

# MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

## **CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL ATTITUDES VIS-À-VIS ISLAM: THE EFFECT ON WEST-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

**Robert T. Bryans, Jr.-Lieutenant, United States Navy  
B.A., Old Dominion University, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisors: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Kenneth J. Hagan, Naval War College**

Since the end of the Cold War two debates have largely shaped Western views of Islam: Islam's relevance in statecraft and the potential "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West. Those joined in these debates argue that just as the West seeks to explain Islam's relevance and role in a potential "clash of civilizations," the West must also examine its own historical experience with religion and statecraft and find ways of looking at itself through the eyes of the Islamic world. This thesis achieves this examination of historical experience and self-reflection by contributing what has long been missing from the debates: an understanding of Christian theological attitudes vis-à-vis Islam and the effect of those attitudes on West-Muslim relations. The argument presented is that while religion is generally forgotten in the West it remains a driving force in the Muslim world, where nearly everything has religious overtones. This thesis explores Christian theological attitudes beginning with the development of historical Orthodox Christianity, Christian theological objections to Islam, the application of theology in the greater context of West-Muslim relations as well as the current impact of Christian theological attitudes on Christian-Muslim relations and their impact on West-Muslim relations.

**KEYWORDS:** Christianity, Christian Theology, Christian-Muslim Relations, West-Muslim Relations, Islam, Islamic Theology, Clash of Civilizations, Religion, Statecraft

## **HUMAN RIGHTS IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS**

**Jana R. Day-First Lieutenant, United States Air Force  
B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 1999**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Gaye Christoffersen, Department of National Security Affairs**

Over the past decade, numerous issues largely ignored during the era of Sino-American strategic cooperation emerged to complicate U.S.-China relations. Key among these has been human rights, which both countries view differently. Whereas the United States emphasizes individual civil and political liberties, the People's Republic of China (PRC) primarily advocates economic, social, and cultural rights. This has provided a major source of conflict as Washington has attempted to compel Beijing to provide civil and political liberties to the Chinese people, which Beijing has long withheld in order to preserve power. These differences, combined with a lack of consensus in Washington regarding China policy, the influence of competing interest groups, and the dilemma policymakers face between protecting national interests and upholding American values, makes human rights difficult to address. This thesis addresses why human rights are such a controversial topic in Sino-American relations and why it is a difficult issue for policymakers to address. It then offers recommendations regarding a more effective policy approach to human rights improvements in China. The United States should emphasize China's obligation, as a responsible member of the international community, to comply with international human rights standards. Most importantly, Washington must take a strong and consistent stance on the issue. This is particularly true given Beijing's recent attempts to use the international war on terrorism to legitimize its repressive policies in Xinjiang. Through a case study of recent events and policies affecting the Xinjiang Uyghur

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

Autonomous Region (XUAR), this thesis also assesses the impact of the on-going American “war on terrorism” on the issue of human rights in Sino-American relations.

**KEYWORDS:** China, People’s Republic of China (PRC), United States (U.S.), Sino-American Relations, U.S.-China Relations, Human Rights, Uyghur Xinjiang Autonomous Region, War on Terrorism, Xinjiang, Uyghurs, Uighur, U.S. China Policy, Human Rights Policy

## **CHECHNYA AND RUSSIA: CONFLICT AND SELF-DETERMINATION**

**Brett A. Garvie-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., Eastern Michigan University, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: David Yost, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

The current Russo-Chechen conflict illustrates the persistent tension between the principles of national self-determination and territorial integrity. Russia and Chechnya remain engaged in a centuries-old struggle with no foreseeable end. Many Chechens assert that they are continuing the struggle to break free of Russian oppression which began over two centuries ago. Indeed, Chechens have compared their struggle for national self-determination to that of the United States in 1776. In contrast, Russians argue that they have the right to protect and preserve their country’s territorial integrity. In an effort to gain support from foreign observers, Russia has portrayed its struggle in Chechnya as part of the fight against international terrorism. Reaching an acceptable political solution would require compromises regarding the fundamental principles as well as the security and economic interests at stake.

**KEYWORDS:** Chechnya, Chechen War, Russia, Self-determination, Territorial integrity, Terrorism

## **RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE WEST: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR MILITARY REFORM**

**Jeremy Gray-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1996**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Mikhail Tsyarkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Douglas Porch, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the impact of NATO-Russia relations on the process of military reform in the Russian Federation. The military reform process within Russia that aims to create a lean, professional military that Russia can afford and that will better serve Moscow’s defense needs is hampered by a lingering perception of a threat from the United States and NATO, despite significant evidence to the contrary. A reformed military would reduce the burden on Russia’s economy and would be better matched to the immediate and future security needs of the Russian state. A cooperative relationship between Moscow and the West could help to ease the perception of a threat posed by NATO. This could encourage the creation of a Russian military capable of joint operations with Western militaries, especially in the realm of counter-terrorism and peacekeeping operations. A military reformed along these lines could serve as a cornerstone for a strengthened Russian democracy that would allow Russia to become, once again, a player on the world stage. A willingness by NATO and the United States to pursue increased military and political cooperation with Moscow offers an opportunity to influence positively the military reform process within Russia.

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Military Reform, NATO, National Security Strategy, Military Doctrine

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

## **BALANCE OF POWER AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE: THE CASE OF THE LEVANT**

**Ryan J. Green-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., University of Utah, 1997**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Karen Guttieri, Department of National Security Affairs**

Over the past 50 years, the Levant has seen more political violence than any other region in the world. This thesis argues that the root cause of this violence is the vast imbalance of power between Israel and its neighbors. Such an imbalance naturally leads to the more powerful country – in this case, Israel – to resort to force in pursuing Israeli interests. Similarly, the imbalance of power acts as a constant reminder of humiliation for the less powerful, compelling these actors to seek to right the imbalance through the use of more unconventional warfare. The end result of power imbalance is perpetual conflict. This thesis focuses on the imbalance of power between Israel and Syria as measured through both military and economic might. This imbalance has been expressed in differing forms of violence by both sides.

**KEYWORDS:** Balance of Power, Israel, Syria, Military, Economy, Conflict

## **ROK-U.S. SECURITY RELATIONS: “THE CHINA FACTOR” AND A TURNING POINT**

**Sung Min Kim-Captain, South Korean Army**

**B.S., Korea Military Academy, 1992**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis examines the “China factor” in the evolution of the ROK-U.S. relationship and its implications on ROK-U.S. security relations. While the “China factor” had been one of the major stimuli to maintaining a tight alliance relationship between Seoul and Washington during the Cold War era, the recently increasing importance of China in South Korea’s strategic calculations has become a major detrimental factor to ROK-U.S. security relations since the end of the Cold-War. Despite the recently aggravated disharmony between the ROK and the United States on their North Korea policies, the ROK-U.S. security alliance still remains intact and plays a crucial role in stabilizing Northeast Asia as well as the Korean peninsula. Within this context, the most favorable sets of policy options for the ROK and the United States regarding bilateral security relations seem to have significant convergence as well as some divergence. Facing a critical turning point of bilateral security relations, both the ROK and the United States will highly benefit from enhancing security cooperation while narrowing the policy gap between the two. The areas for further cooperation include the bilateral alliance, North Korea policy, anti-Americanism, multilateralism, and China policy.

**KEYWORDS:** Alliance, Security Relations, China Factor, Northeast Asia, Korean Peninsula

## **U.S. SECURITY POSTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: NEED FOR A CHANGE?**

**Bart W. Logue-Captain, United States Marine Corps**

**B.S., Wayland Baptist University, 1994**

**M.S., National University, 1998**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Co-Advisor: James Russell, Department of National Security Affairs**

The United States forward military presence in the Middle East has been on the rise for well over a decade. Recent polling data has indicated that favorable Arab public opinion of the United States and its foreign policy is in decline. This thesis explores the unfavorable opinions of the Arab world toward U.S. foreign policies, utilizing data from recent polls taken in several countries in the Middle East, and suggests a causal

## NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

relationship between the development of unfavorable opinion in the Arab world with the growth of the U.S. forward military presence in the region. This research provides a breakdown of the growth of the U.S. military footprint in the Middle East over the last two decades. The research presented provides an overview of how U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East has developed and argues the necessity of reform in the current U.S. strategic approach toward the Middle East.

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Security Strategy, Public Opinion, Forward Presence, Engagement

### **THE FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS: CAN REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION LEAD TO GREATER COOPERATION ON SECURITY**

**Thomas M. Sandoval-Lieutenant, United States Navy**

**B.S., University of Texas-San Antonio, 1995**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Peter R. Lavoy, Department of National Security Affairs**

The purpose of this thesis is to assess U.S. policies favoring the passing and implementing the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and its impact on cooperative security in the Western Hemisphere. Similar to the 1990s, when the U.S. government debated the pros and cons of the NAFTA, the United States now faces a debate over passage and implementation of the FTAA. With many U.S. and Latin American citizens' focus on economic domestic issues, FTAA talks have widely contested among non-governmental organizations, governmental organizations, labor, and social groups, and the legislative and executive branches of the United States and Latin American governments. This thesis argues the economic policies can influence security policies for economically integrated countries and lead to greater regional cooperation on security. The increasing level of transnational threats, pressure from new actors in favor of establishing stability, and the weakening state role stemming from the free market environment and democratic reform encourages a spillover effect in establishing more coordinated security strategies for the threats associated with economic integration. Therefore, economic integration can lead to greater cooperation on security and it can be argued that the United States and Latin America should pass and implement the FTAA as one means to improve collective security.

**KEYWORDS:** FTAA, Economics, Integration, Cooperation, Security, Spillover

### **BREAKING CONSENSUS: THE OCCUPATION AND THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES**

**Leon B. Scoratow-Lieutenant, United States Naval Reserve**

**B.A., Carnegie-Mellon University, 1997**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Advisor: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Jeff Knopf, Department of National Security Affairs**

With the establishment of universal conscription into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and reserve duty lasting much of the average male's adult life, the IDF became one of the central institutions of the State of Israel. The occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, the Sinai, and Golan in 1967, forced Israelis to re-examine their deeply shared, or hegemonic views about security, peace, and war, especially regarding the employment of the IDF. This thesis examines the effects of Israeli political divisions, specifically with regard to the occupied territories, and further, how those political cleavages affect the employment of the IDF. Its first case study examines the progression of selective refusal to serve in the IDF from the extreme left of the Israeli political spectrum to the center-left, from the Lebanon War through the current uprising. The second case study examines the relationship between the IDF and Fundamentalist Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories, emphasizing resistance to settlement removal over time. This thesis concludes with prescriptions for redefining the borders of the State of Israel in order to prevent a loss of consensus regarding the legitimacy of the state from the right or the left of the political spectrum.

**KEYWORDS:** Israel, IDF, Occupied Territories, Selective Refusal, Jewish Fundamentalism

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

## CHINA'S NAVAL MODERNIZATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Page E. Small-Lieutenant, United States Naval Reserve

B.A., University of Oklahoma, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002

Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Randall J. Hess, Naval War College

This thesis analyzes the implications of Chinese navy modernization for the South China Sea. The PRC is modernizing and expanding its naval capacities for the purpose of protecting China's security, territorial, and economic interests. The PRC has placed a great deal of emphasis on modernizing its navy since the early 1990s. Specifically, Beijing has been purchasing Russian conventional naval arms designed to defeat and counter U.S. naval forces in the region. The transformation of China's navy from a coastal defense force to a blue water fleet capable of projecting force at sea will have serious economic, political, and security implications for the United States, as well as for those countries bordering China and the South China Sea.

**KEYWORDS:** PLA-Navy, PLAN Modernization, South China Sea, China's Naval Modernization, Chinese Navy, Asia-Pacific Region

## ASSESSING THE RISK OF INADVERTENT NUCLEAR WAR BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Stephen A. Smith-Major, United States Army

B.A., Evergreen State College, 1989

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002

Advisor: Peter R. Lavoy, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Surinder Rana, Department of National Security Affairs

Conventional warfare between India and Pakistan could inadvertently escalate to nuclear warfare. Asymmetries in military doctrine and capability undermine deterrence stability and could lead to the use of nuclear weapons if the two nations become engaged in a large-scale conventional conflict. Following the 1998 nuclear weapons test, the 1999 Kargil Conflict played out under the nuclear umbrella, but remained very limited. However, there is a growing gap in conventional military capabilities, and growing pressure in India to retaliate against Pakistan for its alleged support of terrorism and insurgency. India has invested heavily in force modernization, potentially changing the scope of conventional military operations and leading to Pakistan's inadvertent use of nuclear weapons. This thesis examines the possibility of inadvertent nuclear escalation between India and Pakistan. It analyzes the deterrence system that is evolving in South Asia, and describes the conditions under which the system could fail. Large-scale conventional war could threaten the survival of strategic forces, or threaten vital strategic command and control functions. Finally, Pakistan could adopt a launch-on-warning posture to guard against an Indian pre-emptive attack. This thesis concludes by recommending steps that the United States could take to ensure peace and decrease de-stabilizing factors in the region.

**KEYWORDS:** India, Pakistan, United States, Nuclear Weapons, Ballistic Missiles, Deterrence, Escalation

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

---

## **BUILDING UP A STRATEGY FOR DE-BALKANIZING THE BALKANS: STABILITY AND PROSPERITY IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

**Ferdinand Xhaferaj-Albanian Parliament**

**B.A., Tirana State University, 1988**

**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2002**

**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-December 2002**

**Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Robert Looney, Department of National Security Affairs**

Almost three years after the Kosovo conflict, the Balkans remains politically and socially unstable as well as economically depressed. Even though Slobodan Milosevic has gone, he has left behind him a legacy of destruction and distrust. The mechanisms, instruments, and models of international relations that provide a framework for producing security and promoting development such as creation of alliances, diplomacy, and models of security communities, did not produce the expected results. Therefore, a high potential for renewed conflict remains acute. Across the Balkans, integration and stability are still in their infancy due to strong nationalism and under-performing economies. Taking into consideration that complex crises such as that in the Balkans usually have their origin in long-term circumstances, it is understandable that investigating the long-term, deep historical roots of a conflict is important in identifying possible solutions. One of the main reasons that Western Powers adopted a reluctant attitude towards the Balkans crises, or did too little too late, was misunderstanding the nature and the origin of the conflicts from the beginning. Without knowing where the region is coming from, it is impossible to construct where the region should be heading. This thesis outlines a brief history of the region that provides the context for the current situation. It demonstrates the impact of ethnicity, religion, language, culture, and economics in shaping the conflicts in the Balkans. Furthermore, it analyzes the current security and economic situation in the region. Finally, it provides some security and economic recommendations, which offer guidelines for implementing what the author considers the right path for de-Balkanizing the Balkans.

**KEYWORDS:** Balkans, South Eastern Europe, Conflict, Transition, Stabilization