

# Index

- Abbas, Mahmoud, 205, 206, 211
- Abkhazia, Russia and, 42
- Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), 404, 406
- Abubakar, Abdulsalami, 549
- ACC (Arab Cooperation Council), 177–78
- Acevedo, Carlos, 516
- Acharya, Amitav, 62, 63
- Adjei, Nii Okai, 153
- Advance Cargo Information System (ACIS), 471
- “affection-based politics,” 120
- Afghanistan, 4, 9, 174
- Central Asian states aid in reconstruction, 339
  - constitution on Islam, 390*n*22
  - CSTO and, 332–33
  - drugs into Russia from, 315
  - Durand Line, 548
  - instability in, 323
  - jihadists in, 230
  - NATO and, 253, 254, 260
  - public support level in NATO countries, 273*n*26
  - radical Islam at border, 361
  - Russia and, 318
  - security challenges, 216
  - Taliban in, Central Asia as base for overthrow, 321
  - troop cargo supply route, 322, 339–40
  - U.S. support for sending troops, 273*n*27
  - views of NATO in, 258
- Africa
- armed conflict in, 117
  - collective conflict management, 539*t*
  - cyber crime in, 158–61
  - follow-up on commitments, 163
  - improved conditions, 119
  - intrastate conflicts, 52
  - migration of professionals, 123
  - organized crime in, 121
  - regional arrangements, 51*t*
  - regional character of conflicts, 119–20
  - regional organizations, role of, 115
  - security culture origins, 81
  - security issues, 149
    - complexity, 116–25
    - national and regional, 115
    - new threats, 121–23
  - societal disjointedness and frailties in postcolonial, 152
- African Charter on Democracy, Election, and Governance, 125–26
- African criminal networks (ACNs), 154
- African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), 116
- architecture, 127–32
  - assessment, 132–42
    - capacity to act, 134–35
    - institutional capacity, 135–36
    - operational capacity, 139–40
    - peacekeeping capacity, 136–38
    - political will to act, 132–34
  - need for strengthening, 143
  - policy agenda, 125–26
  - as work in progress, 135–36
- African Peace Facility, 139
- African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), 125
- African Standby Force (ASF), 129–30
- African Union, ix, 53, 57, 65, 115–16, 535
- approach to security, 116–17
  - backroom services and office space, 140

- capacity to address security challenges, 116
- Conference of Ministers for Drug and Crime Prevention, 165
- Constitutive Act, 54, 125, 126
- members' suspension, 60
- Ministerial Conference on Drug Control, 164–65
- Mugabe and, 134
- nongovernmental organizations, capacity, 141
- Peace and Security Council (PSC), 125, 127–28
- peace operations, 59*t*
- Policy Framework on Post-Conflict and Reconstruction, 123
- response to organized crime, 162, 163–64
- staffing for, 139–40
- techniques, 58
- African Union Commission, 57
- African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), 549
- African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), 247, 550
- Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (OPANAL), 444, 551
- agriculture in Africa, climate change and, 122
- agroeconomic problems in India, 359
- Aguilar, Ruben, 489
- Agyeman, Hackman Owusu, 153
- Ahmad, Sagir, 371
- Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 188, 201, 248
- Ahsan, Muhammad, 184
- Ahtisaari, Martti, Crisis Management Initiative, 31, 552
- AIDS, poll on concern, 11
- Akayev, Askar, 320
- al-Qaeda, 10, 230, 404
- at Afghanistan-Pakistan border, 362
- Iran tension with West, 181
- in Iraq, 179, 186
- in Israel, 208
- in Pakistan, 184
- Alagappa, Muthiah, 15
- Albright, Madeleine, 259, 275*n*41
- Algeria, 185
- counterterrorist measures, 230
- elections, 119
- wealth use to support groups, 236
- Alianza Republica Nacionalista (ARENA), 490
- All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), 371
- All Parties National Alliance, 392*n*45
- Allison, Roy, 63
- Americas. *See also* Central America; Mexico; South America; United States
- conflict management in, 493–94
- conflict resolution in, 484–86
- regional arrangements, 51*t*
- security threats, 488–491
- organized crime, 483, 488–90, 496
- Amity and Cooperation, Treaty of (1976), 54, 56, 428
- China signing, 410
- Amnesty International, 520
- Amoateng, Eric, 153
- Amsterdam Treaty (1997), 274*n*35
- ancestral worship, in West Africa, 156
- Andean Charter for Peace and Security, 446
- Andean Community, 446, 551
- Anderson, Tony, 471–72
- Andréani, Gilles, 531
- Andrés, Amando Philippe de, 151
- Angola, 121
- Ankomah, Paapa Owusu, 153
- Annan Peace Plan, 43
- Annual African ICT Achievers Awards, 167
- anti-American feelings, of Middle East public, 239
- Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, 41
- Antigua and Barbuda, 475
- APHC (All Parties Hurriyat Conference), 371
- APSA. *See* African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)
- Arab Cooperation Council (ACC), 177–78
- Arab-Israeli conflict, 190–93
- centrality in regional insecurity, 229
- peace process, 200, 209–15
- collapse, 207
- threat of conventional war, 202

- Arab League, 175, 182, 222, 231–32, 241  
 and Arab-Israeli dispute, 192  
 budget, 66  
 failure to act on Darfur, 247
- Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), 176
- Arab states  
 authoritarian rule in, 226  
 calming conflicts in, 103–04  
 change in 2011, 250  
 conflict mediation, 235–38  
 disempowerment of, 247  
 external military protection, 225  
 fragile nature, 228  
 government distrust in, 249  
 and joint military capacity, 251*n*8  
 national identity, 171, 172  
 negotiation, 111*n*30  
 peace efforts with Israel, 201  
 refusal to endorse humanitarian  
 intervention, 243  
 relations between, 97–98  
 security, 221  
 competing frameworks, 231–35  
 state-society gap, 227–29  
 trust absent between, 172  
 vertical policymaking, 91  
 weakness in joint actions, 223
- Arabs  
 absent strategic community, 225–26  
 distrust of international order, 225  
 as Israeli citizens, 207  
 religious minorities, 222
- Arafat, Yasser, 210, 211
- arbitration of disputes, 58
- “arc of communication,” 389*n*3
- “arc of energy,” 389*n*3
- “arc of instability,” 389*n*3
- “arc of prosperity,” 389*n*3
- ARENA (Alianza Republica Nacionalista),  
 490
- Argentina, 440, 458*n*14  
 and Falklands/Malvinas, 95
- Arias, Oscar, 484
- Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 485
- Aristotle, 27, 28
- armed conflict. *See also* war  
 in Africa, 117  
 in Central America, 511–12  
 increase in, 13  
 types, 51–52  
 victims of, 34–36  
 armed forces. *See* military forces
- Armed Forces Special Powers Act (India),  
 371, 391*n*32
- Armenia, 297  
 CSTO membership, 329
- arms control, 5, 41  
 absence of agreement in Middle East,  
 227  
 in South America, 448
- Arms Control and Regional Security  
 Working Group, 209
- ASEAN. *See* Association of Southeast  
 Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- ASEAN Plus Three, 102, 430
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 54, 55,  
 407–08, 536  
 development influences, 65  
 in East Asia, 429  
 India in, 376  
 limitations, 411
- Ashton, Catherine, 276*n*54
- Asia. *See also* Central Asia; East Asia;  
 South Asia; Southeast Asia  
 European Union and, 342  
 India’s role, 353  
 regional arrangements, 51*t*
- Asia Foundation, 550
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation  
 (APEC), 23*n*32
- Asia-Pacific region, lack of formal  
 multilateral institutions, 14
- Asian Development Bank (ADB), 336
- al-Assad, Bashar, 213
- al-Assad, Hafez, 213
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations  
 (ASEAN)  
 conflict management techniques, 58  
 development, 542  
 diplomats’ vs. public views, 94–95  
 in East Asia, 428–29  
 flexible engagement debate, 65  
 forums, 551  
 High Council, 56  
 India and, 376, 383, 394*n*68  
 intrastate conflict resolution, 53  
 member states, 406  
 quiet diplomacy, 101–03  
 role of, 54–55, 406–09, 418  
 structure, 534, 536

- Asunción, Treaty of, 445
- Atlantic Underwater Testing and Evaluation Center (AUTECE), 475
- Australasia, regional arrangements, 51*t*
- Austria, and European Union, 102
- authoritarian rule
- in Arab states, 226, 228
  - in Central Asia, 320
  - effect on public policy, 195
  - and human security, 244
  - and radicalization threat thesis, 325
- autonomy
- for Jammu and Kashmir, 371
  - for Kashmir, 373–75
- average incomes, globalization and growth in, 21*n*14
- Avruch, Kevin, 79
- Awami League, 391*n*23
- Ayacuchu Declaration, 448
- Azcona, Jose, 485
- Bacar, Mohammed, 133
- Bachelet, Michelle, 452
- Baghdad Pact, 208
- Bahamas, 475
- Bahrain
- in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233
  - links with West, 173
  - military forces, 225
  - view of security threats, 228
- Bailes, Alyson, 87, 93, 104, 106
- on competition among organizations, 89
  - on European security experiment, 111*n*29
- Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group report, 241
- Bakiyev, Kurmanbek, 320, 321
- balance of power
- in international system, 4
  - in interwar period, 25
- Balkan states, 93, 296
- European Union and, 61
  - future of cooperation, 96
  - tensions in, 282
- Ban Ki-moon, 554
- Bangladesh, 356, 359–60, 383
- Islamist militant groups, 364
  - views on terrorism, 10
- Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), 361
- banyamulenge*, 120
- Baqeri, Mohammad-Reza, 187
- Barak, Ehud, 214, 217
- Barcelona Process, 234
- Barisan Revolusi Nasional, 405
- Barroso, Jose Manuel, 264
- al-Bashir, Omar, 117, 246
- arrest warrant, 466
- battle-group coordination conference, 275*n*43
- Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sector Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMST-EC), 382
- behavior, characteristic patterns in negotiating, 80
- Belarus, 297, 331
- CSTO membership, 329
- Belgium, measure of military effort, 291*t*
- Ben-Gurion, David, 208
- Bengal, partition, 356
- Berlin-plus agreement, 268
- Betts, Richard, 261
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 361
- Bhutto, Benazir, assassination, 184
- Biden, Joe, 264
- Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, South America and, 438
- bipolar international system, 5
- Bishop, Maurice, 470
- Bishop, Morris, 485
- Bitzinger, Richard A., 551
- Black Sea Cooperation Forum, 301*n*2
- Boeing, 270*n*5
- Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), 442, 486, 498*n*7
- confrontation with OAS, 487
  - and Cuba readmission to OAS, 487–88
- Bolivia, 95
- left-wing government, 440
- border control for Mexico, 519
- border disputes
- in India and Pakistan, 357
  - SCO and, 335
  - Durand Line between Afghanistan and Pakistan, 548
  - in South America, 440, 447
- Border Management Afghanistan Project, 343
- borderland development policy, in South Asia, 357

- Bordyuzha, Nikolay, 331, 332  
 Boshoff, Henri, 123  
 Bosnia, 4, 7  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 64  
 Bozizé, François, 135  
 Brahimi Panel on UN Peace Operations, 147*n*73  
 Brahimi Report on UN Peacekeeping Reform (2000), 137  
 Brazil  
   crime rate, 453  
   dispute with Ecuador, 440  
 Brazilian-Argentine Nuclear Accounting Agency, 444  
 Bretton Woods system, 12  
 Britain, 288  
   shift in military profile, 290  
 Brownback, Sam, 180  
 budget allocation, 66–67  
 Bulgaria  
   measure of military effort, 291*t*  
   U.S. agreement with, 294  
 bureaucracies, for regional arrangements, 57  
 Burma, 400  
 Burundi, 123, 130  
   African Union in, 133  
 Bush, George H.W., 485  
 Bush, George W., 489  
   at EU-U.S. summit meeting 2001, 264  
   and North Korea, 423  
 Bush administration (George W.), 46, 212, 241  
   approach to North Korea, 421  
   and arms control, 41  
   on Iran's missile programs, 188–89  
   and Russia, 311  
 Buzan, Barry, 15, 348, 532  
  
 Calderon, Felipe, 489  
 Cambodia, 7, 55  
 Cameroon, 120  
   cyber crime, 158  
   security services weakness, 160, 161  
 Camp David summit (2000), 211  
 Canada  
   “intelligent borders” agreement with U.S., 508  
   resistance to U.S. domination, 99  
   threat of narcotics gangs, 489  
 Cape Verde, 168*n*4  
 Caputto, Dante, 452  
 Cardoso, Fernando Enrique, 496  
 Caribbean, 98  
   brain drain, 491  
   collective conflict management, 540*t*  
   criminal gangs and state sovereignty, 467–68  
   drug trafficking in, 466  
   freedom of movement in, 465  
   regional security vs. national security, 472–73  
   regional strategy, lack of, 464  
   security environment, 465–68  
   security threats  
   health systems, 492  
   organized crime, 463, 490–91  
   weapons build-up, 492–493  
   shared identities, 97  
   state power erosion, 466  
   “third-border” concept, 473–77  
 Caribbean and the Brazilian-Argentine Nuclear Accounting Agency, 551  
 Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, 481*n*41  
 Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), 475  
 Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI), 474, 475–76  
 Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), 468, 469  
 CARICOM  
   Accreditation Watch List System (CAWS), 471  
   development, 468–72  
   Interactive Border Security System (CARIBSECS), 471  
   need for collective approach to regional security, 477–78  
   regional security mechanism, 470–71  
   threats to stability, 466–67  
 Carter, Jimmy, 420, 486  
 Castenada, Jorge, 489  
 Castresana, Carlos, 498*n*13  
 Castro, Raul, 488  
 catastrophic accidents, as security threat in Russia, 314  
 CCM. *See* collective conflict management

- Cedras, Raoul, 485
- Central African Republic (CAR), 118, 123, 135
- Central America
- armed conflict, 511–12
  - collective conflict management, 540*t*
  - economic and social information, 502*t*
  - homicide rates, 516, 517*t*
  - human rights of migrants, 520
  - mine clearing, 450
  - organized crime, 488–90
  - peace processes, 512–13
  - public perceptions of problems, 518*t*
  - security issues, 516–18
  - security relations with Mexico, 518–19
  - transnational security problems, 501
  - U.S. interest in decision-making processes, 6
- Central Asia, 318–28
- authoritarian rule in, 320
  - border disputes in, SCO and, 335
  - and European Union, 341–43
  - insecurity, 319, 345
  - institutional responses to regional security challenges, 328–45
  - Islamic radicalization in, 324–25
  - nation building, 320
  - NATO and, 339
  - new security paradigm, 346–49
  - Russia-supported institutions, 329
  - security threats, 322–28
  - state-building vs. regionalism, 306
  - strategy of eliminating Islamist groups, 326
  - subregionalism in, 347
- Central Asia Border Management Program, 343
- Central Asia Drug Action Program, 343
- Central Asian Border Security Initiative, 343
- Central Asian Republics, 297
- Central European Initiative, 301*n*2
- central tenets, vs. operational assumptions, 64
- Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HDC), 550
- Chad, 116, 120, 133
- armed conflict, 149
  - military mission, 275*n*42
- Chaguaramas, Treaty of, 468
- Chan Heng Chee, 85, 87, 101, 106
- Chatultepec Accord, 498*n*4
- Chavez, Hugo, 451, 488
- Chechnya, 62, 282, 283, 297
- terrorism in, 314
- Chemical Weapons Convention, South America and, 438
- China
- concerns in Southeast Asia, 398
  - economy, 399
    - governance, 425–26
    - growth as priority, 424  - foreign policy, 426
  - India and, 380, 382–83
  - military expenditures, 435*n*3
  - military potential growth, 396–99
  - and North Korea, 422
    - role in negotiations, 433
    - trade, 436*n*7  - oil imports, 399
  - political governance issues, 425
  - role in East Asia, 416
  - role in global conflict management, 30, 39
  - role in Southeast Asia, 409–11, 412
  - and SCO, 334, 336
  - and Serbia, 36
  - string of pearls strategy, 380, 398
  - “tribute system,” 95–96
  - views of al-Qaeda, 10
- Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) in Taiwan, 420
- civil society, 131
- involvement in conflict management, 5–6
- civil war, 8
- outbreak in post-Cold War period, 6
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 25
- climate change, 118, 122, 404
- Clinton administration, 30
- and Syria-first policy for Israel, 212
- cocaine
- South America production, 453, 483
  - trafficking, 150
- coercion, rejection of, 29
- Cohen, Raymond, 111*n*30
- Negotiating across Cultures*, 79
  - “coke coast,” West Africa as, 150

- Cold War, 4  
 end  
 effect of, 28  
 impact on Arab countries, 222  
 international institutions' role, 536  
 and Mexico democratization, 504  
 military changes in Europe after, 281–82  
 and Russia security concerns, 309  
 nonmilitary means for conflict management, 5  
 Russia resentment of perceived failure, 310  
 collective conflict management, 543–54  
 cases, 547–52  
 definition, 555*n*11  
 and regional conflict management, 552–54  
 sources of and obstacles to, by region, 539–40*t*  
 collective defense, 555*n*12  
 collective peacekeeping, 59  
 collective security, 555*n*12  
 Collective Security Treaty (CST), 329  
 Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), 307, 316, 329–34  
 Charter, 349*n*11  
 Foreign Ministers' Council, 332–33  
 future of, 337–38  
 Joint Rapid Reaction Force (KSOR), 331  
 mandate, 330  
 military capabilities, 333–34  
 peacekeeping forces, 332  
 Rapid Deployment Forces of the Central Asian Region, 330–31  
 Russia support, 329  
 vs. SCO, 335  
 summit in Dushanbe, 332  
 U.S. relations with, 338  
 Colombia  
 crime rate, 453  
 OAS in, 452  
 security threats, 488  
 tensions with Ecuador, 447  
 tensions with Venezuela, 440, 447–48, 458*n*10  
 terrorism in, 483  
 war in, 440–41, 447  
 colonial regions  
 European roles in, 286  
 former, and cooperation, 541  
 colonization, impact on culture, 93  
 Commission for Historical Clarification in Guatemala, 514  
 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 254  
 Common Market of the South (Mercosul), 442, 445, 551  
 and transnational criminal activity, 455  
 Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), 262–63  
 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 62, 329  
 peace operations, 59*t*  
 communicable disease. *See* infectious disease  
 communication links, for Kashmir, 372  
 Community of Andean Nations (CAN), 442  
 Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, 494–95  
 Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), 140  
 Composite Dialogue (India and Pakistan), 367–68  
 Comprehensive Security Treaty Organization, 302*n*13  
 Compton, John, 498*n*5  
 computer viruses, 159  
 Conference for Interaction and Confidence-Building in Asia (CICA), 344–45  
 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), 274*n*33  
 conflict  
 dimensions for analyzing sources, 15  
 exportation of, 120  
 resolution in Americas  
 intrastate, 451–52  
 South America, 439–40  
 U.S. role, 486  
 response to, 67–68  
 conflict management, 529. *See also*  
 collective conflict management  
 in Americas, 493–94  
 Arab capacity for, 248  
 definition, 20*n*4, 77  
 differing approaches, 548*t*

- vs. escalation, 25
- focus, 54–55
- institutions dedicated to, ix
- new wealth of, 30–34
- nonmilitary means during Cold War, 5
- opportunities, 46
- regional capability, 538
- regional mechanisms of prevention and resolution, 130–31
- regionalization effectiveness, 542–43
- requirements, security threats and, 4–13
- significance, 53–54
- conflict mediation, informal means by
  - Arab states, 235–38
  - financial means, 236–37
  - religious influence, 237
  - security agencies, 237–38
  - tribal ties, 238
- Conflict Prevention Framework, 55
- conflict resolution, in Americas, 484–86
- confrontation, vs. deference, 110*n*21
- Congo, 4
- consensus decision making, 56
  - by Arab League, 232
  - vulnerability to paralysis, 110*n*25
- Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia), 408–09
- constitutionalism, African Union and, 125
- Constitutive Agreement for the Central American Commission for the Eradication of Production, Traffic, Consumption and Illicit Use of Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, 520
- Constitutive Treaty of the Union, 445
- Contadora, 484
- Contadora Group, 512
- containment, overreliance on, 365
- Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), 128–29
- Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 386
- Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, 41, 298
- cooperation
  - in conflict management, 542
  - interest in, 538
- cooperative security, 348, 450
  - in South America, 442
- Côte d'Ivoire, 133
- Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), 408
- Council of Baltic Sea States, 301*n*2
- Council of Europe, 298, 535
- Council of Indigenous People, 446
- Council on Foreign Relations, 9, 10
- counterterrorism, 9
- countries in South, 9
- criminal activity
  - cyber crime, in Africa, 158–61
  - gangs in Caribbean, 467–68
  - as vocation in Caribbean, 491
  - West African reaction, 156
  - white collar crime, 160–61
- Crisis Management Initiative, 31, 552
- Croatia, 282
- cross-cultural negotiating behavior, 78
- Cruz, Miguel, 517
- CSTO. *See* Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)
- Cuba, and OAS, 487
- cultural traits, shared by diplomats, 85
- culture, 63–65
  - clash, 86
  - definition, 78, 79
  - future research, 104–06
  - of hard security, 226–27
  - history and, 93–96
  - impact, 75, 86–92
  - role of, 84–92
- cyber crime
  - in Africa, 158–61
  - responses to, 166–67
  - need for attention to, 168
- cyberterrorism, 160
- Cyclone Nargis (2008), 427
- Cyprus, 5
  - in European Union, 276*n*59
- Czech Republic, U.S. agreement with, 294
- Darfur
  - African Union and, 116, 130, 133, 549
  - regionalization of conflict, 120
  - responsibility to protect (R2P), 246–47
  - roots of conflict in, 118
  - Western attitude toward, 36

- Dartmouth process, 20*n*5
- de Hoop Scheffer, Jaap, 258, 265–66
- de Wilde, Jaap, 15
- decision making
- Arab League mechanism need for enforcing, 232
  - unanimity vs. consensus, 56
- Declaration of San Salvador, 449
- Declaration on Security in the Americas, 441–42
- defense industry, U.S. vs. Europe, 270*n*5
- defense spending
- by EU members, 263
  - increase by European countries, 283
  - in Southeast Asia, 401
- deference, vs. confrontation, 110*n*21
- Delhi Policy Group, 548
- democracy
- in Africa, failure from corruption, 153
  - after conflicts, 124
  - in Asia, 352–53
  - in Caribbean, 465
  - deficit in South Asia, 385
  - in India, 353
  - internal contradictions, 42–44
  - OAS defense of, 451
  - progress in post–Cold War period, 29
  - relationship with regional conflict management, 69
  - in South Asia, and religious extremism, 361
  - in Western Hemisphere, 493–94
- Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in Taiwan, 420
- Democratic Security Framework Treaty (1995), 520
- dengue fever, risk in Southeast Asia, 403
- Denmark, shift in military profile, 290
- Department for International Development (DfID), 122
- Desker, Barry, 551
- developing countries
- feelings of disadvantaged, 12
  - income growth, 21*n*14
- Diehl, Paul, 58, 61
- differential attitudes, ASEAN and, 102
- diplomatic sanctions, 60
- diplomats
- approaches to security risks, 13
  - identity shifts by, 105
  - interviews with, 76–77
  - professional culture, 77, 86–88
  - style, culture influence, 85
- disarmament commitments, bias in, 42
- Discovery of India* (Nehru), 384
- disease. *See also* infectious disease
- conflict as, 26
- disempowerment, of Arab governments, 247
- Disengagement Agreement of 1974, 200
- domestic politics, and regional behavior, 62–63
- domestic violence, and education levels, 491
- Dominican Republic, 486
- doubly disadvantaged, in South Asia, 355
- drug money, impact in Africa, 150
- drug trafficking
- from Afghanistan into Russia, 315
  - in Africa
    - collusion by African public officials, 152
    - in Ghana, 157
    - response to, 161–66
    - in West Africa, 155–56, 157*t*  - in Americas, 483
  - Caribbean, 466
  - Central America, 323–24, 503
  - Colombia, 440
  - Mexico, 508, 509, 519–20
- drug users, criminalization vs. treatment, 496
- Duarte, Napoleón, 513
- Dubai Process, 548–49
- Duffield, John, 65
- Durand Line, 548
- “duty to intervene,” 251*n*14
- East Asia
- conflict management approach, 415
  - confrontational approach, 95–96
  - existing approaches to security, 428–30
  - and global governance, 429–30
  - major actors, 416–19
  - new approach, 430–35
  - regionalism in, 419
  - security challenges, 419–27
  - China, 424–26

- economic growth, 426–27
  - nontraditional and transnational, 427
  - North Korea, 420–24
  - trade, 435*n*2
  - U.S. and future security for, 432
- East Asia Security forum, need for, 434
- East Asia Summit (EAS), 408, 411, 417
  - propose security framework for, 435*f*
- East Bengal, secession, 359–60
- East Timor, 7
- East-West bridge-building exercises, 20*n*5
- East-West conflict, 5
- Eastern African Standby Brigade
  - Coordination Mechanism (EASBRICOM), 137
- Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States, 135
  - peace operations, 59*t*
- Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 449
- Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), 140
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 53, 55, 104, 130
  - Drug Control and Crime Prevention Mechanism, 166
  - and Liberian peace talks, 549
  - Mediation and Security Council, 56, 70*n*27
  - members' suspension, 60
  - peace operations, 59*t*
  - Protocol on Democracy on Good Governance (2001), 69
  - response to organized crime, 162–63
- Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), 7
- Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), 178
  - economic disparity, 9
    - in India, 359–60
  - economic globalization, 8–9
  - economic interdependence, in East Asia, 420
  - economic sanctions, 60
- ECOWAS. *See* Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- Ecuador, 439
  - dispute with Brazil, 440
  - left-wing government, 440
  - tensions with Colombia, 447
- education levels, and domestic violence, 491
- Egypt, 182, 185
  - counterterrorist measures, 230
  - diplomatic style, 103
  - elections, 119
    - and Israel, 5, 207
  - as mediator, 237
  - military forces, 225
  - resentment of U.S. involvement, 239
  - and responsibility to protect (R2P), 244–45
  - view of security threats, 228
  - views of al-Qaeda, 10
  - and the West, 173
  - Western colonialism of, 91
- Einaudi, Luigi R., 78, 106
  - on Caribbean nations, 97, 98
  - on elites in Latin America, 90
  - on European Union, 94
  - on multilateral trades unionism, 99
  - on OAS, 85, 100
- El Salvador, 490
  - armed conflict, 511–12
  - gang membership, 498*n*14
  - guerrilla movements, 502
  - military forces in, 514
  - military stalemate, 513
  - murder rates in, 490
  - security-sector reforms, 514–15
- elections, in African countries, 119
- elite culture, 86, 89–90
- elites
  - of Arab world, 228
  - political survival, 120
- Ellis, Stephen, 154
- Emmers, Ralf, 412
- energy security, for European Union, 342
- environmental pressures
  - on income growth, 21*n*14
  - from prosperity, 427
- equality, and extremism, 44
- Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 212
- Eritrea, armed conflict, 149
- escalation of conflict

- vs. conflict management, 25
- prevention, 5
- Esquipulas Agreement, 484
- Esquipulas II Agreement, 512
- Ethiopia, armed conflict, 149
- ethnic hatred, poll on concern, 11
- ethnicity, and African conflicts, 118
- Eurasia
  - collective conflict management, 540*t*
  - control of energy export routes from, 312
  - drivers and limitations of key security actor, 307–18
  - post-Soviet, security threats and challenges, 305
  - and Russia, 348
  - security threats, 315
- Euro-Mediterranean Framework, 234
- Europe
  - absence as leader in global issues, 38
  - active power vs. passive model, 300
  - armed forces deployment, 303*n*36
  - cocaine demand, 151
  - collective conflict management, 540*t*
  - integration, and interaction with neighbors, 296–300
  - internal divisions, 256
  - military forces, 255, 270*n*5
  - national attitudes, 287–92
  - native terrorism, 284
  - opinion polls on concerns, 289
  - readiness to intervene, 290
  - regional arrangements, 51*t*
  - and Russia, 346
  - security convergence and common ground, 292
  - strategic objectives, 255
  - threats and risks to security, 280–87
  - U.S. support for defense efforts, 275*n*41
  - and world, 300–01
- “European concert,” 25–26
- European Council on Foreign Relations, 256
- European countries, role in global conflict management, 30
- European Defence Agency, 271*n*9
- European External Action Service (EEAS), 271*n*9
- European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), 341
- European Rapid Reaction Force, 263
- European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), 254, 262–63, 280, 301*n*5
- European Security Strategy (ESS), 280
- European Security Treaty, Medvedev’s draft, 310
- European Union, 30, 31–32, 53, 261–65, 535
  - and Austria, 102
  - and Balkans, 61
  - bureaucracies, 57
  - and Central Asia, 341–43
  - cooperation with NATO, 265–69
    - obstacles, 267–68
  - decision making process, 56, 293
  - energy security for, 342
  - enlargement, 296
  - and Eurasia, 307
  - Eurobarometer poll (2008), 301*n*7
  - European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), 296
  - expenditures for Central Asia project, 328–29
  - exporting by, 285
  - foreign and security policy, 274*n*35
  - high-level relations with U.S., 264
  - history teaching need for peace, 94
  - membership, 266*t*
    - enlargement, 271*n*8
  - military forces, 263
    - measure of effort, 291*t*
  - and NATO, 295
  - peace operations, 59*t*
  - police or rule-of-law missions vs. military missions, 263
  - relations with U.S., 33
  - responsibilities, 262, 295
  - role in conflict management, 32
  - role in transatlantic relations, 254
  - and Russia, 297, 310
  - Security Strategy, 279
  - U.S. view of, 257
- external influence, and regional conflict management, 62
- extremism
  - contradiction breeding, 44
  - political, 43
  - in South Asia, 357–60

- Failed States Index, 222
- Falklands islands, 440
- FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia), 447, 488
- Fatah movement, 205
- Fawcett, Louise, 49
- Fayyad, Salam, 205
- Fergana Valley, 319
- Fernandez, Leonel, 494
- finances, in Middle East mediation, 236–37
- financial crisis in 2008, 20  
and European military limitations, 261  
and Russian perception of U.S., 312
- firearms. *See* weapons
- fishing  
competition for, 118–19  
illegal, 122
- 5+1 group, 190
- Flanagan, Stephen, 474, 475–76
- flexible engagement, debate on, 65
- food security, 122
- force. *See also* military forces  
practices concerning use, 64  
unequal regulation of use, 40–42
- Four Common Spaces approach, 341
- 419 crime, 158
- Fox, Vicente, 506
- France, 288  
measure of military effort, 291*t*  
military forces, 290  
view of NATO, 258  
views on terrorism, 10
- Franco, Itamar, 443
- fraternity of Sant' Egidio, 31
- Free Aceh Movement, 31
- Freeman, Charles W., 88, 91, 97, 104, 106  
on cultural tradition of statecraft, 92
- Frente Democrático Revolucionario-Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FDR-FMLN), 513
- Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), 490
- Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN), 512
- Friedman, Thomas, 20
- Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), 477
- Frum, David, 180
- Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), 447, 488
- funding, for conflict management operations, 139
- G7, 40
- G8, 40
- G20 countries, 40  
demands for rights to farmers, 359
- Gallup interviews, 256
- Gates, Robert, 497
- Gause, Gregory, 172
- Gaza Strip, 192, 204–05, 211  
and responsibility to protect (R2P), 244–45
- geographic scope, and regional variation, 60–61
- geonarcotics, 465
- geopolitics, retreat in Central Asia, 347
- Georgia  
closure of OSCE and UN missions, 307  
war in, 274*n*33, 294, 315–16  
Bush administration support, 311  
and Russian limitations, 317
- Germany  
measure of military effort, 291*t*  
view of NATO, 258–59
- Ghana, 157  
cyber crime, 158  
drug trafficking, 150–51, 168*n*5  
security services weakness, 160, 161  
smuggling gang arrest and release, 152–53
- Gilgit-Baltistan Thinkers Forum, 392*n*45
- Glenny, Misha, 158
- global developments, impact on Caribbean security, 464
- global economy, China's importance in, 426
- global financial crisis (2008). *See* financial crisis in 2008
- global governance, East Asia and, 429–30
- global initiative, vs. regional initiative, 4
- global markets, 8
- global power, regions' demands on, 533–34
- global security, 6, 530–32
- global threats, European Union view on response, 286
- global wars, 478*n*6

- globalization  
   and diplomats' culture, 87  
   effect on Mexican military, 507  
   and growth in average incomes, 21*n*14  
   and human insecurity, 8  
 goal of conflict management, 20*n*4  
 Golan Heights, 202, 213  
   dispute over, 191  
 Goldstone Report, 204  
 Gopinath, Meenakshi, 547  
 governance structures, lack for regions, 3  
 Graham, John, 85, 90, 95, 98, 99, 106, 536  
 Greater Middle East, 174  
 Greece  
   measure of military effort, 291*t*  
   U.S. and, 32  
 Grenada, 480*n*30  
   coup in 1979, 470  
   government overthrow, 485  
 Grenadines, CARICOM intervention, 469  
 Griffiths, Ivelaw, 465  
 gross domestic product (GDP)  
   U.S. defense expenditures, 275*n*44  
   world, 261–62  
 Guarantors of the Peru-Ecuador Treaty, 444  
 Guatemala, 30, 485–86  
   armed conflict, 511–12  
     peace process, 512, 513  
   corruption and gangs, 490  
   guerrilla movements, 502  
   military forces in, 514  
   security-sector reforms, 514–15  
 Guinea, 116  
   narcotics impact, 157–58  
   refugees' overflow, 7  
 Guinea-Bissau, 116, 121–22, 123  
   drug trafficking, 150–51  
   narcotics impact, 157–58  
 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), 175–76, 233–34  
   and the West, 173  
 Guyana, 464  
   drug dealers, 466  
   gang violence, 467  
   military, 479*n*20  
  
 H1N1 virus, 404, 430, 492  
 Haacke, Jürgen, 532  
  
*habitus*, 64, 65  
 Haiti, 7, 97, 443, 486  
   coup in 1991, 485  
   Latin American armies in, 450  
   UN peace operation in, 453  
 Hamas, 191, 206, 211–12  
   Iran support of, 230  
   labeling, 231  
   Saudi Arabia and, 237  
 Hariri, Rafiq, 191  
 Harper, Stephen, 489–90  
 al-Hasa province, 180  
 Hassner, Pierre, 27  
 health systems, in Caribbean, 492  
 hegemony, 88, 110*n*24  
 Heineman, Alessandra, 491  
 Helsinki-2, 274*n*33  
 Helsinki European Council, 301*n*5  
 Helsinki Final Act, 298  
 Helsinki Plus (Two), 310  
 Helsinki Principles, 344  
 Herdmanston Accord (1998), 469  
 Herz, Monica, 536, 551  
 Hezb-ut-Tahrir, 315, 324, 325  
 Hezbollah, 191, 205–06, 214  
   Iran support of, 230  
   labeling, 231  
   missiles and rockets, 203–04  
 hierarchy among states, 43  
 Hirst, Monica, 443  
 historical factors in culture, 93–96  
 HIV/AIDS infections, in Russia, 314  
 homicide rates  
   in Central America, 516, 517*t*  
   in El Salvador, 490  
   in Mexico, 489  
     organized crime assassinations, 510*f*  
 Honduras, 486–88  
 human rights, 124, 251*n*17  
   of migrants in Central America, 520  
 human security  
   and authoritarian governments, 244  
   commitment to, 126  
   different conceptions, 385  
   and globalization, 8  
*Human Security Report*, 34  
 Human Security Report Group, 117  
 humanitarian abuses, internal, 7

- humanitarian intervention, 52, 242–44  
 Iraqi Kurds and, 245–46  
 and responsibility to protect (R2P), 242–43
- Hussein (King of Jordan), 177
- Hussein, Saddam, 38, 177  
 and Kurds, 245  
 removal from power, 182, 215
- Hutu refugee camps, 123
- Ibekwe, Maurice, 153
- Ibero-American summits, 494
- identity shifts, by diplomats, 105
- IMF (International Monetary Fund), 354
- Imia-Kardak affair, 32
- IMPACT (International Multilateral Partnership Against Cyber-Terrorism), 167
- imperial peace, 28
- Implementation Agency for Crime and Security (IMPACS), 470
- IMU. *See* Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
- income gaps, 9
- India, 100, 351–52  
 Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 365  
 borders and boundaries, 355, 357  
 challenges, 387  
 China and, 380, 382–83  
 civilization description, 384  
 democracy, 353  
 empire experience, 93–94  
 foreign policy, 377, 378–79  
 free-trade agreement, 390n14  
 in global order, 380  
 “grand strategy,” 375–84  
 Look East Policy, 379, 380, 381, 382–84  
 multilateralism for, 388  
 Muslim community, Sachar Committee report on, 385  
 national security, 354  
 nonalignment policy, 382  
 and Pakistan. *See* Kashmir  
 political movements in, 357–59  
 relations with U.S., 33  
 role in Asia, 353, 416  
 and SCO, 335, 376  
 suicide by farmers, 390n20  
 threats to, 380  
 views of al-Qaeda, 10  
 views on terrorism, 10  
 working population daily earnings, 378
- Indian Coast Guard, 372
- Indian Ocean  
 threats, 381  
 tsunami in 2004, 427
- Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), 339
- Indonesia, 400  
 military purchases, 401  
 views of al-Qaeda, 10
- infectious disease  
 in Caribbean, 492  
 in East Asia, 427  
 poll on concern, 11  
 risk in Southeast Asia, 403–04
- information technology infrastructure, criminal activity, 159
- injustice, perception in Arab states, 227
- Institute for Security Studies, 141
- institutional architecture for conflict management, 3
- institutional culture, 86, 88–89
- institutions  
 conflict within, 31  
 design, 73n44  
 framework, 55–57  
 of global and regional governance, 12  
 weakness of regional organizations, 23n32
- Insulza, José Miguel, 95, 452, 495
- integration, asymmetrical dangers, 284
- “intelligent borders,” for U.S./Canada and Mexico, 508
- Inter-American Commission on Drug Abuse (CICAD), 454, 495
- Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE), 454, 495
- Inter-American Convention against Terrorism, 455
- Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Production and Traffic of Arms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials (CIFTA), 448, 495
- Inter-American Convention on Transparency in Conventional Weapons Acquisitions, 448, 449

- Inter-American Defense Board (IADB), 450, 507
- Inter-American Defense College, 450
- Inter-American Democratic Charter (2001), 69, 451
- Inter-American Observatory on Drugs, 454
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty), 460*n*36, 507
- Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA), 162
- interdependence  
in Europe, 285  
growth in Central Asia, 347–48
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development, peace operations, 59*t*
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 189, 340
- International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 440
- International Civil Aviation Organization, air-security standards, 455
- international community, 7, 8
- International Cricket Council (ICC)  
security requirements for World Cup tournament, 470, 471  
World Cup award, 479*n*25
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 31  
and state power in Caribbean, 466
- International Crisis Group, 31
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Manama Dialogue, 186
- International Maritime Bureau, Piracy Reporting Centre, 122
- International Maritime Organization, International Ship and Port Facility Security Code, 455
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 354
- International Multilateral Partnership Against Cyber-Terrorism (IMPACT), 167
- international norms, Arab participation in changing, 248
- international order, Arab distrust of, 225
- international security, 4  
divisibility, 530  
new dimensions, 44–46  
popular views and, 9–10  
system as mixture, 531
- international system  
conflict as function of, 26  
exceptionally favorable alignment of, 27–30
- International Telecommunications Union, High Level Expert Group (HLEG), 167
- internationalization, 225
- Internet  
in Central Asia, 340  
crime, 159, 160
- interstate conflict, and natural resources, 120–21
- interstate cooperation, 14
- intervention, absence of direct, 8
- interventionism, 7
- interviews of practitioners for CCN project, 82–83  
general queries, 83–84
- interwar period, arbitration and disarmament efforts, 25
- intramural conflicts, 51
- intrastate conflicts, 51–52  
and Africa security, 117–18
- Iran, 176, 201  
in Arab-Israeli conflict, 191  
as major regional player, 181  
national identity, and clash with Arabs, 172  
nuclear program, 186, 188–89, 248–49  
GCC and, 233  
opposition to Western military presence, 174  
prospects for Iraq alliance, 187  
Russian aid for nuclear program, 216  
and SCO, 335  
and Shia-Sunni divide, 229–30  
support for nongovernmental groups, 230  
threat to Israel, 201–02  
of missile attacks, 203
- Iraq, 9, 176  
destabilization, 229  
future role, 194  
Kurds and humanitarian intervention, 245–46  
links with West, 173  
as major regional player, 179–81  
prospects for Iran alliance, 187

- regime change, 187
- and Shia-Sunni divide, 229–30
- U.S. troop withdrawal, 249
- U.S. war in, 215
- wealth use to support groups, 236
- weapons of mass destruction
  - production, 6, 38
  - and the West, 173
- Iraq War (2003), 37
  - and international views of U.S., 33
- Ireland, measure of military effort, 291
- Islam
  - in Central Asia, 324–25
  - extremists
    - in Central Asia, 324–25
    - threat in Russia, 313–14
  - political, 42
  - as religion vs. nationalism, 363
- Islamic Framework, for collective security, 234–35
- Islamic Jihad, Iran support of, 230
- Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), 323
- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), 319, 323
  - violent actions, 325–26
- Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IPRT), 326
- Islamist groups
  - dissociation from terrorists, 230
  - militants in Bangladesh, 363
  - violence related to suppression, 326–27
- Israel. *See also* Arab-Israeli conflict
  - al-Qaeda in, 208
  - Arab citizens, 207
  - and Arab neighbors, 5
  - current perceptions of security threats, 201–08
    - asymmetrical warfare, 205–07
    - conventional war threat, 202–03
    - Iran, 201–02
    - rockets and missiles, 203–05
  - and Egypt, 5
  - impact on Middle East, 222
  - Iran nuclear program as threat, 188
  - June War of 1967, 199–200, 210
  - and Lebanon, 214–15
  - as major regional player, 182–83
  - national identity, and clash with Arabs, 172
  - past perceptions of national security threats, 200–01
  - present choices, 217–18
  - radical policy changes in Egypt, Jordan, and Palestinian Authority, 207
  - and regional arrangements, 208–09
  - self-reliance, 172–73
  - and Syria, 5, 212–13
  - terror in, 208
- Israel-Palestine issue, 210–12. *See also* Arab-Israeli conflict
  - ad hoc structure for reviving peace process, 241
  - failure to address, 44
  - U.S. and, 37–38
- Italy
  - measure of military effort, 291
  - views on terrorism, 10
- Itno, Idriss Déby, 120
- Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM), 362
- Jama'at al Muslimeen, 467
- Jamaat-e-Islami, 364
- Jamaica, 463, 464, 468
  - gangs in, 467
- Jamiat Ahle Hadith, 364
- Jammu, 367
  - domestic crisis in 2010, 375
  - Indian election in, 373
  - state, vs. Kashmir Valley, 392
  - working group report on status, 371
- Japan
  - history impact, 96
  - and North Korea, 421, 423, 433
  - and North Korea nuclear program, 423, 436
  - role in East Asia, 416–17
  - views on terrorism, 10
- Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), 404–05
- Johnston, Alastair Iain, 62, 63
- Joint Caribbean-United States Framework for Security Cooperation Engagement, 477
- joint-venture companies, in Caribbean, 473
- Jordan
  - and Israel, 207
  - military forces, 225
  - resentment of U.S. involvement, 239
  - and the West, 173

- judicial/legal system in West Africa, vs. traditional/cultural system, 156
- June War of 1967, 199–200, 210
- justice  
vs. peace, 117  
war necessity for, 290
- Kagame, Paul, on Rwandan genocide (1994), 115
- Kagan, Robert, 286
- Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar, *The Qabus Nama (A Mirror for Princes)*, 92
- Kashmir, 354, 363  
autonomy for, 373–75  
cultural discontinuity impact, 368–69  
domestic crisis in 2010, 375  
impasse in, 366–75  
Musharraf's proposed settlement, 368–70  
Pakistan's call for plebiscite, 370  
requisites for pragmatic solution, 374  
Singh initiative on human security concerns, 370–73  
soft borders, 369  
state, vs. Kashmir Valley, 392*n*41  
Taliban in, 364  
transport and communication links, 372  
working group report on status, 371
- Kashmir Study Group, 548
- Kashmiri American Council, 548
- Kasuri, Khurshid, 367–68
- Kayani, Ashfaq Parvez, 370
- Kazakhstan, 318, 327  
CSTO membership, 329  
in NATO Partnership for Peace program, 339  
in OSCE, 343–44
- Kelly, Robert, 15
- Kenya, 116, 133
- Khan, Roger, 479*n*11
- Khartoum Arab summit, 210
- Khatami, Mohammad, 189
- Kim Dae-Jung, 420
- Kim Jong-Il, 421, 422
- Kluckhohn, Clyde, on culture, 79
- Koizumi, Junichiro, 421
- Konaré, Alpha, 57
- Korea. *See also* North Korea; South Korea  
view of outside powers, 95
- Kosovo, 42, 282  
distrust against UN personnel, 43
- Kouchner, Bernard, 251*n*14
- Kuala Lumpur Declaration (2005), 419
- Kumar, Radha, 368
- Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), 238
- Kuwait, 186, 240  
in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233  
Iraq invasion, 177  
links with West, 173  
military forces, 225  
U.S. forcing Iraq of, 225  
view of security threats, 228  
wealth use to support groups, 236
- Kyrgyzstan, 315, 318  
crisis in 2010, 345–46  
CSTO membership, 329  
ethnic violence, 327–28  
in NATO Partnership for Peace program, 339  
negotiations, 338  
political clashes, 344  
Russian border guard withdrawal, 333  
U.S. air-base facility, 321
- Lake, David, 15  
on material constraints, 66
- Lang, Winfried, 87
- language  
impact of common, 110*n*22  
need for research, 105
- Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET), 362
- Latin America. *See also* Central America; South America  
culture of elites, 89–90  
diplomacy, 95  
diplomat networking, 99
- Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, 496
- law, views of, 101
- League of Arab States (LAS), 53, 103–04, 535
- Lebanon  
destabilization, 229  
Hezbollah and, 206  
and Israel, 214–15  
views on terrorism, 10  
and the West, 173
- Lee Myong-Bak, 424

- legal arbitration, 58  
 Lepage, Joseph, 544, 555*n*11  
 Lesotho, 57  
 Levant, 222  
 “liberal peace,” 16  
 Liberation Tigers for Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 359  
 Liberia, 7, 123  
     peace talks 2003, 549  
 Libya, 133  
     AMU and, 177  
     as major regional player, 183  
     NATO responsibility for military operation, 273*n*30  
     wealth use to support groups, 236 and the West, 174  
 Line, Milburn, 89, 94, 96, 97, 106  
     on culture’s influence, 84  
 Lisbon Treaty (2007), 265, 271*n*9, 274*n*35, 296  
 local militias, in India, 358  
 local ownership, in security management, 16–17  
 Lombok and Makassar Straits, 399  
 Lomé Declaration, 126  
 Lorenz curves, 21*n*15  
 losing face, fear of, 103  
  
 Maastricht Treaty (1992), 274*n*35  
 MacKinder, Halford, 348  
 Madagascar, 116  
 Madrid Conference (1991), 240, 241  
 Madrid Process (1990s), 200, 209  
 Makarov, Nikolai, 317  
 Malacca and Singapore Straits, 399  
 Malan, Mark, 140–41  
 Malaysia, 400  
     military purchases, 401  
 Maldives, 379  
 Mali, government cooperation with U.S., 124  
 malnutrition, 122  
 Malvinas/Falklands islands, 440  
 manipulation, risk from humanitarian intervention, 243  
 Manwaring, Max, 465, 467–68  
 Maoists, 357  
     in Nepal, 360  
     *maqawama* (resistance), 201  
  
 Maritime Security Shore Exercise, 429  
 Marr, Phebe, 176  
 Marshall, Monty, 21*n*15  
 maximalists, view of NATO, 258  
 McChrystal, Stanley, 322  
 McConnell, Mike, 190  
 McNabb, Duncan, 321  
 mediation, 58  
 Mediterranean, Europeans and, 298–99  
 Medvedev, Dmitry, 308, 331  
     European Security Treaty initiative, 298, 309, 333, 348  
 Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, 455  
 Meeting of Defense Ministers, 444  
 Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Initiative (MGCI), 382  
 Menon, Shivshankar, 379  
 Mercosul (Common Market of the South), 442, 445, 551  
     and transnational criminal activity, 455  
 Mérida Initiative, 489, 509–11  
 Merkel, Angela, 264  
 Mesfin, Berouk, 127  
 Mesoamerica region, 501–03  
 Mexico  
     collective conflict management, 540*t*  
     constitution, on missions for armed forces, 506  
     democracy, 504  
     drug trafficking, 508, 509, 519–20  
     economic and social information, 502*t*  
     “intelligent borders” agreement with U.S., 508  
     Mérida Initiative, 509–11  
     military forces  
         expenditures, 505*t*  
         modernization, 507  
     nonmilitary government institutions  
         creation, 507  
     organized crime, 488–90  
     reforms and globalization, 508  
     security relations with Central America, 518–19  
     security sector reform, 503–11  
     stability in jeopardy, 501  
     U.S. weapons in, 489  
     war against drug trafficking, 508  
 Miami Summit of the Americas (1994), 451

- Micheletti, Roberto, 487
- Middle East
- collective conflict management, 539*t*
  - contrasts, 199
  - culture of hard security, 226–27
  - defining region, 222, 224
  - individualistic approach to security, 171
  - major regional players, 178–85
  - new international legal norms, 242–44
  - regional arrangements, 51*t*
  - regional security frameworks,
    - alternatives, 239–42
  - security agencies, 175–78, 237–38
  - security perceptions and narratives, 224–31
  - tribal ties, 238
  - Turkey's role in, 215–16
  - U.S. interest in decision-making processes, 6
- Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, 172
- absence of regional security architecture, 193
  - regionalization, 174–75
  - security issues, 185–93
- migration of refugees, 289
- MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front), 404, 405–06, 550
- militant jihadists, 9
- militarism, in South Asia, 364–66
- military forces, 41
- in Central America, mission redefinition, 515
  - changes in Europe after Cold War end, 281–82
  - of China. *See* People's Liberation Army (PLA)
  - in El Salvador, 514
  - European deployment, 285, 303*n*36
  - external protection for Arab countries, 225
  - in Guatemala, 514
  - increase in expenditures, 302*n*16
  - joint exercises by SCO member states, 334–35
  - in Mexico, social function, 505
  - NATO-EU doctrines, 268
  - in Nicaragua, 514
  - response to coups, 60
- Military Staff Committee, 130
- Miller, Benjamin, “theory of regional war and peace,” 62–63
- minimalists, view of NATO, 258, 259
- minorities, in India, 385
- MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti), 507
- mixed international system, 27–28
- money-laundering, in South America, 454
- money-offer scams, 158
- Mongolia, and SCO, 335
- Mora, Frank, 475
- Morales, Evo, election, 460*n*45
- Morgan, Patrick, 15, 473
- on material constraints, 66
- Morgenthau, Hans, *Politics among Nations*, 4
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), 404, 405–06, 550
- Morocco
- counterterrorist measures, 230
  - views on terrorism, 10
- Moussa, Amr, 232, 251*n*9
- Mozambique, 7
- mufawadat*, 111*n*30
- Mugabe, Robert, 133
- African Union and, 134
  - multicultural mixing, perception of, 289
- multilateral security cooperation, East Asia
- need for, 432
- multilateral trades unionism, 99
- multilateralism, for India, 388
- murder rates
- in Central America, 516
  - in El Salvador, 490
  - in Mexico, 489
  - organized crime assassinations, 510*f*
- musawama* (negotiation), 111*n*30
- Musharraf, Pervez, 367, 368, 374, 391*n*25, 548
- Muslim community in India, Sachar Committee report on, 385
- Muslim countries
- of former Soviet Union, 178
  - income inequality, 21*n*15
- Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Affairs, Treaty for, 520
- Myanmar, 65, 85, 102, 426

- Naim, Moises, 478*n*6
- Najar, Mostafa Mohammad, 188
- Namibia, 121
- narcotics. *See also* drug trafficking  
in Africa, 150, 151–58
- nation building, in Central Asia, 347
- national attitudes, in Europe, 287–92
- National Bank of Economic Development, 440
- National Civil Police (PNC), in El Salvador and Guatemala, 514–15
- National Council for Public Security of El Salvador, 516
- national culture, 86, 91–92
- national interests  
government's definition of, 248  
priority of, 245
- national security, vs. regional security, 472–73
- nationalism, 29  
in China, 426  
in Japan, 417
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- natural disasters, 404
- natural resources  
and interstate conflict, 120–21  
politics and, 118
- Naxalism, 357–58
- Naxarbayev, Nursultan, 344
- Nazi Germany, 25
- negotiation, 58  
factors influencing, 79  
style, 76
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Discovery of India*, 384
- neo-Confucian doctrines, 42
- Nepal  
Hindu extremist groups, 362  
Islamist militant groups, 364  
peasant farmers in, 359
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 212  
Obama and, 217
- Netherlands, measure of military effort, 291*t*
- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), 125
- New START Treaty, 312
- Nicaragua  
armed conflict, 511–12  
peace process, 512  
guerrilla movements, 502  
military forces in, 514  
security-sector reforms, 514–15
- Nice Treaty (2001), 274*n*35
- Nicolson, Harold, on diplomacy, 90
- Niger, 116  
government cooperation with U.S., 124
- Nigeria, 62, 120  
cyber crime, 158  
elections, 119  
political involvement in organized crime, 153  
security services weakness, 160, 161  
views of al-Qaeda, 10
- Nizam-e-Mustafa (Islamic system), 363
- Nkunda, Laurent, 120
- Nobel Peace Prize, 484
- Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact, 126
- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)  
conference (2009), 388  
Guyana as member, 469
- nonalignment policy, of India, 382
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)  
capacity of, 141  
and conflict management, 537–38, 552
- nonindifference, 134
- noninterference, 102  
in Southeast Asia, 411–12
- nonintervention, political meaning to, 32
- nonstate armed conflicts, 52
- norms and practices, 64
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 475, 504
- North and South, different perspectives, 12
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 30, 31–32, 53, 61, 294–95, 535  
Afghanistan operations, 340  
bureaucracies, 57  
and Central Asia, 339  
collective self-defense and deterrence function, 259  
commitment to improve Russia relations, 310  
cooperation with European Union, 265–69  
obstacles, 267–68  
and CSTO, 333

- enlargement, 296  
 enlargement as Russian concern, 309  
 Euro-Atlantic Partnership (EAP), 296  
 European Union and, 295  
 functions, 273*n*24  
 imperatives for future, 272*n*19  
 membership, 261, 266*t*, 272*n*16  
 missions and future, 257–58  
 North Atlantic Council and Military Committee, 70*n*25  
 “out-of-area” missions, 260  
 peace operations, 59*t*  
 support for global orientation, 258  
 and transatlantic relationship, 253, 254  
 Turkey in, 172, 174  
 North Caucasus, instability in, 314  
 North Korea, 91, 420–24  
   government siege mentality, 422  
   and Japan, 421  
   role in East Asia, 418  
   and Six-Party Talks, 433–34  
   trade with China, 436*n*7  
 North-South Joint Declaration, 420  
 Northeast Asia, collective conflict management, 540*t*  
 Northern Alliance, 321  
 Northern Areas of Pakistan, 392*n*45  
 Northern Distribution Network (NDN), 321–22, 323  
 Northern Ireland, 7  
 Norway, role in global conflict management, 30  
 nuclear disarmament, 5  
 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 41, 202, 312  
   South America and, 438  
 nuclear weapons  
   attitudes on proliferation threat, 10  
   concern about spread, 11, 22*n*22  
   Iran development, 201  
   Mexico and, 505  
   North Korea development program, 420–22  
   in Pakistan, 184  
   in Russia, 310–11, 318  
   Southeast Asia treaty banning, 408  
 Nunn, Sam, 486  
 Nye, Joseph, 381  
 OAS. *See* Organization of American States (OAS)  
 Obama, Barack, 264  
   and CSTO, 333  
   and Cuba, 488  
   and East Asia as priority, 417  
   election, and U.S.-Russian relations, 312  
   initiatives in Middle East, 216–17  
   and international peacebuilding efforts in Middle East, 194  
   on nuclear weapons, 423  
   Russia relations as priority, 310–11  
 Oderbrecht, 440  
 OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), Information Computer and Communication Policy (ICCP) committee, 167  
 oil  
   China agreements on exploration with Vietnam and Philippines, 410  
   impact on Middle East, 222  
   and U.S. strategy, 181  
   wealth used to impact opinion, 236  
 Olmert, Ehud, 211, 212, 214  
 Oman  
   in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233  
   links with West, 173  
   military forces, 225  
   view of security threats, 228  
 OPANAL (Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean), 444, 551  
 operational assumptions, vs. central tenets, 64  
 opinion polls, on Europe security, 292  
 Orange Revolution in Ukraine, Bush administration support, 311  
 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Information Computer and Communication Policy (ICCP) committee, 167  
 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), 30, 298, 310, 343–44, 533  
   and Eurasia, 307

- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 126  
 AMU and, 176  
 Commission for Mediation,  
   Conciliation and Arbitration, 56  
 impact, 65  
 Plan of Action on Drug Control, 164
- Organization of American States (OAS)  
 budget, 66  
 competition for, 494–96  
 consensus decision making by, 100  
 condemnation of Honduran coup,  
   486–87  
 damage control by, 495  
 Guyana membership, 469  
 intrastate conflict resolution, 53, 451  
 Mission of Support of the Peace  
   Process in Colombia, 452  
 and political culture change, 493  
 renewal of, 439  
 role of, 444–45, 457  
 Rules of Procedures, 472–73  
 secretary-general, 57  
 and security threat, 446–47  
 structure, 535–36  
 subregional management, 99, 551  
 Treaty on Pacific Settlement of  
   Disputes, 56  
 Unit for the Promotion of Democracy  
   (UPD), 451–52
- Organization of the Eastern Caribbean  
 States (OECS), 470
- Organization of the Islamic Conference  
 (OIC), 235, 534
- organized crime  
 in Africa, 121, 150–51  
   dynamics, and narcotics trade,  
     151–58  
 in Americas, 483, 488–90, 496  
   Mexico, 509  
 assassinations in Mexico, 510<sup>f</sup>  
 in Caribbean, 463, 490–91  
 development in West Africa, 154–55  
 in Russia, 314  
 transnational (TOC), 149
- Ortega, Daniel, 484
- OSCE. *See* Organization for Security and  
 Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
- Oslo Accords (1993), 210
- Ouro Preto, Treaty of, 445  
 outside powers, Arab states' reliance on,  
   231–32
- Pacific Islands Forum, peace operations,  
   59<sup>t</sup>
- Pacific Settlement of Disputes, Treaty on,  
   56
- Pakistan, 174, 356  
 call for plebiscite in Kashmir, 370  
 Durand Line, 548  
 and India, 357. *See also* Kashmir  
 as major regional player, 183–84  
 militant groups, 363  
 Northern Areas, 392<sup>n</sup>45  
 political leadership, 370  
 radical Islam at border, 361  
 reprisals against Hindu minorities, 360  
 and SCO, 335  
 security challenges, 216  
 threats, 391<sup>n</sup>25  
 views of al-Qaeda, 10  
 views on terrorism, 10
- Pakistan Maritime Security Agency, 372
- Palermo Convention, 510
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),  
   210  
   Framework Agreement, 200
- Palestinian Authority, 205, 206, 210–11  
 and Israel, 207
- Palestinian National Authority, 236
- Palestinian state, 192  
 establishment plans, 190–91
- Palestinians  
 demographic challenge, 207  
 Qassam and Grad rockets, 204–05
- Pan American Health Organization  
 (PAHO), 492
- Panama, 110<sup>n</sup>25
- pandemic diseases, risk in Southeast Asia,  
   403–04
- Panel of the Wise, 129
- Panetta, Leon, 497
- Pape, Eric, 155
- Paraguay, 440
- Partido de la Revolución Mexicana  
 (PRM), 521<sup>n</sup>4
- Partido Nacional Revolucionario, 521<sup>n</sup>4

- Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), 503
- partitions, in South Asia, 356
- Partnership for Peace (PfP) agreement with NATO, 267
- Pascoe, B. Lynn, 68
- Patassé, Ange-Felix, 120
- Pattani United Liberation Organization, 405
- peace
- conditions of, 37
  - era of improved, 27–36
  - foundations of world, 37
  - interrelationships and, xi
  - vs. justice, 117
  - zone of, 28
- peace agreements
- failure, 531
  - recurrence of violence after, 123–25
- Peace Fund, 130
- peace process
- Arab-Israeli, 200, 209–15
  - collapse, 207
  - conducted by regional arrangements since 1990, 59 $t$
- peacekeeping missions, 20 $n$ 4
- Peninsula Shield Force, 251 $n$ 11
- People's Liberation Army (PLA), 396, 397
- modernization, 424
- People's Republic of China. *See* China
- Pérez, Orlando J., 518
- Perle, Richard, 180
- permanent liabilities, as category of people, 356
- Persian Gulf region, 176
- oil, and U.S. strategy, 181
  - security, 185–90
- Persil islet dispute, 32
- Peru, 439
- views on terrorism, 10
- Pew Research Center, 9, 10–11
- Philippines
- China agreements on oil exploration, 410
  - International Contact Group (ICG), 550
  - terrorist, separatist and insurrectionist groups, 405–06
  - views of al-Qaeda, 10
- piracy, 122, 547
- NATO mission to combat off Somalia, 274 $n$ 31
  - NATO operations to disrupt, 556 $n$ 13
  - in Southeast Asia waters, 412
- PLA. *See* People's Liberation Army (PLA)
- Poland
- measure of military effort, 291 $t$
  - U.S. agreement with, 294
- police education, 497
- polymakers, impact of security culture, 75
- political conflicts, types, 51–52
- political corruption, 119
- and democracy failure in Africa, 153
  - in Guatemala, 490
- political integration, to prevent conflict, 53–54
- political Islam, 42
- vs. terrorism, 230–31
- political movements
- in India, 357–59
  - in South Asia, 360–64
- political power, exercise of, 62
- political transition, end in Central Asia, 347
- Politics among Nations* (Morgenthau), 4
- pollution, poll on concern, 11
- Polybius, 27
- popular views, and international security, 9–10
- population
- growth in Africa, 118
  - security vs. countering threats to Western interests, 124
- Portugal, measure of military effort, 291 $t$
- poverty
- and ethnicity, 118
  - India goal of eradicating, 377
  - in South Asia, 357–60
- Powell, Collin, 486
- power distribution
- global, 37
  - grievance with, 44
- pragmatism, in collective conflict management, 545
- Premadasa, Ranasinghe, 379
- private organizations, 31
- Prodi Report, 139

- Proliferation Security Initiative, 41  
 Protocol of Procedure of the Transfer of Executive Power, 512  
 Protocol of Washington (1992), 451, 469  
 Pugwash conferences, 20*n*5  
 Putin, Vladimir, 308  
   on concerns on post-Cold War security, 309–10  
 Pyongyang Declaration, 421
- al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, 238
- Qatar  
   in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233  
   links with West, 173  
   as mediator, 238  
   wealth use to support groups, 236
- Quartet, 242  
   and Arab-Israeli dispute, 192
- Quinney, Nigel, 542
- R2P. *See* responsibility to protect (R2P)  
   principle
- Rabin, Yitzhak, 212
- Radcliffe Line, 356–57
- Rafsanjani, Hashemi, 189
- Rakhmon, Emomali, 326
- Ranvir Sena, 358
- Rapnouil, Manuel Lafont, on multilateral system reform, 12–13
- Rashid, Ahmed, 363
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh, 258, 310
- Reagan, Ronald, 6, 484
- Reagan-Wright plan, 485
- reciprocity among states, 12
- reconstruction after conflicts, 124
- refugees, 6–7, 122–23  
   migration of, 289  
   in South Asia, 356, 386
- regime security, 117
- Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS), 334
- regional arrangements  
   and Israel, 208–09  
   with security provision, 1945–2009, 51*t*  
   techniques and instruments, 58–60
- regional autonomy, 534
- regional behavior, domestic politics and, 62–63
- Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 548
- regional culture, 86  
   nature and impact of, 82
- regional initiative, vs. global initiative, 4
- Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre (RIFC), 471
- regional security  
   in Caribbean, vs. national security, 472–73  
   criticism, 16
- Regional Security System (RSS), 470
- regionalism  
   from African perspective, 142  
   in East Asia, 419  
   vs. state-building, 306  
   study of, 15–16
- regionalization  
   effectiveness of conflict management, 542–43  
   MENA and, 174–75  
   UN and, 16
- regions, 3  
   blurred definition, 533  
   definition, 78  
   diversity in response, 532–38  
   innovation, 541  
   peacebuilding efforts, 529  
   renewed focus, 49  
   security challenges and capabilities, 15  
   security control, demand for, 13–14  
   variation  
     collective capacity, 66–67  
     dimensions, 50–61  
     sources, 61–67
- Reinfeldt, Frederick, 264
- religion  
   influence in Middle East mediation, 237  
   poll on hatred as concern, 11  
   in South Asia, 360–64  
   of state, in South Asia, 390*n*22  
   terrorism in South Asia, 360
- religious freedom, government abuse and restrictions, 325
- Report of the Commission for Africa* (2005), 117
- research, by African civil society groups, 141
- resource allocation, politics in Africa, 118

- resource mobilization, UN vs. African Union, 132
- resources, and European community intervention limits, 290
- responsibilities, unbalanced distribution, 37–40
- responsibility to protect (R2P) principle, 8, 52–53, 532
- and Darfur, 246–47
- debate on applying, 69
- Gaza, Egypt and, 244–45
- and humanitarian intervention, 242–43
- Reyes, Raul, 447
- Rio Group, 444, 494
- Rio Treaty (Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance), 460*n*36, 507
- and security threat, 446–47
- rising sea levels, from climate change, 404
- Roberson, Barbara Allen, 172
- Roh Moo-Hyun, 424
- Rose Revolution in Georgia, Bush administration support, 311, 321
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), 489–90
- Russia, 100
- Afghanistan and, 318
- as challenge for Europe, 282–83
- and conflict resolution, 39
- CSTO membership, 329
- domestic security concerns, 313
- drivers and limitations of key security actor, 307–18
- Eurasia and, 348
- Europe and, 346
- European Union and, 297, 341–42
- future of supported institutions, 337–38
- impact on SCO, 336
- military allies, 302*n*13
- military changes required, 317–18
- as NATO members' concern, 258
- nuclear weapons in, 318
- oil-export-generated wealth, 308
- regional security threats, 314–16
- relations with U.S., 33
- resentment of perceived failure in Cold War, 310
- resources needed for security agenda, 316–318
- resurgence, 308
- return of, 216
- role in East Asia, 418–19
- role in Kyrgyzstan, 328
- and SCO, 334
- security concerns, 308–16
- Cold War legacies, 308–13
- and Serbia, 36
- test of power and influence, 315
- view by regional states, 346
- vision of multilateral organization, 297–98
- Rwanda, 7
- 1994 genocide, 115
- civil war, 120
- Saakashvili, Mikheil, 312
- SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), 356, 364
- Sachar Committee report, on Muslim community in India, 385
- Sahni, Ajai, 363
- Said, Mohamed Kadry, 252*n*17
- Salacuse, Jeswald, 80
- Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 505
- SALW (small arms and light weapons), 149. *See also* weapons
- Salwa Judum, 358
- Sambi, Ahmed Abdallah, 133
- sanctions, African Union lack of, 135
- Sant' Egidio, fraternity of, 31
- Santiago Declaration, 449, 451, 536, 542
- Sapoá Agreements (1988), 512
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 299
- SARS epidemic, 404
- Saudi Arabia, 91, 181–82
- customs union from GCC, 176
- exposure to Arab tradition of diplomacy, 92
- in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233
- links with West, 173
- military forces, 225
- religious influence in, 237
- view of security threats, 228–29
- wealth use to support groups, 236
- Savenije, Wim, 517
- Scandinavia, military forces, 290
- scarcity, politics and, 117
- school dropouts, in Caribbean, 491

- SCO. *See* Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)
- sea lines of communication (SLOCs), 395  
China concern for, 399
- Secretariat for Multi-Dimensional Security, 495
- A Secure World in a Better World*, 262
- security  
definition, 8  
diversity, 11  
expansion, 3  
in South America, 441–43  
differentiated views, 9–13  
expanded views, 7–9  
goal of, 249  
interrelationships and, xi  
local ownership in managing, 16–17  
new dimensions in international, 44–46  
traditional views, 4–7
- Security and Defence Treaty (1981), 470
- Security and Prosperity Partnership in North America, 508
- security culture, 63–65, 69, 86  
definition, 81  
impact on policymakers, 75  
shared, 61
- security threats  
change, and conflict management requirements, 4–13  
changing perceptions, 13
- Sejil missile system, 188
- self-control, 87
- Seniora, Faud, 206
- separatism, threat in Russia, 313
- September 11, 2001 attacks, 9  
and international views of U.S., 33  
U.S. response, 13
- Serbia, NATO air operation (1999)  
against, 36
- Serduykov, Anatoly, 349*n*3
- Serrano, Jorge, 485–86
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), 53, 54, 307, 316, 334–37, 534  
anti-Western declarations by, 336  
future of, 337–38  
Russia support, 329
- Shapiro, Jeremy, 265
- Sharon, Ariel, 211, 212
- Shaw, Mark, 155
- Shia in Iraq, 178, 179–80, 186–87
- Shia-Sunni divide, 229–30
- Shinawatra, Thaksin, 405
- Siachen glacier, 368
- Sierra Leone, 7, 123
- Siles, Juan, 95
- Simmons, Beth, 438–39
- Sindjoun, Luc, 120
- Singapore, 400  
military purchases, 401
- Singer, Max, 180
- Singh, Manmohan, 355, 369, 388  
initiative on human security concerns, 370–73  
*SIPRI Yearbook*, 34
- Sir Creek, 392*n*38
- Six-Day War of 1967, 199–200, 210
- Six-Party Talks, 421, 422, 430–31  
and North Korea, 433–34
- slave trade, 31
- Slovenia, 282
- smart power, 381
- social Darwinism, and violent conflict, 42
- Solana, Javier, 259, 262
- Solingen, Etel, 63
- Solomon, Richard H., 91, 93, 95, 96, 107
- solutions, imposing, 26
- Somalia, 7, 116, 130, 133, 547  
NATO mission to combat piracy, 274*n*31  
Saudi Arabia and, 237  
Union of Islamic Courts in, 68
- South Africa, 121
- South America  
arms control in, 448  
boundary disputes in, 440  
collective conflict management, 540*t*  
conflict resolution, U.S. and, 456  
institutions managing security, 443–46  
intrastate conflict resolution, 451–52  
multilateralism in, 438–39  
1990s challenges, 439–41  
security definition, 441–43  
transnational crimes, 453–56  
violence in, 437, 446–51
- South American Regional Integration Initiative, 459*n*22
- South American Security Council, 442
- South Asia, 351  
borders, boundaries and migrants, 355–57

- collective conflict management, 539*t*
- complexity of society, 355
- democracy, and religious extremism, 361
- democratic deficit in, 385
- militarism cultures, 364–66
- poverty, inequity and extremism, 357–60
- refugees, women and children as, 356
- religion, politics and extremism, 360–64
- security challenges, 354–64
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 356, 364
- South Caucasus, interethnic conflicts, 319–20
- South China Sea, 395–96
- South Korea, 11–12
  - view of North Korea, 422–23
- South Ossetia, Russia and, 42
- South Timor, distrust against UN personnel, 43
- Southeast Asia
  - arms race, 401–03
  - challenges to peace and stability, 396–406
    - China's growing military potential, 396–99
    - intra-ASEAN regional insecurities, 399–403
  - China and, 398, 409–11
  - collective conflict management, 539*t*
  - nontraditional threats, 403–06
  - potential conflict, 395
  - security architecture, 406–11, 407*f*
  - ASEAN, 406–09
  - suspicious among countries, 396, 400
  - United States in, 400
- Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone Treaty, 408
- Southern African Development Community (SADC), 57, 130–31
  - peace operations, 59*t*
- sovereign independence, 56
- sovereignty of states, 6, 29
  - African Union and, 117, 126
  - in Caribbean, 467–68
  - in South America, 442
  - preservation, 438
- Soviet Union
  - Cold War confrontation, 4
  - in interwar period, 25
  - Muslim countries of former, 178
- Spain
  - measure of military effort, 291*t*
  - terrorist attacks, 284
  - views on terrorism, 10
- Special Security Conference in Mexico (2003), 441–42
- Spratly Islands, 400, 410
- Sri Lanka, 30, 359
  - Indian Peace Keeping Force in, 379
  - Islamist militant groups, 364
  - state religion, 390*n*22
- St. Vincent, CARICOM intervention, 469
- staffing, for African Union, 139–40
- standby force, of African Union, 138
- Standing, André, 118–19
- state-building, vs. regionalism, 306
- state capacity of Arab countries, 222
- state sovereignty, 6
- “state-to-nation balance,” 62–63
- state weakness in Africa, 116, 119
- stateless, designation of, 356
- states in Africa
  - development, organized crime impact, 157–58
  - reconstruction vs. development, 123–24
- states in South Asia, 355
- Steinmeier, Frank-Walter, 341
- Stephens, Philip, 190
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 401
- Strategic Defense Initiative (“Star Wars”), 6
- subnational identities in India, anxieties
  - about consolidating, 384
- subregion level, cooperation level, 98–101
- subregionalism
  - in Central Asia, 347
  - in Middle East, 178
- sub-Saharan African countries, income inequality, 21*n*15
- Sudan, 116, 120, 130, 133, 426
  - armed conflict, 149
  - Darfur as internal issue, 246–47
  - destabilization, 229
  - and the West, 174
- suicide bombings, in Israel, 205
- Suleiman, Omar, 237–38
- Summit Meetings of Hemispheric Presidents, 444
- Summit Meetings of South American Presidents, 444

- Summit of the Americas, 495–96, 497
- Sunni militants, in Iraq, 179
- Susser, Asher, 181
- Sweden, measure of military effort, 291*t*
- Switzerland, 30
- synthetic drugs, Canada production, 499*n*22
- Syria, 185
  - isolation of, 191
  - and Israel, 5, 212–13
  - and Israel-Lebanon relations, 214–15
  - as mediator, 238
  - nuclear weapons, 202
  - opposition to Western military presence, 174
- Syrian-Lebanese area, threat of Arab-Israeli conventional war, 202
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 384
- Taiwan, 398
- Taiwan Strait, diplomacy across, 420
- Tajikistan, 318, 320. *See also* Central Asia
  - conflict resolution, 326
  - CSTO membership, 329
  - in NATO Partnership for Peace program, 339
  - Russian border guard withdrawal, 333
  - and Uzbekistan, 327
- Taliban, 216, 404
  - in Afghanistan, Central Asia as base for overthrow, 321
  - in Kashmir, 364
  - Pakistan assistance in Afghani overthrow, 183–84
  - Saudi Arabia and, 237
- Tamils of Jaffna, 356
- Tanzania, 133
- Tashkent Treaty, 329
- Taylor, Charles, 549
- Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), 341
- terrorism, 230–31, 531
  - Arab League efforts to fight, 232
  - Caribbean vulnerability, 474
  - “center of gravity” of international, 353
  - in Colombia, 483
  - in Europe, 284
  - in India, 384
  - in Israel, 208
  - in Middle East, 226
    - vs. political Islam, 230–31
    - responses in South Asia, 364–66
    - South America and, 454–55
    - in South Asia, 357
    - in Southeast Asia, 400, 404
    - threat in Russia, 313–14
    - world views on threat, 10
- Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA), 365
- Thailand, 55, 65, 400, 418
  - Muslim-led insurgencies, 405
  - U.S. relations with, 400
  - “third-border” concept, 473–77
- third parties, role of, 7
- Tiberias, Lake, Israel vs. Syria claims, 213
- Tlatelolco Treaty (1967), 438, 469, 505
- Torrijos-Carter Treaties, 110*n*25
- torture, 31
- trades unionism, multilateral, 99
- training of ASF personnel, 138
- transatlantic relations, 253. *See also* United States-European relations
  - public disengagement impact, 256–57
- transnational crimes, 152
  - in Africa, 121
  - organized crime (TOC), 149
  - in South America, 453–56
- transport links, for Kashmir, 372
- tribal ties, in Middle East, 238
- Trinidad and Tobago, 467, 468
  - CARICOM troops in, 470
  - natural gas, 474
- Tripartite Agreement of 1950, 227, 250*n*1
- Trudeau, Pierre, 498*n*5
- trust, absence
  - between Arab states, 172
  - in Central Asia, 327
- Tulip Revolution (2005), 320
- Turkey, 185
  - assertion of national interests, 248
  - Baghdad Pact and, 208
  - increased role in Middle East, 215–16
  - as mediator, 104
  - national identity, and clash with Arabs, 172
  - in NATO, 172, 174
  - and NATO-EU relations, 266–67
  - and “resistance camps,” 202
  - U.S. and, 32
  - views on terrorism, 10

- Turkmenistan, 318. *See also* Central Asia  
in NATO Partnership for Peace  
program, 339
- Ukraine  
Orange Revolution, Bush  
administration support, 311  
Russia and, 316
- Ul Haq, Mahboob, 385
- umma*, 97
- UN/AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID),  
247, 550
- unanimity in decision making, vs.  
consensus, 56
- Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional  
Guatemalteca (URNG), 513
- Union for the Mediterranean, 234  
efforts to create, 299
- Union of Islamic Courts, authorities in  
Somalia, 68
- Union of South American Nations  
(UNASUR), 442, 445, 450, 452, 494,  
551
- Union of the Comoros, 133
- United Arab Emirates  
in Gulf Cooperation Council, 233  
links with West, 173  
wealth use to support groups, 236
- United Kingdom  
and European integration, 94  
measure of military effort, 291
- United Nations  
2005 World Summit Outcome  
document, 52  
vs. African Standby Force (ASF),  
support, 137  
African Union-United Nations Hybrid  
Operation in Darfur (UNAMID),  
247  
and ASPA, 131–32  
charter, 73*n*35, 535–36  
Commissioner for Refugees, 325  
in conflict management in Americas, 493  
culture, 88  
and Eurasia, 307  
international mandate, 33  
Office on Drugs and Crime  
(UNODC), 150, 152, 490  
peacekeeping activities, 33  
vs. ASF, 130  
regionalization as competition, 16  
role in global conflict management,  
31–34  
role of, 5  
Stabilization Mission in Haiti  
(MINUSTAH), 507  
standby team of mediation, 68  
and state power in Caribbean, 466  
U.S. view of, 30
- United Nations Convention against  
Transnational Organized Crime, 510
- United Nations Development Program  
(UNDP), 516
- United Nations General Assembly, 8
- United Nations Security Council, 6  
African Union and, 131–32  
and CSTO peacekeeping deployment,  
332  
and humanitarian intervention, 243  
increased effectiveness, 33  
interpretation of threat, 49  
need for reform, 430  
post-Cold War period, 28–29  
reform, 39–40  
Resolution 687, 6  
Resolution 1701, 203  
Resolution 1718, on North Korea  
nuclear testing, 421  
resolutions on North Korea, 433
- United States  
agreements with Bulgaria and Poland,  
294  
attitudes toward European integration,  
254–55  
China and, 410  
in conflict management in Americas,  
493  
and EU-NATO cooperation, 267–68  
Europe as natural ally, 269  
European attitudes toward, 265  
European expectation of leadership by,  
299  
European opinions and siding with,  
288–89  
fuel supply for military in Afghanistan,  
322  
future security for East Asia, 432  
GCC cooperation with, 233–34  
high-level relations with European  
Union, 264

- interests in Caribbean, 465  
 international dominance, 28  
 Latin American efforts to constrain  
     intervention, 99  
 main asset, 32  
 in Middle East security framework,  
     239–40  
 military expenses, 41  
 military in Iraq, 180  
 missile defense system, as Russian  
     concern, 311  
 multifaceted approach of, 100–01  
 multilateral approach to South  
     America, 439  
 network of alliances, 33  
 new policy in Middle East, 216–17  
 Northern Command, 508  
 and OAS, 444  
 oil imports, 474  
 Pakistan as ally, 184  
 reactive policies in Persian Gulf, 186  
 in regional decisions, 553  
 Regional Maritime Security Initiative,  
     400  
 relations with CSTO, 338  
 relationship with Europe redefined,  
     255–56, 269  
 resentment of leadership, 29–30  
 responsibilities for conflict  
     management, 38  
 role in East Asia, 417  
 role in global conflict management,  
     31–34  
 role in Middle East conflict, 249  
 role in preservation of global peace, 28  
 and South America conflict resolution,  
     456  
 in Southeast Asia, 400  
 State Department, Bureau of  
     International Narcotics and Law  
     Enforcement Affairs, 157  
 “third-border” concept, 473–77  
 view of North Korean nuclear program,  
     423  
 war in Iraq, 215  
 war to remove Iraq from Kuwait, 225  
 Western Hemisphere ties, 475  
 United States–European relations, 253  
 United States Institute of Peace  
     Cross–Cultural Negotiation (CCN)  
     project, 76, 78–80  
     applying on regional level, 80–84  
 United Tajik Opposition (UTO), 319  
 University of Maryland, Center for  
     International Development and  
     Conflict Management, 530  
 Uppsala University Conflict Data Program,  
     35, 52  
 uranium, enrichment by Iran, 189  
 Uruguay, 440  
 U.S.–Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership  
     Act, 481*n*41  
 U.S.–Mexican Merida Initiative, ix  
 Ushuaia Protocol of 1998, 445  
 Uzbekistan, 315, 318, 331  
     border reinforcement, 327  
     CSTO membership, 329  
     disaster-response exercise, 340  
     in NATO Partnership for Peace  
     program, 339  
     negotiations, 338  
     and Tajikistan, 327  
 Valdés, Juan Gabriel, 443, 452  
 van der Veer, Jeroen, 259  
 Van Rompuy, Herman, 276*n*54  
 Venezuela  
     Armed Forces, 479*n*20  
     arms expenditures, 492–93  
     crime rate, 453  
     left-wing government, 440  
     tensions with Colombia, 440, 447–48,  
     458*n*10  
 Verner, Dorte, 491  
 vertical policymaking, in Arab states, 91  
 victims of armed conflicts, statistics,  
     34–36  
 Vietnam, China agreements on oil  
     exploration, 410  
 violence  
     in Americas, interstate, 446–51  
     in Central America, 516  
     recurrence after peace agreements,  
     123–25  
 Virtual Silk Highway project, 340  
 Von Brazi, Calus, 161

- Waajihatul Islaamiyyah, 467  
 Waever, Ole, 15, 532  
 Wajed, Sheikh Hasina, 391n23  
 Waltz, Kenneth, 43  
 Wane, El Ghassim, 129  
 war. *See also* armed conflict  
     for dispute settlement, 1815 to 1914,  
     25–26  
     fatalities, 34, 35  
     necessity for justice, 290  
     risk of, 45  
 War of the Pacific, 437  
 War of the Triple Alliance, 437  
 war on terror, Libya's role in, 183  
*Washington Post*, 496  
 weapons. *See also* nuclear weapons  
     in Africa, 119  
     arms race in Southeast Asia, 401–03  
     availability of small arms, 149  
     in Caribbean, 492–93  
     in Central America, 517  
     of Russian armed forces, 349n3  
     in South America, 437–38  
     trafficking in Africa, 121  
     from U.S. into Mexico, 489  
 weapons of mass destruction  
     India fears, 380  
     Iraq production, 6  
 Weiss, Thomas G., 544, 555n11  
 Wendt, Alexander, 64  
 West  
     diplomatic style, 91–92  
     market-driven reconstruction agenda,  
     125  
 West Africa, 55  
     as “coke coast,” 150  
     organized crime, 150  
     transnational crimes, 152  
 West Bank, 192, 211  
 West Indies federation, efforts to create, 98  
 Western Hemisphere. *See also* Organization  
     of American States (OAS)  
     democracy in, 493–94  
 white collar crime, 160–61  
 wider regionalized conflicts, 52  
 Williams, Paul D., 81, 532  
 Wisner, Frank, 85, 91, 96, 100, 103, 107  
 Witney, Nick, 265  
 women, in South Asia, 386  
 Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace  
     group, 549  
 Working Group in Charge for Preparing  
     a Regional Strategy to Promote  
     Inter-American Cooperation in  
     Dealing with Criminal Gangs, 454  
 World Bank, 125, 354  
 world, Europe and, 300–01  
 world GDP, 261–62  
 World Health Organization (WHO), 34  
 World Trade Organization (WTO), 354  
     and state power in Caribbean, 466  
 World War I, absence of conflict before,  
     36–37  
 Wright, Jim, 484  
 Wright, Quincy, 37  
 Yamani, Mai, 181  
 Yanukovich, Victor, 312  
 Yates, Mary Carlin, 157  
 Yemen  
     counterterrorist measures, 230  
     destabilization, 229  
     resentment of U.S. involvement, 239  
     and the West, 174  
     youth gangs, in Central America, 517  
     youth *maras*, 517  
     in Central America, 503  
 Yugoslavia, 7  
 Yuschenko, Victor, 312  
 Zambia, 121  
 Zapatista movement, 502  
 Zartman, I. William, 75  
 Zedillo, Ernesto, 505  
 Zelaya, Manuel, 486  
 Zimbabwe, 116  
     African National Union-Patriotic Front  
     (ZANU-PF), 133  
     African Union and, 133  
     elections, 119