicalized groups and individuals who claim Islam as their particular brand of choice in terms of ideology. Although it is an incorrect assumption to claim all Muslims as enemies of the state, many terrorists and extremist groups that the United States is currently combatting claim their actions in accordance with Islam.<sup>218</sup> As a result, it is vital to note the comparisons of the overall population growth and ideological spread of Islamic nationalism which originates from the culture and history of the people that make up the civilization. Population analysis may provide a better understanding of the potential for sustained conflict in the future. Studies have shown that Islam has displayed incredible expansion and growth

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<sup>217</sup> Daniel L. Byman, "Iraq and the Global War on Terrorism," *Brookings*, July 1, 2007, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/iraq-and-the-global-war-on-terrorism/>.

<sup>218</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islam in the Modern World Challenged by the West, Threatened by Fundamentalism, Keeping Faith with Tradition* (New York, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2010), 18.

while consistently being at odds with western ideals and principles such as liberalism and equality.<sup>219</sup> Typically, a society requires a balance between population growth and resources in order to sustain that expansion; however, the uniqueness of the Islamic nationalist ideology makes it an idea that is without borders.<sup>220</sup> The borderless and global nature of this movement allows it to essentially be limitless in terms of resources matching growth. Through a current population explosion, firm anti-Western ideals, and the easy exportability of the Islamic ideology through conversion and migration, the Muslim faith has poised itself to be the major enduring threat to the security and safety of the U.S. way of life.

Islam is an ancient religion that that can be related to many other world religions; however, the Muslim religion is unique in the aspects of how it originally began and how deeply its tenets root itself into everyday life. Islam began with its originator and prophet, Mohammad, who first recognized the religion around 630 AD when he forcefully established himself as the ruler in Mecca. The use of war and coercion to spread the influences of the Islamic faith followed even beyond Mohammad's life. These examples were seen later on in Islamic history when Muslim hordes invaded the tribal regions of what is now known as Afghanistan in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>221</sup> This new religion that was introduced on the world stage was similar in fashion to Christianity of the Old Testament

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<sup>219</sup>Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 128.

<sup>220</sup> M.A. Muqtedar Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse Theory, Debates, and Philosophical Perspectives* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2006), 155.

<sup>221</sup> Yahia Baiza, "The Hazaras of Afghanistan and their Shi'a Orientation: An Analytical Historical Survey," *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies*, 2014, <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=f905dcbe-0c23-4f27-bda7-b9198886c51c%40sessionmgr4009>.

because it incorporated itself so deeply into life that it affected everything from criminal law, dress code, personal conduct, marriage, diet, and even economics.<sup>222</sup> Similar to golden rules and codes of conduct, Islam was also centered around five pillars of conduct that included the recitation of the Muslim profession of faith, performing ritual prayers five times each day, paying charity to benefit the poor and needy, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and conducting a pilgrimage to Mecca. These tenets were combined with regular mention in the Koran, the holy book of Islam, of another pillar that included jihad.<sup>223</sup> Jihad translates into a spiritual struggle with unbelievers and can be compared to what Christian's terms as apologetics; however, some extremist groups in the modern day have combined the violent history of the start of Islam with this term in order to interpret it as a call to eradicate unbelievers in the name of their deity.<sup>224</sup>

The development of conflict with the Western world firmly established itself around the turn of the century with the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the establishment of Israel in the Middle East. Immediately following World War I, many nations under the existing Ottoman Caliphate were divided among Western nations in order to provide natural resources and power through the ownership of land by way of colonization.<sup>225</sup> In countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, the British quickly attempted to

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<sup>222</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Foundations of Islamic politics.mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course\\_id=102568\\_1&content\\_id=2860200\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id=102568_1&content_id=2860200_1).

<sup>223</sup> Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Herndon, Virginia: Wellington House, 1997), 142.

<sup>224</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 7 Islam is the Real Civilization," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 2.

<sup>225</sup> Mike Shuster, "The Middle East and the West: Carving Up the Region," *NPR*, August 19, 2004, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=3859631>.

gain control of these territories through occupation; however, like many other stories of colonization, the native people did not accept this form of rule. The time period of modern Western colonization after World War I was categorized as violent with several uprisings and revolutions occurring against occupying countries. As a result, the British were essentially removed from power from Islamic nations like Iraq and Afghanistan before the start of World War II; however, Western nations left their enduring mark by drawing arbitrary lines as boundaries before they left. These arbitrary borders divided tribes, religious sects, and historic family ties.<sup>226</sup> Findings in research determined that the well intentioned reason for this deliberate act by some Western nations as they withdrew from age old colonies was to promote stability even though it had the opposite effect in many places.<sup>227</sup>

The additional enduring scar that was left within the Islamic world against the West was the creation and recognition of the state of Israel shortly after World War II in 1948.<sup>228</sup> This contentious move by the Western world favored the Jewish nation over historic territorial claims of the Palestinian minority that also resided within the same region. This exacerbated the already fragile relationship between Islamic nations and the West; it also gave added purpose and drive to many immerging extremist groups like Al Qaeda and Palestine Liberation Organization who both specifically claim the decision to

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<sup>226</sup> Major Brian P. Sharp, *British Colonization of Iraq, 1918-1932* (Quantico, Virginia: United States Marine Corps Command and General Staff College, 2008), 17.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>228</sup> "Creation of Israel, 1948," *US Department of State*, accessed September 13, 2016, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/creation-israel>.

favor Israel over Palestine as one of their founding tenets.<sup>229</sup> Through the historical actions taken by Western nations, they solidified an enduring conflict with Islam and the society associated with that way of life.

The conflict with Islam into the current age established itself as the highest priority with the attacks against the United States on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and the subsequent invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan that followed shortly after; the contentious relationship brought forward the continued concern of the growth of Islamic nationalism through birth and fertility rates. Due to the pointed attacks against the United States, additional research was conducted into the historical background, ideology, and the spread of Islamic principles around the world. Regardless of what made the ideology a popular movement to follow, research that was conducted during this time found that the Islamic religion was the fastest growing organized religion in the world. According to recent data, the trend has continued and does not display any signs of slowing or degrading.<sup>230</sup> The expansion in global influence of the Muslim faith has roots in the traditional thought process of conversion through family ties;<sup>231</sup> however, the expanded growth model can only be explained by an explosion of population and the relative ease of conversion to the faith for outsiders or foreign non-believers.

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<sup>229</sup> Rami Siklawi, "The Palestinian Resistance Movement in Lebanon 1967-82: Survival, Challenges, and Opportunities," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, July 1, 2017, <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=cacabca9-d353-44d7-b767-d9cb55277469%40sessionmgr4007>.

<sup>230</sup> Michael Lipka and Conrad Hackett, "Why Muslims are the world's fastest-growing religious group," *Pew Research Center*, April 23, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/23/why-muslims-are-the-worlds-fastest-growing-religious-group/>.

<sup>231</sup> Bertold Spuler, "Iran and Islam," in *The American Anthropologist Studies in Islamic Cultural History*, ed. G.E. Von Grunebaum (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1954), 52.

Incorporating the population explosion in recent years, experts project that the Muslim global population will increase in size by 75% in the next 50 years.<sup>232</sup> This data suggests that the total number of Muslims will outnumber the next largest faith group, Christianity, by over 200 million believers by 2050 if birth and fertility rates remain at the present constant of 3.0 for the Middle East and North Africa region of the Muslim population.<sup>233</sup> This projection suggests that Muslims will outnumber the Western world in just a few decades, which raises an alarming concern given the current and previous conflicts with the region that the United States has been burdened with as the representative of Western society. The population explosion alone presents a national security concern; however, the easy exportability of the ideology through conversion and migration is also an added concern for the growth of Islam.

Although it is difficult to track the trend in conversion rates for those that come from non-Islamic belief backgrounds, the recent attacks conducted by converted citizens of the United States to the Islamic faith raises an additional concern toward the exportability of the ideology. Unlike ethnic nationalism, a religious form of nationalism can attract people of differing ethnicities and base beliefs, and it has more of a tendency to be accepted as a universal form of ideology.<sup>234</sup> The universality of the Islamic faith creates a scenario where anyone can become a potential radicalized threat to the safety

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<sup>232</sup> Michael Lipka and Conrad Hackett, "Why Muslims are the world's fastest-growing religious group," *Pew Research Center*, April 23, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/23/why-muslims-are-the-worlds-fastest-growing-religious-group/>.

<sup>233</sup> "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050 Middle East-North Africa," *Pew Research Center*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/middle-east-north-africa/>.

<sup>234</sup> G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), 191.

and security of the United States. Additionally, historical data suggests that once Islam gains a foothold into a society through conversion, it never entirely fades or loses its influential power over that same society.<sup>235</sup>

The established foothold can also become a concern through migration patterns of the Muslim population. The data that suggests a total fertility rate of 3.0 within the Muslim population in the Middle East and North Africa creates a concerning scenario of over-population, which means that the total population is exceeding the total resources in order to sustain the civilization; however, due to the exportability of the ideology and the current globalized environment, migration is an option that is more readily available to an over-populated region than at any other point in history. For these reasons, the majority of the world's forcibly displaced persons are from Muslim countries.<sup>236</sup> The combination of an exportable ideology with migration patterns that may overwhelm an existing society makes the Muslim population a high concern for the existence and stability of the Western world, particularly for the United States.

#### The Threat Comparison: Where Is Our Major Concern?

The Chinese and Islamic societies both present unique challenges to the future stability of the global environment and the security of the United States with its position around the world; however, data suggests that the Islamic society is following an exponential growth model while the Chinese society is following a pattern of decay. The comparison of the birth and total fertility rates, as well as the internal societal responses

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<sup>235</sup> Bertold Spuler, "Iran and Islam," in *The American Anthropologist Studies in Islamic Cultural History*, ed. G.E. Von Grunebaum (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1954), 54.

<sup>236</sup> Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo, introduction to *Managing Muslim Mobilities Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime*, ed. Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2-5.

to each problem, presents these two societies as unequal in terms of the threat to the United States. The Chinese society faced a similar problem of overpopulation that the Islamic world is currently struggling with back in the 1950s and 1960s;<sup>237</sup> however, the Chinese response to the problem differed through the creation of a draconian policy of population control which deeply affected the long term outcome of their viability as a nation. It reduced their overall total fertility rate to below the sustaining rate for a society, and it brought forth additional concerns with the male-centric culture that was not incorporated into the plan. Currently, China is struggling with an upside-down society where the elderly outnumber the youth and a population where men outnumber women of child-bearing age. This presents a perpetual problem within the social structure and a consistent downward spiral that may be difficult to overcome.<sup>238</sup>

Unlike China's problem with limited resources, globalization and the lack of specific borders for Islam presented an opportunity to export large portions of the population through migration and gain footholds into the rest of the world through conversion. This methodology may not have been particularly organized by a higher authority within the Muslim society; however, it did place the preponderance of decision and the burden of responsibility on the society in which the population decided to displace.<sup>239</sup> This growth model allowed the sustainment of an extraordinarily high total

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<sup>237</sup> Meera Senthilingam, "How quickly can China come back from its one-child policy?," *CNN*, October 13, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/health/china-one-child-policy-population-growth/>.

<sup>238</sup> Robert E. Gaebel, "The Low Birth-Rate in Ancient Rome: A Possible Contributing Factor," *rhm.uni-koeln.de*, accessed September 13, 2016, <http://www.rhm.uni-koeln.de/128/Devine.pdf>.

<sup>239</sup> Anthony Faiola, "Germany used to be the promised land for migrants. Now, it's turning back more of them.," *The Washington Post*, September 29, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/germany-used-to-be-the-promised-land-for-migrants-now-its-turning-back-more-of-them/2016/09/27/6b5c7a7a-7a7c-11e6-8064-c1ddc8a724bb\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.15b886dbe99a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/germany-used-to-be-the-promised-land-for-migrants-now-its-turning-back-more-of-them/2016/09/27/6b5c7a7a-7a7c-11e6-8064-c1ddc8a724bb_story.html?utm_term=.15b886dbe99a).

fertility rate without a high degree of concern for running out of natural resources. Instead, the Islamic growth through population expansion, conversion, and migration allowed for a model where the Islamic world could enlarge through the efforts and support of the society in which it potentially threatened. The current state of the Islamic world in terms of population growth make it far more of an enduring threat than China.

The other aspect of the comparison between the two threats of China and the Islamic world is the universality and exportability of their unique ideologies. The Chinese form of nationalism involves a pride and patriotism within the boundaries and borders of China. With the unique cultural aspects of Confucianism and collectivism, the Chinese brand of nationalism can only be described as ethnic in nature. The great downfall of this type of nationalism is that only ethnic Chinese that live within the borders of the country itself can adopt the ideology as their own. Once a Chinese individual or family leaves the nation, they may remain attached to the motherland for a generation; however, the ties to the nation tend to fade over time due to the lack of strength of an ethnic ideology.<sup>240</sup> The ethnic nationalist ideology only remains strong without the limiting factors of distance and time.

On the contrary, the Islamic nationalist sentiment can be described as a religious movement that incorporates itself into every aspect of life. Due to the religious nature of the ideology, there is no specific limitation on gender, race, ethnicity, or place of birth.<sup>241</sup> In this manner, the Islamic ideology, being a religious form of inclusiveness, is more

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<sup>240</sup> Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America A Narrative History* (New York, New York: Viking, 2003), 389-403.

<sup>241</sup> G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), 191.

readily accessible for people born outside of a particular nation's boundaries. It is also an ideology that can become powerful in its sustaining power through generations of younger citizens because there is no specific relation to a particular area of the globe. A practicing Muslim family can be just as devout living in the United States as if they were living in Saudi Arabia or anywhere else in the Islamic Middle East. This particular universality of an ideology makes the Islamic version of nationalism much more powerful than the Chinese ethnic form of nationalism. In this manner, in terms of the future viability of sustaining threats to the United States, the Islamic world may be a much greater threat that will need planning and preparation for future operations.

#### Recommendations and Analysis:

Due to the nature of the most prevalent threat in terms of the comparison between China and the Islamic world, the United States needs to shift its focus in terms of policy as well as consolidate its present gains and losses from past conflict. The current policy that is in place revolves around a strategy known as the Pacific Pivot, which places the preponderance of military forces involved with the Department of Defense in the Pacific Theater of operations.<sup>242243</sup> This action was particularly taken due to the increased aggressiveness of the Chinese in places like the South China Sea and other international water disputes with countries like Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines; however, this decision was taken while the United States was still actively engaged in its Global War

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<sup>242</sup> "FACTSHEET: Advancing the Rebalance to Asia and the Pacific," *whitehouse.gov*, November 16, 2015, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/fact-sheet-advancing-rebalance-asia-and-pacific>.

<sup>243</sup> Kenneth Lieberthal, "The American Pivot to Asia Why President Obama's turn to the East is easier said than done," *Foreignpolicy.com*, December 21, 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/12/21/the-american-pivot-to-asia/>.

on Terrorism efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Additionally, the policy to shift forces to the Pacific Theater was made while attempting to downsize the military to lower than pre-war numbers, which essentially placed more strain on an already overused Department of Defense.<sup>244</sup> The decision to open a new theater of conflict without consolidation, while downsizing the military as a whole, could lead to catastrophic ends in terms of national security. Due to population research which was conducted toward the enduring threat of the Islamic world, policy with the next administration should shift toward consolidating our efforts to focus on what is important rather than the most popular topic of the day. According to data, the Chinese may pose a relevant threat to the United States for a short time; however, the more enduring and longer lasting threat to our security is the explosion of growth within the Muslim world. Generations of the past, such as administrations of post-World War II and post-Cold War, responded well to consolidation and re-organization efforts. Our success or failure as a nation in terms of security will be defined by how we answer the problem to the most critical aspects of defense policy, which includes the identification of a viable threat for the present age and moving into the future.

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<sup>244</sup> Jim Tice, "Army shrinks to smallest level since before World War II," *Army Times*, May 7, 2016, <https://www.armytimes.com/story/military/careers/army/2016/05/07/army-shrinks-smallest-level-since-before-world-war-ii/83875962/>.

## **Chapter V: CONCLUSION**

The cultures and history of China and the Islamic world reveal that each individual society harbors deeply ingrained hostilities against Western civilization. The origins of each of these conflicts were prevalent and detailed enough that they required their own comparisons to the Western world, as well as a comparison against each other. Comparative analysis, geared specifically toward the civilizational aspects of each society, revealed the depth and scope of the problem. The civilizational factors that proved to be the most important in comparing China and the Islamic world included history, culture, and religion.

Several underlying problems, which were not necessarily taken into consideration prior to hostilities, surfaced as a result of the analysis conducted for this project. These problems reveal the true depth of an issue that could not be solved using a singular simplistic formula or the unilateral actions of any singular nation's armed forces. Additionally, the comparison between China and the Islamic world using the model of population revealed the enduring threat that required more military resources. In an age of seemingly perpetual conflict, it is important to consider the necessity for consolidation of efforts when approaching research topics in the realm of national defense. The latter portion of the thesis was oriented toward assisting policy makers to begin to understand the problem of approaching defense related issues in an environment with constrained resources. The existence of multiple problem areas around the globe in the current international environment was a major factor in choosing to analyze two major locations where the United States was currently involved militarily. Consolidating efforts in these

two regions may free other vital resources to answer additional problems in other areas of the globe.

Findings:

The comparative analysis between the United States and the Islamic world revealed several civilizational issues that supported the existence of an internal conflict due to clashing cultures. The origins of the model of governance in the United States was isolated to the Enlightenment era thinkers who believed in the liberal tenets of reason over religion, progress, and equality for all mankind.<sup>245</sup> The lack of a state-sponsored religion in America, the desire to propagate democracy around the globe, and the drive for minority rights around the world support the fact that America was designed as a liberal democracy. These practical actions were supported by founding principles which established the United States as a nation.

In stark contrast to the tenets of liberal democracies, the Islamic form of governance displayed differences in every similar principle. Islamic nationalism was established as the polar opposite of a secular style of governance. This type of government even transcended theocracies by being so ingrained by religion in every aspect of life.<sup>246</sup> Sharia law and governance by God through the interpretation of man can be seen in present day examples like Egypt, where Parliament is dominated by Islamist

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<sup>245</sup> Dr. Alexander Rosenthal, "Dem.TheEnlightenment(1).mp3," *Johns Hopkins University*, [https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course\\_id=\\_102568\\_1&content\\_id=\\_2860139\\_1](https://blackboard.jhu.edu/webapps/blackboard/execute/displayLearningUnit?course_id=_102568_1&content_id=_2860139_1).

<sup>246</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam Enduring Values for Humanity* (New York, New York: Harper San Francisco, 2002), 148, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=W050307840Y&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215648>.

organizations.<sup>247</sup> Even the liberal tenets of progress and equality are viewed differently under Islamist governance. Although modernist views are beginning to increase in number in the Islamic world, the vast majority of views in Islamist countries are still oriented toward traditional views and seek to reach back to the past for answers in present day life.<sup>248</sup> While the liberal world view deliberately casts off the past and reaches for advancement in the future, the traditional Islamist view continues to hold a strong and nostalgic view toward the origins of their faith.<sup>249</sup> The major discussion that resulted from the comparative analysis between America and the Islamic world was that both of these competing world views held universality<sup>250</sup> as a binding element to their beliefs.<sup>251</sup> This singular element created a situation where the two polar opposite viewpoints of liberalism and Islamism were predictably moving toward conflict. It was only a question of when conflict would occur with such polar opposite and growing worldviews encroaching on each other's territories.

Similar to the comparison between Islamic and American culture, the analysis pitting Chinese society against the United States also displayed stark differences that led

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<sup>247</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

<sup>248</sup> Syed Qutb, "Chapter 7 Islam is the Real Civilization," *Milestone* (New York: Globusz Publishing, January 17, 2008), 2, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215667>.

<sup>249</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

<sup>250</sup> G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), 191.

<sup>251</sup> "Declaration of Independence," *archives.gov*, accessed July 2016, [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

to conflict; however, instead of religion, each nations' history was used as the primary means of making this particular comparison. American culture was developed from its earliest days through curing a national attitude of exceptionalism. Using the Christian faith as a vehicle to carry the message, America was displayed by many prominent figures throughout its history as a shining example for others to follow.<sup>252</sup> Some of the earliest settlers in the colonies even referred to America using Biblical references such as calling it a "city on a hill."<sup>253</sup> In this fashion, American exceptionalism was carried throughout the course of history and eventually assisted in supporting an ideological and physical form of expansionism called Manifest Destiny. While Manifest Destiny originally encompassed both an ideological and physical form of expansion, it quickly formed into a completely ideological idea once the United States achieved its goals of establishing coastal boundaries on both sides of its sovereign territory.<sup>254</sup> The ideological expansion of proselytizing democracy across the globe became the prevalent foreign policy stance after WWI and Woodrow Wilson's messianic commission to the nation.<sup>255</sup>

The ideological expansionism of the United States was the main proponent for building continued distrust within China, which was found to be a country that struggled with a rich past of being abused at the hands of imperialistic Western powers.<sup>256</sup> Like

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<sup>252</sup> John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity (1630)," *Hanover Historical Texts Project*, August 1996, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> John L. O'Sullivan, "John L. O'Sullivan on Manifest Destiny, 1839," *mtholyoke.edu*, accessed July 2016, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm>.

<sup>255</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Conditions of Peace," *The American Presidency Project*, January 8, 1918, accessed July 2016, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65405>.

<sup>256</sup> "The Opening to China Part II: the Second Opium War, the United States, and the Treaty of Tianjin, 1857-1859," *Office of the Historian United States Department of State*, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/china-2>.

America, key historical aspects of China's past were the major factors behind their present day expansionistic rhetoric; however, unlike the United States, China's expansion was born out of mistrust and hatred for both the West and its neighboring countries. The subjugation that China had to endure at the hands of Western imperialism during the 1800s<sup>257</sup> combined with the Japanese invasion during the 1900s<sup>258</sup> challenged the existing notions of national strength. These were the necessary elements to bind the country together and rally the largest country in the world around a singular cause.

The evaluation of Chinese and Muslim cultures was conducted using population as a factor for determining overall growth or decay. This factor and other population associated elements were isolated using the logical argument that a society can only exist with a base population. The Chinese society introduced a very unique model into the realm of population and fertility study. During the early 1900s, China dealt with such a population explosion that local scientists and theorists were forced to propose solutions in order to avoid calamity. Experts at the time attributed Marxist logic and the relative success of the working class to the population explosion. China found itself in a dire situation involving rapidly diminishing natural resources to sustain the behemoth of the growing problem.<sup>259</sup> As a result, China produced legislation that only a nation like China could achieve by proposing a one-child policy for its inhabitants. The one-child policy,

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<sup>257</sup> Trevor K. Plante, "U.S. Marines in the Boxer Rebellion," *National Archives*, 1999, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/winter/boxer-rebellion-1.html>.

<sup>258</sup> Xiaoqun Xu, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China The Chenbao Fukun and the New Culture Era, 1918-1928* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), 136-137.

<sup>259</sup> Meera Senthilingam, "How quickly can China come back from its one-child policy?," *CNN*, October 13, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/health/china-one-child-policy-population-growth/>.

which was put into effect in 1979, limited Chinese couples to producing only one child during their fertile years.<sup>260</sup> In terms of limiting population growth, this social experiment was a complete success.<sup>261</sup> Unfortunately, the negative effects of an unsustainable end fertility rate and the mismatch of the male to female ratio were aspects which were not fully anticipated. In a society which favored the idea of a male heir, families naturally chose to retain male offspring and abort female births in order to maintain their culturally favored male progeny.<sup>262</sup> The after effect compounded the results of the one-child policy and continued to do harm for China's overall fertility rate.<sup>263</sup>

On the contrary, the growth of the Muslim world has been astronomical and does not show any signs of slowing down for the foreseeable future. Current figures predicted that Islam would surpass Christianity as the world's largest religion by over 200 million believers by 2050.<sup>264</sup> The combination of this growth and the current fertility rate of the Islamic world achieving well above sustainable rates created an argument for Islam overtaking China as the highest priority threat to Western existence in the future. The other factor that allowed Islam to grow, while the same growth model drew concern for China, was the idea of separate root ideologies for each nationalism. China's nationalism

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<sup>260</sup> Liu Zheng, "Population Planning and Demographic Theory," in *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Liu Zheng et al. (Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981), 22-24.

<sup>261</sup> Aileen Clarke, "See How the One-Child Policy Changed China," *National Geographic*, November 13, 2015, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/11/151113-datapoints-china-one-child-policy/>.

<sup>262</sup> Joshua Kurlantzick, "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls, and the Consequences of a World Full of Men," *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 13, 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/unnatural-selection-choosing-boys-over-girls-consequences-world-full-men/p25271>.

<sup>263</sup> Aileen Clarke, "See How the One-Child Policy Changed China," *National Geographic*, November 13, 2015, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/11/151113-datapoints-china-one-child-policy/>.

<sup>264</sup> "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050 Middle East-North Africa," *Pew Research Center*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/middle-east-north-africa/>.

involved an ethnic model while Islamic growth was inculcated through religious nationalism. Ethnic models were displayed in the analysis as restricted within the bounds of national origins while religious models of nationalism could spread through conversion and migration. As a result of Islam's growth through migration and conversion, instead of running low on natural resources, the burden of support fell upon the society which they migrated to.<sup>265</sup> This type of model facilitated a near unlimited growth projection which could be sustained through the additional factors of migration and conversion.

Analysis:

The findings for the cultural and population based analysis of the Muslim world displayed a rapidly growing threat to the foundations of Western culture. The results of analyzing the Islamic world, particularly the traditionalist views, displayed that a civilizational conflict existed between the tenets of liberal Western culture and the religious tenets of Islam in its most foundational forms. The contention between these two societies cannot be easily solved through political rhetoric that includes equality or acceptance into each other's realms of understanding. This project displayed that, at the core of each culture, Islam and Western liberalism are opposite and opposing views. Seeking understanding for the other side of the argument may lead to shared understanding, but a future without substantial conflict would require each civilization to make substantial concessions in their ingrained belief system. The failure to integrate these two societies has already been displayed in places like Egypt where a form of

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<sup>265</sup> Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo, introduction to *Managing Muslim Mobilities Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime*, ed. Anita H. Fabos and Riina Isotalo (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2-5.

democracy was encouraged only to have Islamists eventually dominate the Parliament.<sup>266</sup> Further analysis of the Islamic culture proposed additional concerns due to the population explosion that was projected to continue to occur well into the future. The benchmark date of 2050 marked an interesting power transition between the Western world and Islam. Although this atypical power transition may not occur between established nation-states, the societal power transition has already been predicted.<sup>267</sup> The wholly opposing views of these two cultures also predict that the transition may not be altogether peaceful in nature. Evidence of future conflict continues to be ever present with examples like Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and North Africa.<sup>268</sup>

The interesting elements of the analysis of China were contained in its past history with Western aggression and the analytical population findings that seemed to show decay. Although other factors may have eventually led to China's expansionistic mindset, the past atrocities of Western civilization were the major observable contributing factor to China's desire for regional hegemony. The early actions taken by Western powers created an ideological rallying cry for China to unite under a single banner. Early challenges to China's notion of power and strength caused the most populous nation in the world to begin to build a solidifying distrust and hatred for anything Western. Other

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<sup>266</sup> Michael J. Totten, "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?," *World Affairs Journal*, December 3, 2012, 1, Web, <https://ares.library.jhu.edu/aresCMS/ares.dll?SessionID=H061015143K&Action=10&Type=10&Value=215626>.

<sup>267</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 29.

<sup>268</sup> Patrick Cockburn, "The Shia are in power in Iraq – but not in control," *Independent*, March 6, 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/the-shia-are-in-power-in-iraq-but-not-in-control-8523280.html>.

cultural factors like Confucianism<sup>269</sup> and the Chinese collectivist mindset<sup>270</sup> only amplified the anti-Western sentiment which was already established through imperialism and forced colonization. The added military actions of the Japanese in the early 1900s forced China to consider taking the role of regional hegemon in order to secure its own interests.<sup>271</sup> Through a history of being battered and bullied, China rose to eventually orient their resources into becoming a competitor against Western encroachment on the world stage.

Unfortunately, China made a gigantic mistake in perpetuating their goal of regional hegemony with the one-child policy. This draconian policy effectively stopped population growth in China in order to preserve natural resources for the future;<sup>272</sup> however, the unexpected ramifications threw the nation into a fertility and population decay model in which they may not ever recover.<sup>273</sup> In fact, the low fertility rates, which were displayed in some regions of China as of the end of the one-child policy in 2015, were so low that they displayed signs of cultural collapse.<sup>274</sup> China may be the regional

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<sup>269</sup> Edward Wong, "A Chinese Virtue Is Now the Law," *The New York Times*, 2013, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/03/world/asia/filial-piety-once-a-virtue-in-china-is-now-the-law.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/03/world/asia/filial-piety-once-a-virtue-in-china-is-now-the-law.html?_r=0).

<sup>270</sup> Uichol Kim, "Individualism and Collectivism Conceptual Clarification and Elaboration," in *Individualism and Collectivism Theory, Method, and Applications*, ed. Uichol Kim et al. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 27.

<sup>271</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, *Monsoon The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power* (New York: Random House, 2010), 284.

<sup>272</sup> Meera Senthilingam, "How quickly can China come back from its one-child policy?," *CNN*, October 13, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/13/health/china-one-child-policy-population-growth/>.

<sup>273</sup> "How China's One-Child Policy Led to Forced Abortions, 30 Million Bachelors," *NPR*, February 1, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/02/01/465124337/how-chinas-one-child-policy-led-to-forced-abortions-30-million-bachelors>.

<sup>274</sup> Steven W. Mosher, *Population Control Real Costs, Illusory Benefits* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 211.

hegemon currently, but their internal population data shows more signs of imploding rather than projecting power for the future.<sup>275</sup>

Several other aspects of civilizational conflict can be explored to determine future conflict and shape policy decisions. Although history, religion, and base culture were used to conduct comparative analysis, language is also another topic that can be used to evaluate societies which may eventually come into conflict with one another. The opposite argument can also be made to determine which countries or societies may align with each other easier than others. A prime example of a shared language possibly acting as a major factor to uniting former enemies is the strategic relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom. Although these two nations began as enemies, their present symbiotic and friendly relationship displays the possibility for further exploration into the negative or unifying effects of language as a civilization factor. The effects of language in this relationship could hold solutions for resolving future conflicts.

Some other existing countries can also be used within the model of civilizational conflict to evaluate the level of threat and the nature in which to address it. The present threat that the U.S. is currently facing with Russia is a topic that continually appeared throughout research of both China and the Islamic Middle East. Russia is its own unique society with its own rich history, religion, and culture. Further research along the same theoretical line of logic would greatly benefit policy makers for both China and the Islamic Middle East. The rich history that the U.S. already has with Russia would be a

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<sup>275</sup> G. Nargund, "Declining birth rate in Developed Countries: A radical policy re-think is required," *National Center for Biotechnology Information*, 2009, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4255510/>.

valuable tool in shaping recommendations for diplomatic and military action around the globe because policy in one theater may have effects in another.

Recommendations:

Many problem areas and contested regions exist in the world today; this analysis attempts to gain a further understanding for only two of those regions and cultures. Although many of the policy decisions made in one area may affect actions and reactions in another, this project only isolates problems to China and the Middle East. Any reference of interconnectedness was an effort to encourage and recommend consolidating assets and efforts in a world where prioritizing threats continually becomes more relevant. It is understood that the United States is involved in conflicts and culture clashes with more societies than China and the Islamic Middle East. As a result, the recommendations produced from this analysis cannot be considered all-inclusive or used as a single source to implement policy; however, the findings and recommendations of this civilizational analysis can be specifically used in respect to isolating American action in China or with the Muslim world.

The civilizational and population analysis for China and Islamic expansion in this project produced many recommendations for policy change at the fundamental levels; these recommended changes mainly manifested in the need for consolidation in a resource constrained world and the added need to change some foundational elements of American logic. In terms of Islamic expansion, a civilizational conflict cannot be resolved through our current foreign policy of proselytizing liberal democracy. The Islamic culture is neither receptive nor a conducive environment to foster such a democracy. The current policy fosters a failing model of introducing democracy and

continuing to attempt to support these failed models at the cost of American blood and treasure. The examples of failing governments in Iraq and Afghanistan display an ingrained resistance to liberal principles.<sup>276</sup> Even without direct American military force to encourage the application of liberal democracy, recent examples like Egypt display that liberal tenets cannot seize a foothold within Islamist society.<sup>277</sup> As a result, foreign policy should take a realist approach in areas like the Middle East and North Africa. This model has already been well established with U.S. involvement in places like Saudi Arabia.<sup>278</sup> Unlike Afghanistan, the U.S. has not attempted to convert Saudi Arabia into a liberal democracy at the expense of the American public. Instead, American policy allows the country to involve itself only in the best interests of the United States. It may be time to cast aside Woodrow Wilson's messianic charge for America to bring democracy to a lost world,<sup>279</sup> at least in terms of dealings with the Muslim world.

The practical application of the recommendation for changes in policy concerning the Islamic world manifests itself in several forms including removing the requirement to spread democracy regardless of the civilizational factors involved. As displayed in conflict zones like Iraq and Afghanistan, the main element for keeping the United States in a quagmire of war is the attempt to propagate a form of liberal democracy that is not

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<sup>276</sup> Daniel L. Byman, "Iraq and the Global War on Terrorism," *Brookings*, July 1, 2007, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/iraq-and-the-global-war-on-terrorism/>.

<sup>277</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?," *Digest of Middle East Studies*, February 24, 2016, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12080/pdf>.

<sup>278</sup> Bradley J. Bowman, "Realism and Idealism: US Policy toward Saudi Arabia from the Cold War to Today," *US Army War College*, 2006, <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA490797>, 90-92.

<sup>279</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Conditions of Peace," *The American Presidency Project*, January 8, 1918, accessed July 2016, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65405>.

conducive to the society or its people. Instead of bleeding our military influences in the region to something political, the United States should solely focus on a realistic and interests based strategy that involves raising security capacity within present and future conflict zones against the influence and spread of Islamism. The need for spreading the tenets of liberalism through democracy is not necessary to maintain the integrity and security of the homeland. As displayed in current conflicts, the detrimental idea of spreading democracy through war only commits additional resources to a problem that cannot be solved in that particular manner. This component of U.S. foreign policy is the main reason for the idea that the future security environment will include perpetual war. Only developing a full understanding of the underlying societal clashes and removal of the necessity for extending U.S. influence and global reach through exceptionalism principles will prevent continuous and unsustainable war for the future of America. Effecting this change will also take away the argument of many Islam based extremists groups who view the United States as a nation of ideological imperialism.

The population data for Chinese futures displayed an altogether different civilizational problem, and it also promoted different recommendations for action than in the Middle East or against Islamism. The Chinese have shown signs of decay which may have already moved beyond the possibility of returning to normalcy or growth. The added factor of Western distrust from a legacy of victimization through imperialism made a policy like the Pacific Pivot appear like assets were not well spent in a complex world. Instead of using military force and projecting naval power in the Pacific, the United States needs to seek diplomatic solutions to attempt to resolve the growing anti-Western sentiment within China. With signals and symptoms of collapse on the horizon, America

cannot afford to make the same mistakes in China that they did during the collapse of the USSR. Casting China off as an enemy and facilitating their downfall through US military projection may eventually lead the way for a strong personality to rise from the ashes. The world does not need another Putin to challenge American hegemony from the Pacific theater.

In order to prevent an unfavorable outcome with China, the United States needs to focus on building strong diplomatic relationships with a potentially collapsing regional power. Although the present threat of Chinese expansion needs an immediate response, it does not require the 60% of Department of Defense assets that the Pacific Pivot currently requires.<sup>280</sup> Approaching the problem through the use of a Southeast Asian coalition effort instead of using a preponderance of American military assets will begin to repair the deep seated feelings of animosity between regional nations. The reduction of U.S. military forces and the increase of the use of a local coalition will reduce the notion of U.S. imperialism within the region, foster an environment of cooperation among neighboring nations, and free vital US military assets to meet other global challenges like Russia. In combination with the shift in policy toward the growth of Islamism, these changes in defense and security related policies will allow much needed space for consolidation of gains and re-organization of efforts during a very difficult time of enduring conflict. These strategic moves will permit resources, assets, and intellectual power to be dedicated to other, possibly more pressing, security related problems on the horizon.

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<sup>280</sup> “FACTSHEET: Advancing the Rebalance to Asia and the Pacific,” *whitehouse.gov*, November 16, 2015, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/fact-sheet-advancing-rebalance-asia-and-pacific>.

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Zheng, Liu. "Population Planning and Demographic Theory." In *China's Population: Problems and Prospects*, Edited by Liu Zheng et al., 1-3, 22-24. Beijing, China: New World Press, 1981

## Curriculum Vitae

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Major, U.S. Army

### EDUCATION

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**United States Merchant Marine Academy**, Kings Point, NY  
Bachelor of Science, 2006  
*Marine Engineering Systems Major and Electrical Engineering Minor*

**United States Army Command and General Staff College**, Fort Belvoir, VA  
Military Arts and Science, June 2017  
*Joint Professional Military Education Level I*

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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#### **United States Army**

- 2015 – 2017 *Assistant Professor of Military Science*, Baltimore, MD  
Johns Hopkins University Reserve Officer Training Corps
- 2011 – 2015 *Parachute Infantry Company Commander*, Kabul Province, Afghanistan  
2014 Combat service  
*Airborne Brigade Battle Captain*, Kandahar Province, Afghanistan  
2011 Combat service  
*Airborne Brigade Assistant Planner*, Fort Bragg, NC
- 2007 – 2008 *Special Troops Company Executive Officer*, Basrah, Iraq  
2008 – 2009 Combat service  
*Mechanized Infantry Platoon Leader*, Fort Carson CO

### SPECIAL SKILLS

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- U.S. Army Ranger Qualified (US Army's Premier Leadership School)
- Jumpmaster Qualified
- Rappel Master Qualified
- Top Secret with Sensitive Compartmented Information (TS-SCI) security clearance