References

Abbas, Najam (2000): *Behind the Breaking News: Shanghai Forum Calls for Institutionalized Efforts Against Terrorism, Extremism, and Crime*, Boston University: Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology, and Policy, http://www.bu.edu/iscip/

Abbink, J. (1998): 'Briefing: The Eritrean–Ethiopian Border Dispute', *African Affairs* 97 (389): 551–65

Abraham, Itty (1995): 'Towards a Reflexive South Asian Security Studies', in Weinbaum and Kumar 1995, 17–40

Acharya, Amitav (1992): 'Regionalism and Regime Security in the Third World: Comparing the Origins of the ASEAN and the GCC', in Job 1992, 143–66

(1993): *A New Regional Order in South East Asia: ASEAN in the Post-Cold War Era*, London: International Institute for Security Studies, Adelphi Paper no. 279

Adams, Henry (1973 [1918]): *The Education of Henry Adams* (Ernest Samuels, ed.), Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Adams, Mark (2002): *Water and Security Policy: The Case of Turkey*, National Defense University, Washington, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, http://www.ndu.edu/nesa/docs/marksadams-water.pdf

Adler, Emanuel (1998): 'Seeds of Peaceful Change: The OSCE's Security Community-Building Model', in Adler and Barnett 1998, 119–60

Adler, Emanuel, and Michael N. Barnett (1998): *Security Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ahmed, Samina (1998): 'Pakistan: The Crisis Within', in Alagappa 1998, 338–66

Ajami, Fouad (2001): 'The Uneasy Imperium: Pax Americana in the Middle East', in Hoge and Rose 2001, 15–30

Alagappa, Muthiah (1998) (ed.): *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

(forthcoming): *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features*, Stanford: Stanford University Press

Albini, Joseph L. (2000): *Organized Crime: The National Security Dimension*, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany

Cohen, Saul B. (1994): 'Geopolitics in the New World Era: A New Perspective on an Old Discipline', in George J. Demko and William B. Wood (eds.), *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century*, Boulder, CO: Westview, 15–48

Coleman, Max (1990): *State Violence: A Study in Repression*, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, Seminar No. 6

Conetta, Carl, and Charles Knight (1998): 'Inventing Threats', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54 (2): 32–9

Connell, Dan, and Frank Smyth (1998): 'Africa's New Bloc', *Foreign Affairs* 77 (2): 80–94

Contreras Q., Carlos (1999): 'Interstate Relations in Latin America', *Security Dialogue* 30 (2): 239–46

Cook, Robin (1999): 'It Is Fascism That We Are Fighting "Ours is the Modern Europe of the Human Rights Convention" ', *Guardian* May (5): 20

Cooper, Robert (1996): *The Postmodern State and the World Order*, London: Demos Paper no. 19

Coppetiers, Bruno (1996a): 'Conclusions: The Caucasus as a Security Complex', in Coppetiers 1996b

(1996b) (ed.): *Contested Borders in the Caucasus*, Brussels: VUB University Press, http://poli.vub.ac.be/publi/ContBorders/eng/

(1996c) 'Introduction', in Coppetiers 1996b

(2000): *A Regional Security System for the Caucasus*, http://poli.vub.ac.be/publi/crs/eng/vol5/coppetiers.htm

Corbridge, Stuart (1998): *The Militarisation of all Hindudom? The Bharatiya Janata Party, the Bomb and the Political Spaces of Hindu Nationalism*, Vienna: Paper presented to the Pan-European International Relations Conference, July

Cordesman, Anthony H. (1997): *Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE: Challenges of Security*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Cornell, Svante E., (2002): 'Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective', *World Politics* 54: 245–76

Cornell, Svante E., and Maria Sultan (2000): 'Afghanistan as Center: Central Asia's New Geopolitics', *Central Asia Caucasus Analyst* November (22): http://www.cacianalyst.org/Nov_22_2000/Afghanistan_as_Center.htm

Corpora, Christopher A. (2002): *The Gas Station Blues in Three Parts: The Effects of Organized Crime on Stability and Development in Southeast Europe*, New Orleans: Powerpoint presentation at the annual meeting of ISA, 24–27 March

Corrêa, Luiz Felipe de Seixas (1999): *Brazilian Foreign Policy*, http://www.mre.gov.br/projeto/mreweb/ingles/discoursos/sgpale-i.htm

Cossa, Ralph A., and Jane Khanna (1997): 'East Asia: Economic Interdependence and Regional Security', *International Affairs* 73 (2): 219–34

Crawford, Beverly (1994): 'The New Security Dilemma Under International Economic Interdependence', *Millennium* 23 (1): 25–56

Crawford, Neta C. (1994): 'A Security Regime Among Democracies: Cooperation Among Iroquois Nations', *International Organization* 48 (3): 345–86
Croft, Stuart, John Redmond, G. Wyn Rees, and Mark Webber (1999): *The Enlargement of Europe*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press
Curry, W. Frick (1995): *Altered States: Post-Cold War US Security Interests in Central America*, www.us.net/cip/bibliogr/ca.htm
Cutler, Claire A. (1991): 'The "Grotian Tradition" in International Relations', *Review of International Studies* 17 (1): 41–65
Cutler, Robert M. (2000): 'Russia, Turkey and Iran: An Eternal Triangle', *Central Asia Caucasus Analyst* July (5): http://www.cacianalyst.org/July5/%C2%A0RUSSIA_TURKEY_AND_IRAN.htm
(2001): *US Intervention in Afghanistan: Implications for Central Asia*, Foreign Policy in Focus, http://www.fpif.org/pdf/gac/0111afghanint.pdf
da Costa, Thomaz Guedes (2000): *Brazil in the New Decade*, Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies
(2001): 'Strategies for Global Insertion: Brazil and Its Regional Partners', in Tulchin and Espach 2001a, 91–116
Daase, Christopher, Susanne Feske, Bernhard Moltmann, and Claudia Schmid (1993) (eds.): *Regionalisierung der Sicherheitspolitik*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft
Dannreuther, Roland (1999–2000): 'Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO–Russian Relations', *Survival* 4 (4): 145–64
Davies, Norman (1997): *Europe: A History*, London: Pimlico
Dawisha, Adeed (2000): 'Arab Nationalism and Islamism: Competitive Past, Uncertain Future', *International Studies Review* 2 (3): 79–90
Deegan, Heather (1996): *Third World: The Politics of the Middle East and Africa*, London: Routledge
Dehio, Ludwig (1963 [1948]): *Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie: Betrachtungen über ein Grundproblem der neueren Staatengeschichte*, Krefeld: Scherpe Verlag
deLisle, Jacques (2000): 'The Chinese Puzzle of Taiwan's Status', *Orbis* 44 (1): 35–62
Delpech, Therese (1998–9): 'Nuclear Weapons and the New World Order: Early Warning from Asia', *Survival* 40 (4): 57–76
Deng, Francis M. (1995): *War of Visions: Conflicts of Identities in the Sudan*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution
Derrida, Jacques (1977): 'Signature Event Context', *Glyph.* 1: 172–97
(1992 [1991]): *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press
Dervis, Kermal, and Nemat Shafik (1998): 'The Middle East and North Africa: A Tale of Two Futures', *Middle East Journal* 52 (4): 505–16
Dessler, David (1989): 'What's at Stake in the Agent–Structure Debate', *International Organization* 43 (3): 441–73
Deudney, Daniel (1995): 'The Philadelphia System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in American States Union, circa 1789–1861', *International Organization* 49 (2): 191–229

Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry (1999): 'The Nature and Source of Liberal International Order', *Review of International Studies* 25 (2): 179–96

Deutsch, Karl W., Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee jr, Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, and Richard W. van Wagenen (1957): *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Diamint, Rut (1999): *Control civil y las fuerzas armadas en las nuevas democracias latinoamericanas*, Buenos Aires: Universidad Torcuato di Tella, NuevoHacer GEL-Editores

(2000): *Demilitarization and the Security Agenda*, Buenos Aires: Workshop on 'The Traditional and the New Security Agenda: Inferences for the Third World', 11–12 September

(2001): *Security Assumptions in Argentine Security Policy*, Chicago: Paper presented at the 42nd ISA Annual Convention

Dibb, Paul (1995): *Towards a New Balance of Power in Asia*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies: Adelphi Paper no. 295

Dibb, Paul, David D. Hale, and Peter Prince (1998): 'The Strategic Implications of East Asia's Economic Crisis', *Survival* 40 (2): 5–26

Diez, Thomas (2002): 'Last Exit to Paradise? The European Union, the Cyprus Conflict and the Problematic "Catalytic Effect" ', in Thomas Diez (ed.), *The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict, Postmodern Union*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 139–62

Dominguez, Jorge I. (1999): 'US–Latin American Relations During the Cold War and Its Aftermath', *Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Working Paper Series* 99 (01): 1–18

Doom, Ruddy, and Koen Vlassenroot (1999): 'Kony's Message: A New Koine? The Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda', *African Affairs* 98 (390): 5–36

Dorrington, Rob, David Bourne, Debbie Bradshaw, Ria Laubscher, and Ian M. Timćus (2001): *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Adult Mortality in South Africa: Technical Report*, South Africa: Burden of Disease Research Unit, Medical Research Council

Dreifuss, René Armand (1999): *Challenges and New Perspectives: Some Thoughts on the Future of the Brazilian Military*, Grenoble: Espace Europe, Observatoire des Relations Internationales dans l'Hémisphère Sud, Cahiers no. 5

Duffield, John S. (2001): 'Transatlantic Relations After the Cold War: Theory, Evidence, and the Future', *International Studies Perspectives* 2 (February): 93–115

Dunbabin, J. P. D. (1994): *The Post-Imperial Age: The Great Powers and the Wider World: International Relations Since 1945. A History in Two Volumes (The Post-war World)*, London and New York: Longman

Dunn, Timothy J. (1996): *The Militarization of the US–Mexico Border, 1978–1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Doctrine Comes Home*, Austin: University of Texas at Austin Center for Mexican American Studies

Eguizábal, Christina (1998): 'The United Nations and the Consolidation of Peace in Central America', in Pellicer 1998
Eickelman, Dale F., and James Piscatori (1996): *Muslim Politics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
Eide, Espen Barth (1999): 'Regionalizing Intervention? The Case of Europe in the Balkans', in McDermott 1999, 61–86
(2001): *The International Security Challenge: Reforming Police, Judiciaries and Penal Systems in the Western Balkans*, Oslo: Western Balkans Stability Project, 2nd draft
Ekeh, Peter (1975): 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1): 91–112
El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (2000): *The Perils of Regionalism: Regional Integration as a Source of Instability in the Horn of Africa*, London: CSD, unpublished typescript
(2001): 'The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The Limits of Regional Peacemaking?', *African Affairs* 100: 581–99
Engelbrekt, Kjell (1998): 'Östra Centraleuropa: Ett säkerhetskomplex?', *Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademiens Handlingar och Tidskrift* 200 (4): 123–35
Eshanova, Zamira (2002): 'Central Asia: Has New Alliance with West Helped Opposition Movements?', *EurasiaNet* July (11): http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/rights/articles/pp070502.shtml
Euben, Roxanne L. (1999): *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*, Princeton and Chichester: Princeton University Press
Faiola, Anthony (2002): 'US Role in Coca War Draws Fire', *Washington Post* June (23): A1
Fairbank, John King (1968): *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
Faulkner, Frank, and Lloyd Pettiford (1998): 'Complexity and Simplicity: Landmines, Peace and Security in Central America', *Third World Quarterly* 19 (1): 45–61
Fawcett, Louise, and Andrew Hurrell (1995) (eds.): *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Filho, Joao R. Martins, and Daniel Zirker (2000): 'Nationalism, National Security, and Amazonia: Military Perceptions and Attitudes in Contemporary Brazil', *Armed Forces and Society* 27 (1): 105–29
(n.d.): *The Brazilian Armed Forces After the Cold War: Overcoming the Identity Crisis*, http://136.142.158.105/LASA98/MartinsFilho&Zirker.pdf
Finlayson, Jock A., and Mark W. Zacher (1983): 'The GATT and the Regulation of Trade Barriers: Regime Dynamics and Functions', in Krasner 1983, 273–314
Fischer, Joschka (2000): *From Confederacy to Federation: Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration*, Berlin: Speech given at University of Humboldt, 12 May

Fishel, Kimbra L. (1997): 'From Revolutionary Warfare to Criminalization: The Transformation of Violence in El Salvador', *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* 6 (3): 48–63

Fitch, John Samuel (1998): *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Florini, Ann M., and P. J. Simmons (1998a): *The New Security Thinking: A Review of the North American Literature*, New York: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

(1998b): 'North America', in Stares 1998, 23–66

Foot, Rosemary (1995): 'Pacific Asia: The Development of Regional Dialogue', in Fawcett and Hurrell 1995, 228–49

(2001): 'Chinese Power and the Idea of a Responsible State', *China Journal* 45: 1–19

Forsberg, Tuomas (1998): 'Settled and Remaining Border Issues Around the Baltic Sea', in Lars Hedegaard and Bjarne Lindström (eds.), *The NEBI Yearbook 1998: North European and Baltic Sea Integration*, Berlin, Heidelberg, and New York: Springer-Verlag, 437–47

Frello, Birgitta (2002): *Identiteter på spil: Medierne og krigen i Kosovo* [Identities at stake: The media and the war in Kosovo], Aarhus: Centre for European Cultural Studies with Department of Gender Research, University of Aarhus, Ph.D dissertation

Friedberg, Aaron L. (1993–4): 'Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia', *International Security* 18 (3): 5–33

(2000): *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Friis, Lykke (1999): *An Ever Larger Union? EU Enlargement and the European Integration. An Anthology*, Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs

Friis, Lykke, and Anna Murphy (2000): ' "Turbo-Charged Negotiations": The EU and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 7 (5, Special Issue): 95–114

Galtung, Johan (1973): *European Community: A Superpower in the Making*, London: Allen and Unwin

(1984): *There Are Alternatives: Four Roads to Peace and Security*, Nottingham: Spokesman

Gastrow, Peter (2001): *Organised Crime in the SADC Region: Police Perceptions*, Pretoria and Cape Town: Institute for Security Studies, Monographs no. 60

Gause, F. Frederick III (2001): 'The Kingdom in the Middle: Saudi Arabia's Double Game', in Hoge and Rose 2001, 109–22

Gause, R. Gregory III (1999): 'Systemic Approaches to Middle Eastern International Relations', *International Studies Review* 1 (1): 11–31

Gentleman, Judith A. (2001): *The Regional Security Crisis in the Andes: Patterns of State Response*, Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute

Gerges, Fawaz A. (1999): 'The Decline of Revolutionary Islam and Algeria and Egypt', *Survival* 41 (1): 113–25

Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky (1997): 'Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation', *International Security* 21 (4): 5–48

Giavarini, Dr Adalberto Rodríguez, Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade, and Worship (2000): 'Argentine Foreign Policy', speech, 30 May, http://www.mrecic.gov.ar/ministerio/canciller/disc12.html

Gilbert, Martin (1993): *The Dent Atlas of Russian History*, 2nd edn, London: Dent

Giragosian, Richard (2000): *Massive Kashagan Oil Strike Renews Geopolitical Offensive in Caspian*, Baltimore: Central Asia–Caucasus Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

Girling, J. L. S. (1973): 'A Neutral Southeast Asia?', *Australian Outlook* 27 (2): 123–33

Glenny, Misha (1992): *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*, London: Penguin

Goldgeier, James M. (1999): *Not Whether but When: The US Decision to Enlarge NATO*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press

Goldgeier, James M., and Michael McFaul (1992): 'A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era', *International Organization* 46 (2): 467–91

Goldstein, Avery (2000): *Balance-of-Power Politics and Security Order in the Asia-Pacific*, Bali: Paper presented to the Workshop on Security Order in the Asia-Pacific, May–June

Goldston, James A. (2002): 'Roma Rights, Roma Wrongs', *Foreign Affairs* 81 (2): 146–62

Gong, Gerritt W. (1984): *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Gonzalez, Guadalupe, and Stephan Haggard (1998): 'The United States and Mexico: A Pluralistic Security Community?', in Adler and Barnett 1998, 295–332

Goodman, Sherri W. (1996): 'Ecosystem Management at the Department of Defense', *Ecological Applications* 6 (3): 706–7

Goodwin, Jason (1999): *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire*, London: Vintage

Gordon, Bernard K. (1986): 'The Third Indochina Conflict', *Foreign Affairs* 65 (1): 66–85

Goudie, Douglas (1996): 'An Overview of the Fergana Valley', *Perspectives on Central Asia* 1(1), http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/OtherPubs/Goudie.htm

Goulding, Marrack (1999): 'The United Nations and Conflict in Africa Since the Cold War', *African Affairs* 98 (391): 155–66

Græger, Nina (1999): 'Changing Security Concepts: The Human Rights Challenge', in McDermott 1999, 45–60

Grannes, Alf (1993): 'Mosaikk og konflikt i post-sovjetisk Sentral-Asia. Historie, etnisk, språklig, religiøs og annen bakgrunn for dagens konfliktbilde', in Grannes et al. 1993, 5–56

Grannes, Alf, et al. (1993) (eds.): *Etniske konflikter i Sentral-Asia og Kaukasus*, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Greene, Jack P. (1993): *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press

Grewe, Wilhelm G. (1988): *Epochen der Völkerrechtsgeschichte*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag

Gricius, A. (1998): 'A Russian Enclave in the Baltic Region: Source of Stability or Tension?', in Joenniemi and Prawitz, 1998

Griffith, Ivelaw L. (1993a): 'Drugs and Security in the Commonwealth Caribbean', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 31 (2): 70–102

(1993b): *The Quest for Security in the Caribbean: Problems and Promises in Subordinate States*, New York and London: M. E. Sharpe

(1995): 'Caribbean Security: Retrospect and Prospect', *Latin American Research Review* 30 (2): 3–32

(1997): *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty Under Siege*, University Park: Penn State University Press

(1998a): 'Caribbean Geopolitics and Geonarcotics: New Dynamics, Same Old Dilemma', *Naval War College Review* 51 (2): 47–67

(1998b): 'The Geography of Drug Trafficking in the Carribbean', in Michael Desch, Jorge I. Dominguez, and Andrés Serbin (eds.), *From Pirates to Drug Lords: The Post-Cold War Caribbean Security Environment*, New York: State University of New York Press, 97–120

(2000): *The Political Economy of Drugs in the Caribbean*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke, and London: Macmillan

Guehenno, Jean-Marie (1998–9): 'The Impact of Globalization on Strategy', *Survival* 40 (4): 5–19

Gunaratna, Rohan (1995): 'The Burden of Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Insecurity in Sri Lanka', in Weinbaum and Kumar 1995, 79–101

(2002): *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network Terror*, London: Hurst & Co

Gupta, Shekhar (1995): *India Redefines Its Role*, London: International Institute of Strategic Studies: Adelphi Paper no. 293

GUUAM (Alliance of Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova) (1999): *Statement of the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan*, Washington, DC

Guzzini, Stefano (1994): *Power Analysis as a Critique of Power Politics: Understanding Power and Governance in the Second Gulf War*, Florence: European University Institute, Ph.D thesis

Haas, Ernst B. (1958): *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950–1957*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Haas, Michael (1970): 'International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity', *American Political Science Review* 64 (1): 98–123

Habel, Janette (2002): 'Nouvelle architecture militaire dans les Amériques', *Le Monde Diplomatique* January: 18–19

Haddadi, Said (1999): *'The Western Mediterranean as a Security Complex: A Liaison Between the European Union and the Middle East?'*, Jean Monnet Working Papers in Comparative and International Politics No. 24, http://www.fscpo.unict.it/EuroMed/jmwp24.htm

Haftendorn, Helga, Robert O. Keohane, and Celeste A. Wallander (1999) (eds.): *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time and Space*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hall, Michael A. (2001): 'Central Asia Takes Center Stage', *Perspective* 12 (2), Boston University, Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy, http://www.bu.edu/iscip/vol 12/hall.html

Hall, Rodney Bruce (1999): *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems*, New York: Columbia University Press

Halliday, Fred (2000): *Nation and Religion in the Middle East*, London: Saqi Books

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay (1911 [1787–8]): *The Federalist Papers*, London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons

Hansen, Birthe (2000): *Unipolarity and the Middle East*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press

Hansen, Birthe, and Bertel Heurlin (1998) (eds.): *The Baltic States in World Politics*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon

Hansen, Kenneth Schmidt (2000): *The Fall of Milosevic and the Kosovo Problem*, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Affairs, Working Paper 9/2000

(2002): *Transnational organiseret kriminalitet: et sikkerhedspolitisk problem* [Transnational organized crime: a security political problem], Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs, Research Briefs, no. 5/2002

Hansen, Kenneth Schmidt, and Georg E. C. Güntelberg (2001): *Balkan Odysseen: Rejsen til Europa*, Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs, Fokus no. 5

Hansen, Lene (1995): 'NATO's New Discourse', in Birthe Hansen (ed.), *European Security – 2000*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press, 117–35

(1998): *Western Villains or Balkan Barbarism?*, Copenhagen: Institute of Political Science

(1999): *NATO's Balkan Engagement: Institutional Reconstruction and the Representation of Bosnia and Kosovo*, UMIST/University of Manchester: Paper presented at the British International Studies Association's annual conference

(2000): 'The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School', *Millennium* 29 (2): 285–306

Harrison, Mark (2001): 'The Politics of Inalienability: China's Claim for Taiwan', *La Trobe Forum* 19 (December): 3–5

Hassner, Pierre (1968a): *Change and Security in Europe. Part I: The Background*, London: International Institute for Security Studies. Adelphi Paper 45

(1968b): *Change and Security in Europe. Part II: In Search of a System*, London: International Institute for Security Studies. Adelphi Paper 49

(1976): 'The Politics of Western Europe and East–West Relations', in Nils Andrén and Karl Birnbaum (eds.), *Beyond Détente: Prospects for East–West Cooperation and Security in Europe*, Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 15–37
(1993): 'Beyond Nationalism and Internationalism: Ethnicity and World Order', *Survival* 35 (2): 49–65
Heisbourg, Francois (1998–9): 'The Prospects for Nuclear Stability Between India and Pakistan', *Survival* 40 (4): 77–92
(2000): 'American Hegemony? Perceptions of the US Abroad', *Survival* 4 (4): 5–19
Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton (1999): *Global Transformation: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press
Helleiner, Eric (1994): *Regionalization in the International Political Economy: A Comparative Perspective*, Toronto: University of Toronto and York University Joint Centre for Asia-Pacific Studies, Eastern Asia Policy Papers no. 3
Hellmann, Gunther, and Reinhard Wolf (1993): 'Neorealism, Neoliberal Institutionalism, and the Future of NATO', *Security Studies* 3 (1): 3–43
Hennop, Ettienne, Clara Jefferson, and Andrew McLean (2001): 'The Challenge to Control South Africa's Borders and Borderline', *Monograph* 57 (August): web edition 1–2
Heradstveit, Daniel (1993): 'Konflikter i Kaukasus', in Grannes et al. 1993, 95–110
Herz, Monica (2000): *Brazilian Perspectives on the Redefinition of the Concept of Security*, Universidad Tocruato di Tella, Instituto de Relacoes Internacionais PUC-Rio, Buenos Aires: Workshop on the Traditional and the New Security Agenda, 11–12 September
Herzig, Edmund (2001): 'Iran and Central Asia', in Allison and Jonson 2001, 171–98
Hettne, Björn (2002): *Communication and Non-Communication in a Regional System: The Pathological Cleavage Pattern of South Asia*, Lund: Paper for the SASNET Workshop on Global Networking in South Asian Studies, 27–28 August
Hey, Jeanne A. K., and Lynn M. Kuzma (1993): 'Anti-US Foreign Policy of Dependent States: Mexican and Costa Rican Participation in Central American Peace Plans', *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (1): 30–62
Higgott, Richard (1994): 'Ideas, Identity and Policy Coordination in the Asia-Pacific', *Pacific Review* 7 (4): 367–79
Hillen, John, and Lawrence J. Korb (1998): *Future Visions for US Defense Policy: Four Alternatives Presented as Presidential Speeches*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations
Hjortsø, Thomas (2002): 'Hvideruslands hersker gør tilnærmelser til NATO', *Orientering, Danish Radio, Channel 1* July (12): http://www.dr.dk/orientering/ark0228.htm
Hoagland, Jim (2002): 'Staying on in Central Asia', *Washington Post* January (20): B7

Hodge, Carl Cavanagh (1998–9): 'Europe as a Great Power: A Work in Progress?', *International Journal* 53 (3): 487–504
Hodgson, Marshall G. S. (1993): *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Hoffman, Bruce (2001): *Combating Terrorism: In Search of a National Strategy*, Washington, DC: Testimony given before the Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, House Committee on Government Reform, 27 March
Hoge, James F. jr, and Gideon Rose (2001) (eds.): *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War*, Oxford: Public Affairs Ltd
Hollis, Rosemary (1997): 'Europe and the Middle East: Power by Stealth?', *International Affairs* 73 (1): 15–29
(1999): 'Barcelona's First Pillar: An Appropriate Concept for Security Relations?', in Behrendt and Hanelt 1999, 107–32
(2002): 'Two Dreams Dashed', *World Today* 58 (6): 4–6
Holm, Hans-Henrik, and Georg Sørensen (1995) (eds.): *Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press
Holm, Ulla (1992): *Det Franske Europa*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag
(2000): 'France: A European Civilizational Power', in Peter Burgess and Ola Tunander (eds.), *European Security Identities: Contested Understandings of EU and NATO*, Oslo: PRIO Report 2/2000, 173–91
Holsti, Kalevi J. (1996): *The State, War, and the State of War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Hoskin, Gary, and Gabriel Murillo (2001): 'Colombia's Perpetual Quest for Peace', *Journal of Democracy* 12 (2): 32–45
Howard, Michael (1976): *War in European History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Howe, Herbert M. (1998): 'Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36 (2): 307–31
Hoyt, Paul D. (2000): 'The "Rogue State" Image in American Foreign Policy', *Global Society* 14 (2): 297–310
Hudson, Valerie M. (1997) (ed.): *Culture and Foreign Policy*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner
Hughes, Christopher (1997): 'Globalisation and Nationalism: Squaring the Circle in Chinese International Relations Theory', *Millennium* 26 (1): 103–24
Hughes, Robert (1993): *Culture of Complaint: The Fraying of America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Huliaris, Asteris (2001): 'Qadafi's Comeback: Libya and Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s', *African Affairs* 99 (398): 5–25
Huntington, Samuel P. (1991): 'America's Changing Strategic Interests', *Survival* 33 (1): 3–17
(1993): 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3): 22–49
(1996): *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster

Alexander, Yonah, and Michael S. Swetnam (2001) (eds.), *Usama bin Laden's* al-Quaida: *Profile of a Terrorist Network*, Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers

Allison, Roy (2001): 'Conclusion: Central Asian Security in the Regional and International Context', in Allison and Jonson 2001: 247–68

Allison, Roy, and Lena Jonson (2001) (eds.): *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, New York: Brookings Institution Press/London: Royal Institute of International Affairs

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby (1995): 'Fundamentalisms Comprehended', in Marty and Appleby 1995, 399–504

Alvstam, Claes G. (2001): 'East Asia: Regionalization Still Waiting to Happen?', in Schulz, et al. 2001, 173–97

Andean Community (2002): *Declaration of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Trade of the Andean Community Member States and of Mercosur, Guayaquil, July 26*, http://www.comunidadandina.org/ingles/document/dec26a-7-02.htm

Aning, Emmanuel Kwasi (1999): *Security in the West Africa Subregion: An Analysis of ECOWAS Policies in Liberia*, Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Ph.D dissertation

Antonenko, Oksana (1999–2000): 'Russia, NATO and European Security After Kosovo', *Survival* 4 (4): 124–44

Arblaster, Anthony (1984): *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Arfi, Badredine (1998): 'Ethnic Fear: The Social Construction of Insecurity', *Security Studies* 8 (1): 151–203

Argentina, White Paper on National Defense (2000): *Part 1: The Strategic Scenario: An Argentine View*, http://www.defensenet.ser2000.org.ar/Archivo/libro-argentina-eng/arg-part1.htm

Armstrong, Karen (2001): 'Was It Inevitable?', in Hoge and Rose 2001, 53–70

Art, Robert J. (1998–9): 'Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement', *International Security* 23 (Winter): 79–113

Asaria, Iqbal, Ian Buruma, Fred Halliday, Abdelwahab El-Affendi, Merryl Wyn Davies, Roger Scruton, Mai Yamani, and Sami Zubadia (2001): 'Roundtable: Islam and the West', *Prospect* November: 16–21

Ash, Timothy Garton (2001): *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches, and Dispatches from Europe in the 1990s*, London: Vintage

Atkins, G. Pope (1999): *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System, 4th edn*, Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press

Aves, Jonathan (1998): 'The Caucasus States: The Regional Security Complex', in Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth (eds.), *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 175–87

Aydınlı, Ersel (2002): *Securing the Transformation: Political Globalization vs Anarchy in the Modernizing World*, Ankara: Paper presented to ASAM conference on 'Globalization, Security and the Nation State', 15–16 June

(1999): 'The Lonely Superpower', *Foreign Affairs* 78 (2): 35–49
(1999–2000): 'Robust Nationalism', *National Interest* 58 (Winter): 31–40
Hurrell, Andrew (1992): 'Latin America in the New World Order: A Regional Bloc of the Americas', *International Affairs* 68 (1)
(1995a): 'Regionalism in the Americas', in Fawcett and Hurrell 1995, 250–82
(1995b): 'Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective', in Fawcett and Hurrell 1995, 37–73
(1998): 'An Emerging Security Community in South America?', in Adler and Barnett 1998, 228–64
Hurst, David (1999): 'Where Tyranny Spells Peace', *Guardian Weekly* March (28): 8
Hyden, Goran (1983): *No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective*, Berkeley: University of California Press
ICG (International Crisis Group) (2001a): *After Milosevic: A Practical Agenda for Lasting Balkans Peace*, http://www.intl-crisis-group.org
(2001b): *Central Asian Perspectives on 11 September and the Afghan Crisis*, http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/asia/centralasia/reports/Central_Asian_Perspectives_Afghan_Crisis.pdf
Ikenberry, G. John (2001): *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After the Major Wars*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
Ikenberry, G. John, and Charles Kupchan (1990): 'Socialization and Hegemonic Power', *International Organization* 44 (3) (Summer): 283–315
Il Manifesto (ed.) (1979): *Power and Opposition in Post-Revolutionary Societies*, London: Ink Links (Italian original 1978)
IMF (International Monetary Fund) (2001): *The World Economic Outlook (WEO) Database October 2001*, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2001/02/data/index.htm
Inbar, Efraim (1995) (ed.): *Regional Security Regimes: Israel and Its Neighbors*, Albany: State University of New York Press
(2001): 'Regional Implications of the Israeli–Turkish Strategic Partnership', *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5 (2): 48–65
Jachtenfuchs, Markus (1994): *International Policy-Making as a Learning Process: The European Community and the Greenhouse Effect*, Florence: Ph.D dissertation, European University Institute
Jachtenfuchs, Markus, and Michael Huber (1993): 'Institutional Learning in the European Community: The Response to the Greenhouse Effect', in J. D. Lifferink, P. D. Lowe, and A. P. J. Mold (eds.), *European Integration and Environmental Policy*, London: Belhaven, 36–58
Jackson, Robert H. (1990): *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
(1992): 'The Security Dilemma in Africa', in Job 1992, 81–94
Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg (1982): 'Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood', *World Politics* 35 (1): 1–24

(1984): 'Pax Africana and Its Problems', in Richard Bissell and Michael Radu (eds.), *Africa in the Post-Decolonization Era*, Rutgers, NJ: Transaction Books, 187–209
(1985): 'The Marginality of African States', in Gwendolen M. Carter and Patricia O'Meara (eds.), *Twenty-Five Years of African Independence*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 45–70
Jahn, Egbert (1981): 'Social Reform Policy and Detente Policy in Eastern and Western Europe', in Egbert Jahn and Yoshikazu Sakamoto (eds.), *Elements of World Instability: Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association. Eighth General Conference*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 323–35
(1982): 'Elemente eines friedenswissenschaftlichen Entspannungsbegriffes', in Peter Schlotter (ed.), *Europa zwischen Konfrontation und Kooperation: Entspannungspolitik für die achtzieger Jahre*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 15–36
Jansen, Johannes J. G. (1997): *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, London: Hurst and Company
Jensen, Kurt Villads (2000): 'Temaer i Korstogshistorien – et historiografisk rids', *Den Jyske Historiker* 88: 8–29
Jensen, Steffen (2001): *Claiming Community – Negotiating Crime: State Formation, Neighborhood, and Gangs in a Capetonian Township*, Roskilde: Ph.D dissertation, International Developmental Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark
Jentleson, Bruce W., and Dalia Dassa Kaye (1998): 'Regional Security Cooperation and Its Limits in the Middle East', *Security Studies* 8 (1): 204–38
Jervis, Robert (1982): 'Security Regimes', *International Organization* 36 (2): 357–78
Jian, Chen (1996): 'Understanding the Logic of Beijing's Taiwan Policy', *Security Dialogue* 27 (4): 459–63
Job, Brian (1992) (ed.): *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner
Joeck, Neil (1997): *Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper no. 312
Joenniemi, Pertti and J. Prawitz (1998) (eds.): *Kaliningrad: The European Amber Region*, Aldershot: Ashgate
Joenniemi, Pertti, and Juris Prikulis (1994) (eds.): *The Foreign Policies of the Baltic Countries*, Riga: Centre of Baltic–Nordic History of Political Studies
Joenniemi, Pertti, and Ole Wæver (1997): 'Balternes "kolde krig" mod Rusland er ved at være slut', *Mandag Morgen* 12: 25–9
Joffe, George (2000): *Europe and the Mediterranean: The Barcelona Process Five Years On*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Briefing Paper, n.s., 16 August
Joffe, Josef (2001): 'Clinton's World: Purpose, Policy and Weltanschauung', *Washington Quarterly* 24 (1): 141–54
Johnson, Paul (1991): *The Birth of the Modern: World Society, 1815–1830*, New York: Harper Perennial
Johnson, Stephen (2000): 'US–Mexico Relations: No More Business as Usual', *Heritage Foundation Executive Memorandum* 689 (July 20): 1–2

Jones, Howard (1992): *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press

Jonson, Lena (2001): 'Russia and Central Asia', in Allison and Jonson 2001, 95–126

Jonson, Lena, and Roy Allison (2001): 'Central Asian Security: Internal and External Dynamics', in Allison and Jonson 2001, 1–23

Juergensmeyer, Mark (1993): *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press

(2000): *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press

Jung, Dietrich (1999): ' "Die Rache der Janitscharen": Der türkische Modernisierungsprozess und seine Blockade', *Orient* 40 (2): 211–33

(2003) (ed.): *Shadow Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts, and New Wars: A Political Economy of Intra-State War*, London: Routledge

Jung, Dietrich, and Wolfgango Piccoli (2000): 'The Turkish–Israeli Alignment: Paranoia or Pragmatism?', *Security Dialogue* 31 (1): 91–104

Jurgaitiené, Kornelija (1993): 'Romantic Nationalism and the Challenge of Europeanization: A Case of Lithuania', in Pertti Joenniemi and Peter Vares (eds.), *New Actors on the International Arena: The Foreign Policies of the Baltic Countries*, Tampere: Tampere Peace Research Institute, 89–112

Jurgaitiené, Kornelija, and Ole Wæver (1996): 'Lithuania', in Mouritzen et al. 1996, 185–229

Kacowicz, Arie M. (1998): *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*, New York: State University of New York Press

(2000): 'Stable Peace in South America: The ABC Triangle 1979–1999', in Kacowicz et al. 2000, 200–19

Kacowicz, Arie M., Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, Ole Engström, and Magnus Jerneck (2000) (eds.): *Stable Peace Among Nations*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Kadish, Ronald T. (2002): *Lt Gen. Kadish Special Briefing on Missile Defense, United States Department of Defense, News transcript, June 25*, http://defenselink.mil/news/Jun2002/t06252002_t0625kadish.html

Kaiser, Karl (1968–9): 'The Interaction of Regional Subsystems: Some Preliminary Notes on Recurrent Patterns and the Role of Superpowers', *World Politics* 21: 84–107

Kak, Kapil (1998): 'Management of India's Security and Higher Defence – 1', *Strategic Analysis* 22 (31): web edition 1–8

Kang, Dave (1995): *The Middle Road: Security and Cooperation in Northeast Asia*, Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, unpublished typescript, 6 July

(2000): *Culture, Hierarchy, and Stability in Asian International Relations*, Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, unpublished typescript

Kaplan, Morton A. (1957): *System and Process in International Politics*, New York: John Wiley

Kaplan, Robert D. (1994): 'The Coming Anarchy', *Atlantic Monthly* February: 44–76
(2002): *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos*, New York: Random House
Kapstein, Ethan B. (1999): 'Does Unipolarity Have a Future?', in Kapstein and Mastanduno 1999, 464–90
Kapstein, Ethan B., and Michael Mastanduno (1999) (eds.): *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War*, New York: Columbia University Press
Karaganov, Sergei (1992): 'Problems of Russia's Foreign Political Strategy Regarding the "Close Foreign Countries" ', *Diplomaticheski Vestnik* 22 December: (translation in *Baltic Independent*, 5–11 March 1993, p. 9)
Karakasidou, Anastasia (1995): 'Vestiges of the Ottoman Past: Muslims Under Siege in Greek Thrace', *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19 (2): 71–5
Karatnycky, Adrian (2002): 'Bush's Uzbekistan Test', *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 March, http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0313/p09s02–coop.html
Karawan, Ibrahim A. (1997): *The Islamist Impasse*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies. Adelphi Paper no. 314
Kaski, Antti (2001): *The Security Complex: A Theoretical Analysis and the Baltic Case*, Turku: Ph.D dissertation, Turun Yliopisto
Katzenstein, Lawrence C. (1997): 'Change, Myth, and the Reunification of China', in Hudson 1997, 45–72
Katzenstein, Peter J. (1996a) (ed.): *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press
(1996b): 'Regionalism in Comparative Perspective', *Cooperation and Conflict* 31 (2): 123–59
(2000): *Re-examining Norms of Interstate Relations in the New Millennium*, Kuala Lumpur: Paper for the 14th Asia-Pacific Roundtable
Katzenstein, Peter J., and Nobou Okawara (1993): 'Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms, Policies', *International Security* 17 (4): 84–118
Kazan, Işıl (1996): 'Tyrkiet mod det 21. Århundrede – tyrkiets nationale diskurser: osmannisme, islamisme, tyrkisme og kemalisme', *Den Jyske Historiker* 74 (December): 79–98
(2002): *Regionalisation of Security and Securitisation of a Region: Turkish Security Policy After the Cold War*, Copenhagen: Ph.D dissertation, COPRI
Kazan, Işıl, and Ole Wæver (1994): 'Tyrkiet mellem Europa og europæisering', *Internasjonal Politikk* 52 (2): 139–76
Kegley, Charles W., and Gregory Raymond (1994): *A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: St Martin's Press
Keller, Edmond (1997): 'Rethinking Africa's Regional Security', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 296–317
Kelly, Phillip (1997): *Checkerboards and Shatterbelts: The Geopolitics of South America*, Austin: University of Texas Press
Kemp, Geoffrey (1998–9): 'The Persian Gulf Remains the Strategic Prize', *Survival* 40 (4): 132–49

Kenworthy, Eldon (1995): *America/Américas: Myth in the Making of US Policy Toward Latin America*, University Park: Penn State University Press
Keohane, Robert O. (1990): 'Le Istituzioni internazionali del mondo nuovo', *Relazioni Internazionali* December: 3–17
Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye (1977): *Power and Interdependence*, Boston: Little Brown
Kepel, Gilles (2002 [2000]): *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris
Keylor, William R. (1984): *The Twentieth-Century World*, New York: Oxford University Press
Khalilzad, Zalmay (1984): *Security in Southern Asia I: The Security of Southwest Asia*, Aldershot: Gower
Khalilzad, Zalmay, and Ian O. Lesser (1998) (eds.): *Sources of Conflict in the Twenty-First Century: Regional Futures and US Strategy*, Washington, DC: Rand
Khokhar, Camilla, and Poul Wiberg-Jørgensen (2000): *USAs interesser i Syd-kaukasus* [U.S.'s interests in the South Caucasus], Copenhagen: Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, MA thesis, http://www.kaukasus.dk/publikation21.htm
Khong, Yuen Foong (1997): 'ASEAN and the Southeast Asian Security Complex', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 318–42
Kim, Shee Poon (1977): 'A Decade of ASEAN 1967–1977', *Asian Survey* 17 (8): 753–70
Kimura, Hiroshi Li Shaojun, and Il-Dong Koh (1999): ' "Frontiers Are the Razor's Edge": Russia's Borders with Its Eastern Neighbors', in Rozman et al. 1999, 150–71
Kinder, Hermann, and Werner Hilgemann (1999): *Atlas zur Weltgeschichte I. Von den Anfängen bis zur Französichen Revolution*, Munich: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag
Kinnes, Irvin (2000): 'Gang Warfare in the Western Cape: Background', *Monograph* 48 (June): web edition 1–4
Kinsella, David (1999): *Arms Transfers, Dependence, and Regional Stability: Isolated Effects or General Patterns?*, Washington, DC: Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, 15–16 February
Kirby, David (1990): *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772*, London and New York: Longman
Kissinger, Henry A. (1957): *A World Restored: Castlereagh, Metternich, and the Restoration of Peace, 1812–1822*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin
(1968): 'The White Revolutionary: Reflections on Bismarck', *Dædalus* 97 (Summer): 888–924
Klare, Michael (1995): *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy*, New York: Hill and Wang
Kodama, Katsuya, and Unto Vesa (1990) (eds.): *Towards a Comparative Analysis of Peace Movements*, Worcester: Billing & Sons

Kotkin, Stephen (1997): *Defining Territories and Empires: From Mongol Ulus to Russian Siberia 1200–1800*, http://www.src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/Proceed97/Kotkin1.html

Krasner, Stephen D. (1978): *Defending the National Interest*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

(1983) (ed.): *International Regimes*, International Organization 36 (2) (Special Issue) (Spring)

Kratochwil, Friedrich (1982): 'On the Notion of "Interest" in International Relations', *International Organization* 36 (1): 1–30

(1989): *Rules, Norms, and Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Krause, Keith (1996): 'Insecurity and State Formation in the Global Military Order: The Middle Eastern Case', *European Journal of International Relations* 2 (3): 319–54

Krauthammer, Charles (1990–1): 'The Unipolar Moment', *Foreign Affairs* 70 (1): 23–33

(1999): 'A Second American Century', *Time* December (27): 186

(2001a): 'The New Unilateralism', *Washington Post* June (8): A29

(2001b): 'Unilateral? Yes, Indeed', http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=opinion/columns/krauthammercharles&contentId=A41292-2001Dec13&notFound=true

Krepon, Michael, and Amit Sewak (1995) (eds.): *Crisis Prevention, Confidence Building, and Reconciliation in South Asia*, New York: St Martin's Press

Kumaraswamy, P. R. (1998): *India and Israel: Evolving Strategic Partnership*, Begin–Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Security and Policy Studies no. 40

Kunadze, Georgi F. (1999): 'Border Problems Between Russia and Its Neighbors: Stable for Now, But Stubborn in the Long Run', in Rozman et al. 1999, 133–49

Kundera, Milan (1984): 'The Tragedy of Central Europe', *New York Review of Books* 26 April: 33–8

Kupchan, Charles A. (1998): 'After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of Stable Multipolarity', *International Security* 23 (2): 40–79

Kupchan, Charles A., and Clifford A. Kupchan (1991): 'Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe', *International Security* 16 (1): 114–161

Kuusisto, Riikka (1998): 'Framing the Wars in the Gulf and in Bosnia: The Rhetorical Definitions of the Western Power Leaders in Action', *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (5): 603–20

Kuzio, Taras (2000): 'Geopolitical Pluralism in the CIS: The Emergence of GUUAM', *European Security* 9 (2): 81–114

(2002a): 'CIS States Confront Questions Concerning Strategic Alignment', *Eurasia Insight* July (11): http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav070102.shtml

(2002b): 'GUUAM Reverts to GUAM as Uzbekistan Suspends Its Membership Prior to Yalta Summit', *Eurasia Insight* July (18): http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav071802.shtml

Ladd Hollist, W., and Daniel L. Nielson (1998): 'Taking Stock of Inter-American Bonds: Approaches to Explaining Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere', *Mershon International Studies Review* 42 (Supplement 2, November): 257–82

LaFeber, Walter (1989): *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750*, New York and London: W. W. Norton

(1993): *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, vol. II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

LaFranchi, Howard (2002): 'US Poised to Take Terror War to Colombia', *Christian Science Monitor* May (31): 8

Lake, David A. (1992): 'Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War', *American Political Science Review* 86 (1): 24–37

(1997): 'Regional Security Complexes: A Systems Approach', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 45–67

(1999): 'Ulysses's Triumph: American Power and the New World Order', *Security Studies* 8 (4): 44–78

Lake, David A., and Patrick M. Morgan (1997a): 'Building Security in the New World of Regional Orders', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 343–53

(1997b): 'The New Regionalism in Security Affairs', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 3–19

(1997c): *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, University Park: Penn State University Press

Lakshmanan, Indira A. R. (2001): 'The Accidental Confidant: How bin Laden Chose His Biographer', *Boston Globe* 27 September: http://www.spicequest.com/clips/cult905.htm

Larsen, Henrik (1997): *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: Britain, France and Europe*, London: Routledge

(2000): 'The Discourse on the EU's Role in the World', in Birthe Hansen and Bertel Heurlin (eds.), *The New World Order: Contrasting Theories*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 217–44

Lasswell, Harold D. (1950): *National Security and Individual Freedom*, New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill, Committee for Economic Development Research Study

Laustsen, Carsten Bagge, and Ole Wæver (2000): 'In Defence of Religion: Sacred Reference Objects for Securitization', *Millennium* 29 (3): 705–39

Layne, Christopher (1993): 'The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise', *International Security* 17 (4): 5–51

(1997): 'From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy', *International Security* 22 (1): 86–124

Lee, Rensselaer, and Raphael Perl (2002): *'Terrorism, the Future, and US Foreign Policy': The Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Issue Brief for*

Congress no. IB95112, Washington, DC: Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division
Leffler, Melvyn F. (1992): *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
Legrain, Jean-Francois (1991): 'A Defining Moment: Palestinian Islamic Fundamentalism', in Piscatori 1991a, 70–87
Leifer, Michael (1996): *The ASEAN Regional Forum*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 302
Lemaitre, Pierre, Kristian Gerner, and Torben Hansen (1993): 'The Crisis of Societal Security in the Former Soviet Union', in Wæver et al. 1993, 110–30
Lemke, Douglas (2002): *Regions of War and Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Lenin, V. I. (1961 [1917]): *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House
Lepingwell, John W. R. (1994): 'The Russian Military and Security in the "Near Abroad" ', *Survival* 3 (23): 70–92
Levine, Barry B. (1989): 'A Return to Innocence? The Social Construction of the Geopolitical Climate of the Post-Invasion Caribbean', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 31 (3): 183–204
Levitin, Oleg (2000): 'Inside Moscow's Kosovo Muddle', *Survival* 42 (1): 130–40
Lewis, Bernard (1982): *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson
Li, Nan (2001): *From Revolutionary Internationalism to Conservative Nationalism*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace
Li, Rex (1996): 'The Taiwan Strait Crisis and the Future of China–Taiwan Relations', *Security Dialogue* 27 (4): 449–59
(1999): 'Partners or Rivals? Chinese Perceptions of Japan's Security Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region', *Journal of Strategic Studies* 22 (4): 1–25
Li, Tzu-Ching (1997): 'CPC Thinks China and United States Will Eventually Go to War', *Cheng Ming* 235: 15–16
Lieven, Dominic (2000): *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*, London: John Murray
Limaye, Sato P. (2001): 'Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security in East Asia', in Joachim Krause and Andreas Wenger (eds.), *Nuclear Weapons into the Twenty-First Century: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, Bern: Peter Lang, 177–93
Lindley-French, Julian (2002): 'Terms of Engagement: The Paradox of American Power and the Transatlantic Dilemma Post-11 September', *Chaillot Paper* 52 May: http://www.iss-eu.org/chaillot/chai52e.html
Lipschutz, Ronnie D. (1999): 'Terror in the Suites: Narratives of Fear and the Political Economy of Danger', *Global Society* 13 (4): 411–39
Little, Richard (1989): 'Deconstructing the Balance of Power: Two Traditions of Thought', *Review of International Studies* 15 (2): 87–101

Lobo-Guerrero Sanz, Luis Erneste (2000): *El Conflicto Armado Colombiano: ¿ Una Amenaza para la Seguridad Regional?*, Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Monografía para optar al título de Politólogo con énfasis en Relaciones Internationales

Lomperis, Timothy J. (1996): *Flawed Realism. Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz on the Vietnam War: The Case for a Regional Level-of-Analysis*, San Francisco: Paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, 29 August–1 September

Lose, Lars Gert (1995): *Applying the Concept of Security Complexes to the Balkans Post-Cold War*, student paper, University of Warwick

Lough, John (1993): 'The Place of the "Near Abroad" in Russia's Foreign Policy', *RFE/RL Research Report* 2 (11): 21–39

Loveman, Brian, and Thomas M. Davies (1997) (eds.): *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Lowenthal, Abraham F. (1979): 'Jimmy Carter and Latin America: A New Era or Small Change?', in Kenneth A. Oye, Donald Rotschild, and Robert J. Lieber (eds.), *Eagle Entangled: US Foreign Policy in a Complex World*, New York: Longman, 290–303

Lucero, Jose Antonio (2001): 'Crisis and Contention in Ecuador', *Journal of Democracy* 12 (2): 59–73

Lustick, Ian S. (1997): 'The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political "Backwardness" in Historical Perspective', *International Organization* 51 (4): 653–83

Luttwak, Edward N. (1993): *The Endangered American Dream*, New York: Touchstone

Lynch, Dov (1999): ' "Walking the Tightrope": The Kosovo Conflict and Russia in European Security, 1998–August 1999', *European Security* 8 (4): 57–83

Lysenko, I. (2002): 'Caspian Pipeline Consortium', *International Affairs (Moscow)* 48 (2): 34–40

Mace, Gordon (1999): 'The Origins, Nature, and Scope of the Hemispheric Project', in Mace and Bélanger 1999, 19–36

Mace, Gordon, and Louis Bélanger (1999): *The Americas in Transition: The Contours of Regionalism*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner

Machon, Lotte (2000) (ed.): *Security and Peacebuilding in South Eastern Europe*, Copenhagen: Report from Danish Institute of International Affairs Conference, 1–2 December

Mackinder, Halford J. (1904): 'The Geographic Pivot of History', *Geographical Journal* 23 (4) (April): 421–42

Maduna, P. M. (1999): *Debate on the Directorate of Special Operations*, Cape Town: Address during the snap debate on the Directorate of Special Operations, 11 November

Mahbubani, Kishore (1995): 'The Pacific Impulse', *Survival* 37 (1): 105–20

Mahendra, K. L. (2002): 'Working-Class Struggles Against Globalisation', *New Age* 50 (12) (24 March): 5

Maier, Karl (2001): *This House Has Fallen: Midnight in Nigeria*, New York: Public Affairs

Malaquias, Assis (2001): 'Diamonds are a Guerilla's Best Friend: The Impact of Illicit Wealth on Insurgency Strategy', *Third World Quarterly* 22 (3): 225–311

Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison, and Margot Light (1996) (eds.): *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press

Malcolm, Noel (1994): *Bosnia: A Short History*, New York: New York University Press

Malmborg, Mikael af, and Bo Stråth (2002) (eds.): *The Meaning of Europe*, Oxford and New York: Berg

Mandel, Robert (1999): *Deadly Transfers and the Global Playground: Transnational Security Threats in a Disorderly World*, Westport, CT: Praeger

Mann, Steven R. (2001): *American Diplomat Sees Encouraging Signs on Baku–Ceyhan Pipeline*, http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/qanda/articles/eav110801.shtml

Manor, James, and Gerald Segal (1998): 'Taking India Seriously', *Survival* 40 (2): 53–70

Manwaring, Max G. (2002): *Nonstate Actors in Colombia: Threat and Response*, Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute

Maoz, Zeev (1997): 'Regional Security in the Middle East: Past Trends, Present Realities, and Future Challenges', *Journal of Strategic Studies* 20 (1): 1–45

Marcella, Gabriel, and Richard Downes (1999): *Security Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Resolving the Ecuador–Peru Conflict*, Miami: North–South Center Press

Marcella, Gabriel, and Donald E. Schulz (1999): 'War and Peace in Colombia', *Washington Quarterly* 22 (3): 213–28

Marchand, Marianne H. (2001): 'North American Regionalisms and Regionalization in the 1990s', in Schulz et al. 2001, 198–210

Marcussen, Martin, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher (1999): 'Constructing European Identities? The Evolution of British, French and German Nation State Identities', *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4): 614–33

Mares, David R. (1997): 'Regional Conflict Management in Latin America: Power Complemented by Diplomacy', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 195–218

(2001): *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America*, New York: Columbia University Press

(n.d.): *Latin American Perspectives on the Causes, Prevention, and Resolution of Deadly Intra- and Interstate Conflicts, 1982–1996*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, http://www.ccpdc.org/pubs/mares/mrfr.htm

Marty, Martin A., and R. Scott Appleby (1995) (eds.): *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

Ayoob, Mohammed (1995): *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner
(2002): 'South-West Asia After the Taliban', *Survival* 44 (1): 51–65
Bach, David (1995): *Frontiers Versus Boundary-Lines: Changing Patterns of State–Society Interaction in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Paris: Paper presented to Pan-European Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on International Relations
Baev, Pavel K. (1994): 'Russia's Experiments and Experience in Conflict Management and Peacemaking in the Near Abroad', *International Peacekeeping* 1 (3): 245–60
(1996): *The Russian Army in a Time of Troubles*, Oslo: International Peace Research Institute and London: Sage
(1997a): 'Russia's Departure from Empire: Self-Assertiveness and a New Retreat', in Tunander et al. 1997, 174–95
(1997b): *Russia's Policies in the Caucasus*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs
(1999a): 'External Interventions in Secessionist Conflicts in Europe in the 1990s', *European Security* 8 (2): 22–51
(1999b): 'International Interventions in Secessionist Conflicts in Europe in the 1990s', in McDermott 1999, 87–116
Bahadur, Kalim (2000): 'Islamic Fundamentalism and International Terrorism', *AAKROSH: Asian Journal on Terrorism and International Conflicts* 3 (7): 27–39
Bahr, Egon (1998): *Deutsche Interessen: Streitschrift zu Macht, Sicherheit und Aussenpolitik*, Munich: Karl Blessing
Bailey, John, and Roy Godson (2001): *Public Security and Democratic Governance: Challenges to Mexico and the United States*, Washington, DC: Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University
Bailyn, Bernard (1992 [1967]): *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
Bajpai, Kanti (1998): 'India: Modified Structuralism', in Alagappa 1998, 157–97
Banega, Cyro, Björn Hettne, and Frederik Söderbaum (2001): 'The New Regionalism in South America', in Schulz et al. 2001, 234–49
Banerjee, Sanjoy (1997): 'The Cultural Logic of National Identity Formation: Contending Discourses in Late Colonial India', in Hudson 1997, 27–44
Barkawi, Tarak, and Mark Laffey (1999): 'The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force, and Globalization', *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (4): 403–34
Barnett, Michael N. (1998): *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*, New York: Columbia University Press
Baudrillard, Jean (1988): *America*, London and New York: Verso
Bayart, Jean-François, Stephen Ellis, and Beatrice Hibou (1999): *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*, London: James Currey
Behnke, Andreas (1999): *Inscriptions of Imperial Order: NATO's Mediterranean Initiative*, unpublished typescript, 30 pp.

Mastanduno, Michael (1991): 'Do Relative Gains Matter? America's Response to Japanese Industrial Policy', *International Security* 16 (1): 73–113
(1997): 'Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and US Grand Strategy After the Cold War', *International Security* 21 (4): 49–88
Mastanduno, Michael, and Ethan B. Kapstein (1999): 'Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War', in Kapstein and Mastanduno 1999, 1–27
Matras, Yaon (2000): 'Romani Migrations in the Post-Communist Era: Their Historical and Political Significance', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13 (2): 32–50
Matz, Johan (2001): *Constructing a Post-Soviet International Political Reality: Russian Foreign Policy Towards the Newly Independent States 1990–1995*, Ph.D dissertation, Uppsala University
Maull, Hanns W. (1990–1): 'Germany and Japan: The New Civilian Powers', *Foreign Affairs* 69 (5): 91–106
Maull, Hanns W., and Bernhard Stahl (2002): 'Durch den Balkan nach Europa? Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jugoslawienkriegen', *PVS: Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 43 (1): 82–111
Mazrui, Ali (1997): *Supra-National Ethnicity, Sub-National Religion and Vice-Versa: The Contradictions of Africa's Primordial Experience*, Stockholm: Paper for the International Symposium on Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era, September
Mbeki, Thabo (1999a): *Opening Address at the Deputy President's Budget Debate, March 23*, Cape Town: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/1999/tm0323.html
(1999b): *Statement at the 35th Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, July 13*, Algiers: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/1999/tm0713.html
(2001a): *Opening of Western Cape Municipal Police Service Training Facility*, Cape Town: Address at the opening of the Western Cape Municipal Police Service Training Facility, Phillipi, 12 September
(2001b): *Responses to Parliamentary Questions in the National Assembly, March 14*, Cape Town: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/2001/tm0314.html
(2001c): *State of the Nation Address of the President of South Africa at the Opening of Parliament, February 9*, Cape Town: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/2001/tm0209.html
McCann, Frank D. (1983): 'The Brazilian General Staff and Brazil's Military Situation, 1900–1945', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 25 (3): 299–324
McDermott, Anthony (1999) (ed.): *Sovereign Intervention*, Oslo: PRIO Report 2/99
McDermott, Roger N. (2002): 'Looking for Trouble? Russia Steers Central Asian Antiterrorist Preparations', *Eurasia Insight* July (22): http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav072202a.shtml

McDougall, Walter A. (1997): *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*, New York: Houghton Mifflin
McEvedy, Colin (1988): *The Penguin Atlas of North American History to 1870*, London: Penguin
McKeeby, David (1999): 'Caspian Dreams: A Case Study in Modern US Foreign Policy Making', *Young Leaders Forum* 3 (1): http://www.csis.org/intern/forum991h.html
McNeill, William H. (1963): *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
McNulty, Jennifer (2000): 'Guatemala's Peace Requires International Support, Says Author', *UC Santa Cruz Currents Online* February (28): 1–3
McNulty, Mel (1999): 'The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution or External Sabotage?', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1): 53–82
Mearsheimer, John J. (1990): 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War', *International Security* 15 (1): 5–56
Mendel, William W. (1999): 'The Brazilian Amazon: Controlling the Hydra', *Military Review* July–August: web edition 1–12
Metz, Steven (2000): *American Strategy: Issues and Alternatives for the Quadrennial Defense Review*, Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute
Migranyan, Andranik (1994): 'Russia and the Near Abroad: The Shaping of the New Foreign Policy Line of the Russian Federation', *Nesavisimaja gaseta* 12 and 18 January: Danish translation by Lars P. Poulsen-Hansen
Miller, Benjamin (2000): *Systemic Effects on the Transition of the Middle East and the Balkans from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War Era*, Los Angeles: Paper presented at ISA Convention, Los Angeles, March
Miniotaite, Grazina (2000): *The Security Policy of Lithuania and the 'Integration Dilemma'*, Copenhagen: COPRI Working Paper no. 5
Minnaar, Anthony (2001): 'Border Control and Regionalism. The Case of South Africa', *African Security Review* 10 (1): web edition 1–15
Missiroli, Antonio (2000): *CFSP, Defence and Flexibility*, Paris: Western European Union Institute for Security Studies
Moïsi, Dominique (2000): 'An Emperor with No Interest in His Empire', *Financial Times* May (8): http://www.ifri.org/F/Articles/Articles/dm_0005_emperor.htm
Møller, Bjørn (2000): *Security Cooperation in Southern Africa: Lessons from the European Experience*, Copenhagen: Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies (Annual Colloquium)
(2001): *Raising Armies in a Rough Neighbourhood: Soldiers, Guerillas, and Mercenaries in Southern Africa*, Copenhagen: SARIPS (Third Draft)
Mongolia, Concept of Foreign Policy (n.d.): http://www.indiana.edu/~mongsoc/mong/foreign.htm
Morgan, Patrick A. (1997): 'Regional Security Complexes and Regional Orders', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 20–42

Morgenthau, Hans J. (1978 [1948]): *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Moriarty, Robert E. (1997): *Environmental Security: What Environmental Issues Impact Regional Stability and Affect United States Foreign Policy with Mexico?*, Research Paper presented to the Research Department, Air Command and Staff College

Mørk, Henning (1991): 'Jugoslaviskhed', *Den Jyske Historiker* (Hinsides Habsburg) 57: 90–111

Mouritzen, Hans (1998): *Theory and Reality of International Politics*, Aldershot: Ashgate

Mouritzen, Hans, Ole Wæver, and Håkan Wiberg, with Anjo Harrayvan et al. (1996) (eds.): *European Integration and National Adaptations*, Commack, NY: Nova Science Publishers

Mozaffari, Mehdi (1997): 'The CIS's Southern Belt: A New Security System', in Mehdi Mozaffari (ed.), *Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 3–34

(2002): 'Bin Laden and Islamist Terrorism', *Militært Tidsskrift* 131 (1): 23–35

Mufamadi, F. S. (1997): *Speech by Minister F. S. Mufamadi, Minister for Safety and Security on the National Assembly Budget Votes, April 18*, South Africa: Safety and Security Budget Speech, http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/speeches/1997/secbudgt.html

Muller, Marie (1999): *South African Diplomacy and Security Complex Theory*, Leicester: Centre for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester, Discussion Paper 53

Muñiz, Humberto García, and Jorge Rodríguez Beruff (1994): 'US Military Policy Toward the Caribbean in the 1990s', *Annals of the American Academy* 533: 112–24

Munro, Dana G. (1964): *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean 1900–1921*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Nachmani, Amikam (1999): *Turkey and the Middle East*, Begin–Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Security and Policy Studies No. 42, 29 May

Naím, Moisés (2001): 'The Real Story Behind Venezuela's Woes', *Journal of Democracy* 12 (2): 17–31

Najimova, Adolat (2002): *Russia: Moscow Seen as Moving to Increase Military Ties with Central Asia*, http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/08/06082002141622.asp

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) (1999): *The Alliance's Strategic Concept*, Washington, DC: Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, 23–24 April

Neumann, Iver B. (1996a): 'Collective Identity Formation: Self and Other in International Relations', *European Journal of International Relations* 2 (2): 139–74

(1996b): *Russia and the Idea of Europe*, New York: Routledge

(1997a): 'Comments on Russia and Europe', in Ingmar Oldberg (ed.), *Priorities in Russian Foreign Policy: West, South or East?*, Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Establishment, 43–64
(1997b): 'The Geopolitics of Delineating "Russia" and "Europe": The Creation of the "Other" in European and Russian Tradition', in Tunander et al. 1997, 147–73
(2002): 'From the USSR to Gorbachev to Putin: Perestroika as a Failed Excursion from "the West" to "Europe" in Russian Discourse', in Malmborg and Stråth 2002, 191–214
Neumann, Iver B., and Jennifer Welsh (1991): 'The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society', *Review of International Studies* 17 (4): 327–48
Newton, Wesley P. (1991): 'Origins of United States–Latin American Relations', in T. Ray Shurbutt (ed.), *United States–Latin American Relations, 1800–1850*, Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1–24
NIC (National Intelligence Council) (2000): *The Global Infectious Disease Threat and its Implications for the United States*, http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/nie99-17s.htm
Noreng, Øystein (2000): 'Rørledninger er storpolitik: det nye store spillet om oljen fra Kaukasus og Sentral-Asia', *Internasjonal Politikk* 52 (2): 161–94
Norton, James (2002): 'Islamic Militancy in Central Asia: The Causes Are Many, The Answers Complex', *Christian Science Monitor* February (28): 15
Nunez, Joseph R. (1999): 'A New United States Strategy for Mexico', *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* 8 (2): 111–28
Nyberg, René (1999): 'Russia and Europe', *European Security* 8 (2): 15–21
O'Neill, Kathryn, and Barry Munslow (1995): 'Angola: Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa', in Oliver Furley (ed.), *Conflict in Africa*, London: I. B. Tauris, 183–97
Ó Tuathail, Gearóid (1996): *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*, London: Routledge
Odén, Bertil (2001): 'Regionalisation in Southern Africa: The Role of the Dominant', in Schulz, et al. 2001, 82–99
Ohlson, Thomas (1998): *Power Politics and Peace Policies: Intra-State Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa*, Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Report no. 50
Okawara, Nobuo, and Peter J. Katzenstein (2001): 'Japan and Asia-Pacific Security: Regionalization, Entrenched Bilateralism, and Incipient Multilateralism', *Pacific Review* 14 (2): 165–94
Olcott, Martha Brill (2001a): 'Central Asia: Common Legacies and Conflicts', in Allison and Jonson 2001, 24–48
(2001b): 'Preventing New Afghanistans: A Regional Strategy for Reconstruction', *Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief* 11: http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/Olcott_PrevNewAfghan.asp? from=pubtype
Oliver, Roland, and Anthony Atmore (1994): *Africa Since 1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Otorbaev, Kubat (2002): 'Russia Backs Kyrgyz President', in 'Mail archive – uighur-1', 21 June 2002, http://www.mail-archive.com/uighur-l@taklamakan.org/msg03122.html

Pain, Emil A. (1999): 'Contagious Ethnic Conflicts and Border Disputes Along Russia's Southern Flank', in Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov, and Ghia Nodia (eds.), *Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 177–202

Papayoanou, Paul A. (1997): 'Great Powers and Regional Orders: Possibilities and Prospects After the Cold War', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 125–39

Parakhonsky, Borys (n.d.): *Central Asia: Geostrategic Survey*, Luleå, Sweden: Central Asia and the Caucasus, Center for Social and Political Studies

Pashayev, Hafiz (2000): Ambassador Hafiz Pashayev's presentation at 'GUUAM and the Geopolitics of Eurasia' Seminar, 17 May, United States Senate, http://www.guuam.org/conf/amb_GUUAM_17 may 00.htm

Pavliatenko, Victor N. (1999): 'Russian Security in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Dangers of Isolation', in Rozman et al. 1999, 13–44

Pavlovaite, Inga (2000): *Paradise Regained: The Conceptualisation of Europe in the Lithuanian Debate*, Copenhagen: COPRI, Working Paper 24

Payne, Anthony (1999): 'The Remapping of the Americas', *Review of International Studies* 25 (3): 507–14

(2000): 'Rethinking United States–Caribbean Relations: Towards a New Mode of Trans-Territorial Governance', *Review of International Studies* 26 (1): 69–82

Pearce, Jenny (1998): 'From Civil War to "Civil Society": Has the End of the Cold War Brought About Peace to Central America?', *International Affairs* 74 (3): 587–616

(1999): 'Peace-Building in the Periphery: Lessons from Central America', *Third World Quarterly* 20 (1): 51–68

Pedersen, Thomas (1998): *Germany, France and the Integration of Europe: A Realist Interpretation*, London: Pinter

Peimani, Hooman (1998): *Regional Security and the Future of Central Asia*, Westport, CT: Praeger

Pellicer, Olga (1998) (ed.): *Regional Mechanisms and International Security in Latin America*, New York: United Nations University Press

Peña, Félix (1995): 'New Approaches to International Integration in the Southern Cone', *Washington Quarterly* 18 (3): 113–22

Perkins, Bradford (1993): *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776–1865: The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, vol. I*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Perruci, Gamaliel (1999): ' "Green McWorld" Versus "Gold Jihad": The Clash of Ideas in the Brazilian Amazon', *Global Society* 13 (2), April: 163–80

Petersen, Ib Damgaard (2001): *The Invisible Continent: Political and Economic Integration in Latin America with Particular Emphasis on Mercosur*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press

Peterson, Scott (2002): 'Central Asia: The Next Front in the Terror War?', *Christian Science Monitor* July (10): 7

Phillips, James, and James H. Anderson (2000): 'International Terrorism: Containing and Defeating Terrorist Threats', in Stuart M. Butler and Kim R. Holmes (eds.), *Issues 2000: The Candidate's Briefing Book*, Heritage Foundation, 831–42

Piccoli, Wolfgango (1999): *Alliance Theory: The Case of Turkey and Israel*, Copenhagen: COPRI Working Paper 20/1999

Pillsbury, Michael (2000): *China Debates the Future Security Environment*, Washington, DC: National Defense University Press

Pion-Berlin, David, and Craig Arceneaux (2000): 'Decision-Makers or Decision-Takers? Military Missions and Civilian Control in Democratic South America', *Armed Forces and Society* 26 (3): 413–36

Pipes, Daniel (2000): 'Islam and Islamism: Faith and Ideology', *National Interest* 59: 87–93

Piscatori, James (1991a) (ed.): *Islamic Fundamentalisms and the Gulf Crisis*, Chicago: American Academy of Arts and Sciences

(1991b): 'Religion and Realpolitik: Islamic Responses to the Gulf War', in Piscatori 1991a, 1–27

Plaut, Martin, and Patrick Gilkes (1999): *Conflict in the Horn: Why Eritrea and Ethiopia are at War*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs: Briefing Paper, n.s. no. 1

Podeh, Elie (1998): 'The Emergence of the Arab State System Reconsidered', *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 19 (3): 50–82

Politi, Alessandro (1998): 'Western Europe', in Stares 1998, 115–25

Polomka, Peter (1986): *The Two Koreas: Catalyst for Conflict in East Asia?*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 208

Posen, Barry R. (1993): 'Nationalism, Mass Army, and Military Power', *International Security* 18 (2): 80–124

Posen, Barry R., and Ross, Andrew L. (1996–7): 'Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy', *International Security* 21 (3): 5–53

Poulsen-Hansen, Lars, and Ole Wæver (1996): 'Ukraine', in Mouritzen et al. 1996, 231–60

PPNN (Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation) (1998a): 'Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation', *News Briefs*, no. 42

(1998b): 'Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation', *News Briefs*, no. 43

Prescott, J. R. V. (1987): *Political Frontiers and Boundaries*, London: Unwin Hyman

Prizel, Ilya (1998): *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Putin, Vladimir (1999): *Russia at the Turn of the Millennium*, http://www.government.ru:8080/english/statVP_engl_1.html

(2000): *Address to the Federal Assembly (State of Nation)*, posted on Jonhson's Russia List and H-Diplo at H-net.msu.edu

Quinlan, Michael (2000–1): 'How Robust Is India–Pakistan Deterrence?', *Survival* 42 (4): 141–54

Rabasa, Angel, and Peter Chalk (2001): *Colombian Labyrinth: The Synergy of Drugs and Insurgency and Its Implications for Regional Stability*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND

Ragigh-Aghsan, Ali (2000): *The Dynamics and Inertia of the Northern Tier Cooperation: The Growing Role of Turkey and Iran and the Formation of a Cooperative Regional Hegemonic System in the Context of the ECO*, Copenhagen: Institute of Political Science, Ph.D dissertation series 2000/05

Rais, Rasul Bakhsh (1995): 'Security, State, and Democracy in Pakistan', in Weinbaum and Kumar 1995, 63–78

Rajmaira, Sheen (1997): 'Indo-Pakistani Relations: Reciprocity in Long-Term Perspective', *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (3): 547–60

Rashid, Ahmed (2000): *Taliban: Islam, Oil, and the New Great Game in Central Asia*, London: I. B. Tauris

(2002a): 'Central Asian Elites, Suddenly, Shift Into Revolt', *Global Affairs Commentary* May (2): Foreign Policy in Focus

(2002b): *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press

(2002c): 'Russia, China Warily Watch for American Intrusions in Central Asia', *Global Affairs Commentary* May (3): Foreign Policy in Focus

Rees, Wyn (n.d.): *Organised Crime, Security and the European Union, Draft Paper for the ESRC Workshop, Grenoble*, http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/jointsessions/grenoble/papers/w8/rees.pdf

Reich, Robert (1991): 'What Is a Nation?', *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (2): 193–209

Reno, William (1998): *Warlord Politics and African States*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

Richardson, James L. (1994): 'The Asia-Pacific: Geopolitical Cauldron or Regional Community', *National Interest* 38 (Winter): 2–13

Richter, Daniel K. (1983): 'War and Culture: The Iroquois Experiment', *William and Mary Quarterly* 40: 528–39

Riley-Smith, Jonathan (1997): *The First Crusaders 1095–1131*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ringmar, Erik (2002): 'The Recognition Game: Soviet Russia Against the West', *Cooperation and Conflict* 37 (2): 115–36

Rizvi, Hasan-Askari (1998): 'Civil–Military Relations in Contemporary Pakistan', *Survival* 40 (2): 96–113

Rochlin, James F. (1997): *Redefining Mexican 'Security': Society, State and Region Under NAFTA*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

Roe, Paul (1999): 'The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a "Tragedy"', *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (2): 183–202

Roeder, Philip G. (1997): 'From Hierarchy to Hegemony: The Post-Soviet Security Complex', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 219–44

Rohter, Larry (2002): 'Argentina and the US Grow Apart Over a Crisis', *New York Times* January (20): 4

Rondeli, Alexander (1998): 'Security Threats in the Caucasus: Georgia's View', *Journal of International Affairs* 3 (2): 43–53
(1999): 'TRACECA: A Tool For Regional Cooperation in the Caucasus', *Marco Polo Magazine* 1: 28–32
Rose, Gideon (1998): 'Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics* 51 (1): 144–72
Rosecrance, Richard (1986): *The Rise of the Trading State*, New York: Basic Books
Rosenau, James N. (1966): 'Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy', in R. Barry Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 27–92
(1981 [1970]): 'The Adaptation of National Societies: A Theory of Political System Behavior and Transformation', in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *The Study of Political Adaptation*, London and New York: Pinter, 56–87
(1984): 'A Pre-Theory Revisited: World Politics in an Era of Cascading Interdependence', *International Studies Quarterly* 28: 245–305
(1990): *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf
Rosenfelder, Mark (1996): *US Interventions in Latin America*, http://www.zompist.com/latam.html
Ross, Dorothy (1991): *The Origins of American Social Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Ross, Robert S. (1986): 'Indochina's Continuing Tragedy', *Problems of Communism* 25 (6): 86–96
(1999): 'The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century', *International Security* 23 (4): 81–119
Rossabi, Morris (n.d.): *Mongolia in the 1990s: From Commissars to Capitalists*, http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/mongolia/links/rossabi.html
Roy, Denny (1994): 'Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security', *International Security* 19 (1): 149–68
(1996): 'China's Threat Environment', *Security Dialogue* 27 (4): 437–49
Roy, Olivier (1998): 'Fundamentalists Without a Common Cause', *Le Monde Diplomatique (in the Guardian Weekly)* October: 2
(2000): *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers
Rozman, Gilbert, Mikhail G. Nosor, and Koji Watanabe (1999) (eds.): *Russia and East Asia: The Twenty-First Century Security Environment*, London and New York: M. E. Sharpe
Rubin, Barnett (1998): 'Conclusion: Managing Normal Instability', in Barnett R. Rubin and Jack Snyder (eds.), *Post-Soviet Political Order*, London and New York: Routledge, 162–79
Ruggie, John G. (1979–80): 'On the Problems of the Global Problematique: What Roles for International Organizations?', *Alternatives* 5: 520–6
(1983): 'Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis', *World Politics* 35 (2): 261–85

(1993): 'Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations', *International Organization* 47 (1): 139–75
Rühl, Lothar (1997): 'The Historical Background of Russian Security Concepts and Requirements', in Vladimir Baranovski (ed.), *Russia and Europe: The Emerging Security Agenda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 21–41
Rumsfeld, Donald H. (2001): 'Creative Coalition-Building for a New Kind of War', *New York Times* September (28)
Russett, Bruce M. (1967): *International Regions and the International System*, Chicago: Rand McNally
Ruthrauff, John (1998): *The Guatemala Peace Process and the Role of the World Bank and Interamerican Development Bank*, Guatemala: Conference paper at Universidad del Valle, March 26–28
Saikal, Amin (1998): 'Afghanistan's Ethnic Conflict', *Survival* 40 (2): 114–26
Samudavanija, Chai-Anan, and Sukhumbhand Paribatra (1987): 'Development for Security, Security for Development: Prospects for Durable Stability in Southeast Asia', in Kusuma Snitwongse and Sukhumbhand Paribatra (eds.), *Durable Stability in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 3–31
Sansoucy, Lisa J. (2002): *Japan's Regional Security Policy in Post-Cold War Asia*, New Orleans: Paper presented to ISA Conference, 24–27 March
Sato, Tsuneaki, Chun-Shen Tian, and Il-Dong Koh (1999): ' "Homemade Risks": The Economic Security of Russia in East Asia', in Rozman et al. 1999, 101–25
Sayigh, Yezid (2002): 'The Middle East in Comparative Perspective', in Christian-Peter Hanelt, Felix Neugart, and Matthias Peitz (eds.), *Europe's Emerging Foreign Policy and the Middle Eastern Challenge*, Munich: Guetersloh, 25–35
Schlaga, Rüdiger (1991): *Die Kommunisten in der Friedensbewegung – erfolglos?*, Hamburg: Münster
Schlesinger, Arthur M. jr (1992): *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, New York: W. W. Norton
Schlyter, Oscar (1997): *The South Asian Regional Security Complex: A Comparison of the Cold War and the Post-Cold War Period*, Stockholm: Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm, paper, 50 pp.
Schmidt, Helmut (1999): *Globalisierung: politische, ökonomische, und kulturelle Herausforderungen*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt
Schmitt, Eric, and James Dao (2002): 'US Forces Dig in to Keep Presence in Central Asia for Years to Come', *International Herald Tribune* January (10)
Schoeman, Maxi (2000): 'South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power', *African Security Review* 9 (3): 47–58
Scholte, Jan Aart (2000): *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, Basingstoke: Macmillan
Schoultz, Lars (1998): *Beneath the United States: A History of US Policy Towards Latin America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Schulz, Donald E. (1997): 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The United States, Mexico, and the Challenge of National Security', *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* 6 (3): 1–40

(1998) (ed.): *The Role of the Armed Forces in the Americas: Civil–Military Relations for the Twenty-First Century*, Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute: http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usassi/

Schulz, Michael, Fredrik Söderbaum, and Joakim Öjendal (2001) (eds.): *Regionalization in a Globalizing World: A Comparative Perspective on Forms, Actors and Process*, London and New York: Zed Books

Schweller, Randall L. (1999): 'Realism and the Present Great Power System: Growth and Positional Conflict over Scarce Resources', in Kapstein and Mastanduno 1999, 28–57

Segal, Gerald (1988): 'As China Grows Strong', *International Affairs* 64 (2): 218–31

(1994): *China Changes Shape: Regionalism and Foreign Policy*, London: International Institute of Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 287

(1997): 'How Insecure Is Pacific Asia?', *International Affairs* 73 (2): 235–50

(1999): 'Does China Matter?', *Foreign Affairs* 78 (5): 24–36

Sen Gupta, Bhabani (1997): 'India in the Twenty-First Century', *International Affairs* 73 (2): 297–314

Serafino, Nina M. (2002): *Colombia: The Uribe Administration and Congressional Concerns*, Washington, DC: Congressional Report Service, CRS Report for Congress, RS 21242

Serbin, Andrés (1998): 'New Trends in International Security in the Caribbean Basin', in Pellicer 1998

Sergounin, Alexander (1998): *Russia: A Long Way to the National Security Doctrine*, Copenhagen: COPRI Working Paper no. 10

Serrano, Mónica (1992): *Common Security in Latin America: The 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco*, London: Institute for Latin American Studies, University of London, Research Paper 30

(1998): 'Latin America', in Stares 1998, 152–75

Sethi, Manpreet (2000): 'Novel Ways of Settling Border Disputes: The Peru–Ecuador Case', *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* 23 (10) (January): 1769–79

Shambaugh, David (1994): 'Growing Strong: China's Challenge to Asian Security', *Survival* 36 (2): 43–59

Shashenkov, Maxim (1994): 'Russian Peacekeeping in the "Near Abroad"', *Survival* 36 (3): 139–74

Shaw, Timothy (1998): *New Regionalisms in the Great Lakes at the Start of the Twenty-First Century*, unpublished typescript

Shearer, David (1999): 'Africa's Great War', *Survival* 41 (2): 89–105

Shelley, L. I. (1995): 'Transnational Organized Crime: An Imminent Threat to the Nation-State?', *Journal of International Affairs* 48 (2) (Winter): 463–89

Shelton, Henry H. (2000): *Statement of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Arlington, VA: Fletcher Conference

Behrendt, Sven, and Christian-Peter Hanelt (1999) (eds.): *Security in the Middle East*, Munich, Guetersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation, unpublished working papers, Center for Applied Policy Research

Beltran, Virgilio R. (2000): *The Armed Forces of the Southern Cone of America on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century: Some Alternatives for Change*, Strasburg: Paper for ISA Research Committee 01 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution, Interim Conference, 13–15 October

Bemis, Samuel Flagg (1957 [1935]): *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press

Bennett, David H. (1995): *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right from Nativism to the Militia Movement*, New York: Vintage

Bensel, Richard Franklin (1990): *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bercovitch, Sacvan (1978): *The American Jeremiad*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Berger, Samuel, and Mona Sutphen (2001): 'Commandeering the Palestinian Cause: Bin Laden's Belated Concern', in Hoge and Rose 2001, 123–8

Berger, Thomas U. (1993): 'From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-Militarism', *International Security* 17 (4): 119–50

Bergsten, Fred (2000): 'East Asian Regionalism: Towards a Tripartite World', *Economist* July (15): 23–6

Berman, Bruce J. (1998): 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism', *African Affairs* 97 (388): 305–42

Bernier, Ivan, and Martin Roy (1999): 'NAFTA and MERCOSUR: Two Competing Models?', in Mace and Bélanger 1999, 69–91

Bigo, Didier (1996): *Polices en Résaux: L'expérience européenne*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po

bin Laden, Osama (1996a): *First Declaration of Holy War: Ladanese Epistle*, http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A4342-2001Sep21&notFound=true. Reprinted as 'Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places', in Alexander and Swetnam 2001, Appendix 1 A

(1996b): 'The New Powder Keg in The Middle East', *Nida'ul Islam Magazine* 15 (http://www.islam.org.au). Reprinted as 'Mujahid Usamah Bin Laden Talks Exclusively to "NIDA'UL ISLAM" About the New Powder Keg in the Middle East', in Alexander and Swetnam 2001, Appendix 2

(1998): Interview with al-Jazeera television channel, http://www.spaceship-earth.de/Letters/Editor/Interview_with_bin_Laden.htm

bin Laden, Osama, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Shaykh Mir Hamzah, and Fazlur Rahman (1998): *Second Declaration of Holy War: Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders*, http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A4993-2001Sep21&notFound=trueBemærk. Reprinted as 'Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders: World Islamic Front Statement', in Alexander and Swetnam 2001, Appendix 1 B

Shore, Sean M. (1998): 'No Fences Make Good Neighbors: The Development of the US–Canadian Security Community, 1871–1940', in Adler and Barnett 1998, 333–67
Shumway, Nicolas (1991): *The Invention of Argentina*, Berkeley: University of California Press
Sick, Gary (1998): 'Rethinking Dual Containment', *Survival* 40 (1): 5–32
Silber, Laura, and Allan Little (1995): *The Death of Yugoslavia*, New York: Penguin Books, BBC Books
Simic, Predrag (2001): 'Do the Balkans Exist?', *Chaillot Papers* 46 (April): 17–36
Simon, Gerhard (1994): 'Russland: Hegemon in Eurasien?', *Osteuropa* 44 (5): 411–29
Simon, Sheldon W. (1975): *Asian Neutralism and US Policy*, Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
(1983): 'Davids and Goliaths: Small Power–Great Power Security Relations in Southeast Asia', *Asian Survey* 23 (3): 302–15
(1984): 'The Two Southeast Asias and China's Security Perspectives', *Asian Survey* 24 (5): 519–33
(1994): 'East Asian Security: The Playing Field has Changed', *Asian Survey* 34 (12): 1047–63
Singer, Max, and Aaron Wildavsky (1993): *The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/Zones of Turmoil*, Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers
Skak, Mette (2000): *Back in the USSR? Russia as an Actor in World Politics*, Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Affairs, Working Paper 7
Skowronek, Stephen (1982): *Building a New American State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Sloth, Kristian (2001): 'Bristede illusioner i Afrikas mikrokosmos: Sudans mislykkede nationsdannelse' [Shattered illusions in Africa's microcosmos: Sudan's failed nation-building]', *Politica* 33 (4): 419–35
Smith, Gaddis (1994): *The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine, 1945–1993*, New York: Hill and Wang
Smith, Graham, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson, Anette Bohr, and Edward Allworth (1998): *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Smith, Peter H. (1996): *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of US–Latin American Relations*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press
Snyder, Glenn H. (1984): 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics', *World Politics* 36 (4): 461–95
Socor, Vladimir (2002): 'The Russian Squeeze on Georgia', *Russia and Eurasia Review* 1 (2): http://russia.jamestown.org/pubs/view/rer_001_002_004.htm
Söderbaum, Fredrik (1998): 'The New Regionalism in Southern Africa', *Politeia* 17 (3): 75–90
(2001): 'Turbulent Regionalization in West Africa', in Schulz, et al. 2001, 61–81
Soeya, Yoshihide (1998): 'Japan: Normative Constraints Versus Structural Imperatives', in Alagappa 1998, 198–233

Solingen, Etel (1998): *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Spiro, Peter J. (2000): 'The New Sovereigntists: American Exceptionalism and Its False Prophets', *Foreign Affairs* 79 (6): 9–15

Spruyt, Hendrik (1998): 'A New Architecture for Peace? Reconfiguring Japan Among the Great Powers', *Pacific Review* 11 (3): 363–88

Stares, Paul B. (1998) (ed.): *The New Security Agenda: A Global Survey*, Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange

Starr, S. Frederick (2001): 'The War Against Terrorism and US Bilateral Relations with the Nations of Central Asia', *Testimony to the US Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus* December (13): http://www.cacianalyst.org/Publications/Starr_Testimony.htm

Stein, Arthur A., and Steven E. Lobell (1997): 'The End of the Cold War and the Regionalization of International Security', in Lake and Morgan 1997c, 101–22

Stern, Eric (1995): 'Bringing the Environment In: The Case for Comprehensive Security', *Cooperation and Conflict* 30 (3): 211–37

Stern, Jessica (2000): 'Pakistan's Jihad Culture', *Foreign Affairs* 79 (6): 115–26

Stoianovich, Traian (1967): *A Study in Balkan Civilisation*, New York: Alfred Knopf

Stoltenberg, Thorvald, and Kai Eide (1996): *De Tusen Dagene – Fredsmeklere på Balkan*, Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag

Storrs, K. Larry, with J. F. Hornbeck, Nina M. Serafino, Mark P. Sullivan, and Maureen Taft-Morales (2002): *Latin America and the Caribbean: Legislative Issues in 2001–2002*, Washington, DC: Congressional Report Service, CRS Report for Congress, RL 30971

Storrs, K. Larry, and Nina M. Serafino (2002): *Andean Regional Initiative (ARI): FY 2002 Supplemental and FY 2003 Assistance for Colombia and Neighbors*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress, RL 31383

Strategic Survey (1991–2002): London: International Institute for Security Studies

Stratfor (2000a): *The Shanghai Six*, www.stratfor.com/asia/commentary/0007172332.htm

(2000b): *Superpower vs Great Power: Inside the Russian Defense Debate*, www.stratfor.com/SERVICES/giu2000/071700.asp

Stuart, Douglas T., and William T. Tow (1995): *A US Strategy for the Asia-Pacific*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 299

Suny, Ronald Grigor (1999–2000): 'Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia', *International Security* 24 (3): 139–78

Supian, Victor B., and Nosov, Michael G. (1999): 'Reintegration of an Abandoned Fortress: Economic Security of the Russian Far East', in Rozman et al. 1999, 69–100

Sutton, Paul (1993): 'The Politics of Small State Security in the Caribbean', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 31 (2): 1–32

Tajima, Takashi (1981): *China and Southeast Asia: Strategic Interests and Policy Prospects*, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 172

Takahashi, Sugio (2000): 'Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security in the Asia-Pacific', *NIDS Security Reports* no. 1: 101–15

Tanter, Raymond (1999): *Rogue Regimes: Terrorism and Proliferation*, London: Macmillan

Taylor, Charles (1992): *Multiculturalism and 'the Politics of Recognition'*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Terpager Rasmussen, Pouline (2001): *Rusland og Kosovo: En diskursanalyse af den russiske Kosovo-politik 1999*, Copenhagen: MA thesis, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen

Thatcher, Margaret (1996): *New Threats for Old*, Fulton, MO: The Rt Hon The Baroness Thatcher LG, OM, FRS, at Westminster College, 9 March

Thompson, E. P. (1982): *Beyond the Cold War: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation*, New York: Pantheon

Thompson, Loren B. (1999): 'Military Supremacy and How We Keep It', *Policy Review* 97 (Oct.–Nov.): 19–37

Thompson, William R. (1973): 'The Regional Subsystem: A Conceptual Explication and a Propositional Inventory', *International Studies Quarterly* 17 (1): 89–117

Throup, David (1995): 'The Colonial Legacy', in Oliver Furley (ed.), *Conflict in Africa*, London: I. B. Tauris, 237–73

Thumann, Michael (1999): 'Moskau hört mich', *Die Zeit* April (8): 6

Tibi, Bassim (1993): *Conflict and War in the Middle East, 1967–1991: Regional Dynamics and the Superpowers*, London: Macmillan

Tickner, Arlene B., and Ann C. Mason (2003, forthcoming): 'Mapping Transregional Security Structures in the Andean Region', *Alternatives* 28 (3)

Tilly, Charles (1990): *Coercion, Capital, and European States AD 990–1990*, Oxford: Blackwell

Tkach, Vlada (1999): 'Moldova and Transdniestria: Painful Past, Deadlocked Present, Uncertain Future', *European Security* 8 (2): 130–59

To, Lee Lai (1997): 'East Asian Assessments of China's Security Policy', *International Affairs* 73 (2): 251–63

Todorova, Maria N. (1997): *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Tökés, Rudolf L. (1979) (ed.): *Eurocommunism and Détente*, Oxford: Martin Robertson & Co

Trenin, Dmitri V. (2001): *The End of Eurasia*, Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf (1998–9): 'China–Taiwan: US Debates and Policy Choices', *Survival* 40 (4): 150–67

Tulchin, Joseph S. (1994): 'The Formulation of US Foreign Policy in the Caribbean', *Annals of the American Academy* 533: 177–87

Tulchin, Joseph S., and Ralph H. Espach (2001a) (eds.): *Latin America in the New International System*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

(2001b): 'Latin America in the New International System: A Call for Strategic Thinking', in Tulchin and Espach 2001a, 1–33
Tunander, Ola (1989): *Cold Water Politics: The Maritime Strategy and Geopolitics of the Northern Front*, London: Sage
Tunander, Ola, Parel Baer, and Victoria Ingrid Einagel (1997)(eds.): *Geopolitics in Post-Wall Europe: Security, Territory, and Identity*, London: Sage
Turner, Frederick Jackson (1993 [1893]): 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in Frederick Jackson Turner (ed.), *History, Frontier, and Section: Three Essays by Frederick Jackson Turner*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 59–91
Turner, John W. (1998): *Continent Ablaze: The Insurgency Wars in Africa 1960 to the Present*, London: Arms and Armour
Turton, Anthony R. (2001): *Hydropolitics and Security Complex Theory: An African Perspective*, Canterbury: Paper presented to the 4th Pan-European IR Conference, 8–10 September
Twomey, Christopher P. (2000): 'Japan: A Circumscribed Balancer', *Security Studies* 9 (4): 167–205
Ullman, Walter (1974): *Medieval Political Thought*, Harmondsworth: Penguin
United States, Department of Defense (2001): *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, Washington, DC: Department of Defense
United States, Department of State (2000): *Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999: Washington, DC, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, April*, http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2000/
US Commission on National Security (2001): *Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change: The Phase III Report of the US Commission on National Security/21st Century*, US Commission on National Security / 21st Century
US Government Interagency Working Group (2000): *International Crime Threat Assessment: Washington, DC, White House*, http://www.whitehouse.gov/textonl. . .ments/pub45270/pub45270index.html
USIS (1998): *Allied Relations and Negotiations with Argentina*, http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/rpt_9806_ng_argentina.pdf
Váli, Ferenc A. (1971): *Bridges Across the Bosporus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press
Van Cott, Donna Lee (1996): 'Unity Through Diversity: Ethnic Politics and Democratic Deepening in Colombia', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 2 (4): 523–29
Van Ness, Peter (2002): 'Hegemony Not Anarchy: Why China and Japan Are Not Balancing US Unipolar Power', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 2 (1): 131–50
van Schalkwyk, Gina (n.d.): *Multilateral Cooperation Around Shared Watercourses in the Southern African Region: The Real Meaning of Positive Peace and Sustainable Development*, http://www.student-pugwash.org/uk/vanSchalkwyk.pdf
van Wolferen, Karel (1989): *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, London: Macmillan
van Wyk, Jo-Ansie (1998): 'Towards Water Security in Southern Africa', *African Security Review* 7 (2): 59–68

Väyrynen, Raimo (1988): 'Domestic Stability, State Terrorism, and Regional Integration in the ASEAN and the GCC', in Michael Stohl and George Lopez (eds.), *Terrible Beyond Endurance: The Foreign Policy of State Terrorism*, New York: Greenwood Press, 194–7

(1998): 'Towards a Pluralistic Security Community in the Baltic Sea Region?', in Georg Sørensen and Hans-Henrik Holm (eds.), *And Now What? International Politics After the Cold War: Essays in Honour of Nikolaj Petersen*, Aarhus: Forlaget Politica, 149–74

Veremis, Thanos (2000): 'Perspectives from the Region, South Eastern Europe: "The Predicament of the Western Balkans" ', in Machon 2000, 21–34

Viano, Emilio C. (1999) (ed.): *Global Organized Crime and International Security*, Aldershot: Ashgate

Vukadinovic, Radovan (2000): 'Challenges to Security in South East Europe', in Machon 2000, 35–60

Wachtel, Andrew Baruch (1998): *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press

Wæver, Ole (1989): 'Conflicts of Vision – Visions of Conflict', in Wæver et al. 1989, 283–325

(1990a): 'The Interplay of Some Regional and Subregional Dynamics of Security: The Case of Europe, the Baltic Area and 'the North' in the 1980s', *Zeszyty Naukowe, Uniwersytet Szczecinski* 44 (Acta Politica, no. 2): 119–169

(1990b): 'Three Competing Europes: German, French, Russian', *International Affairs* 66 (3): 477–93

(1991): 'Danmarks Sikkerhedspolitiske Situation år 2000 (The Security Political Situation of Denmark, Year 2000)', *Militært Tidsskrift (published by the Danish Society of War Studies)* 120 (4, April): 96–129

(1993a): 'Europe: Stability and Responsibility', in *Internationales Umfeld, Sicherheitsinteressen und nationale Planung der Bundesrepublik. Teil C: Unterstützende Einzelanalysen. Band 5. II.A Europäische Sicherheitskultur. II.B Optionen für kollektive Verteidigung im Kontext sicherheitspolitischer Entwicklungen Dritter*, Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP – S 383/5, 31–72

(1993b): 'Modelli e scenari futuri', *Politica Internazionale (Rome)* 21 (3, Jan.–Mar. 1993): 5–27

(1994): 'Resisting the Temptation of Post-Foreign Policy Analysis', in Walter Carlsnaes and Steve Smith (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Analysis: The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe*, London: Sage, 238–73

(1995a): 'Identity, Integration, and Security: Solving the Sovereignty Puzzle in EU Studies', *Journal of International Affairs* 48 (2): 389–431

(1995b): 'Power, Principles and Perspectivism: Understanding Peaceful Change in Post-Cold War Europe', in Heikki Patomäki (ed.), *Peaceful Change in World Politics*, Tampere: TAPRI, 208–82

(1995c): 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.), *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 46–86

(1996a): 'European Security Identities', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1, March): 103–32

(1996b): 'Europe's Three Empires: A Watsonian Interpretation of Post-Wall European Security', in Rick Fawn and Jeremy Larkins (eds.), *International Society After the Cold War: Anarchy and Order Reconsidered*, London: Macmillan and Millennium, 220–60
(1997a): *Concepts of Security*, Copenhagen: Ph.D dissertation, Institute for Political Science, University of Copenhagen
(1997b): 'Imperial Metaphors: Emerging European Analogies to Pre-Nation State Imperial Systems', in Tunander et al. 1997, 59–93
(1997c): *Regional Realism: A Mildly Constructivist Interpretation of European Security with Implications for 'World Order'*, Copenhagen, Danish Institute of International Affairs: Paper presented to the 'New World Order: Contrasting Theories' Conference, 21–2 November
(1998a): 'Security, Insecurity, and Asecurity in the West European Non-War Community', in Adler and Barnett 1998, 69–118
(1998b): 'The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations', *International Organization* 52 (4, Autumn): 687–727
(2000a): 'The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders', in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams (eds.), *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security and Community*, London: Routledge, 250–94
(2000b): *Security Agendas Old and New – and How to Survive Them*, Buenos Aires: Paper presented for a Workshop on 'The Traditional and the New Security Agenda: Inferences for the Third World, Universidad Torcuato di Tella Buenos Aires, 11–12 September
(2001a): *Securitisation: The Copenhagen School and Its Research Agenda*, Unpublished draft
(2001b): 'Widening the Concept of Security – And Widening the Atlantic?', in Bo Huldt, Sven Rudberg, and Elisabeth Davidson (eds.), *The Transatlantic Link*, Department of Strategic Studies: Swedish National Defence College, 31–48
(2002): *Security: A Conceptual History for International Relations*, New Orleans: Paper presented to ISA Conference, 24–27 March
(in preparation): *The Politics of International Structure*, unpublished
Wæver, Ole, and Barry Buzan (1999): 'Europe and the Middle East – an Inter-Regional Analysis: NATO's New Strategic Concept and the Theory of Security Complexes', in Behrendt and Hanelt 1999, 73–110
(2000): 'An Inter-Regional Analysis: NATO's New Strategic Concept and the Theory of Security Complexes', in Sven Behrendt and Christian-Peter Hanelt (eds.), *Bound to Cooperate: Europe and the Middle East*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 55–106
Wæver, Ole, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lemaitre, with David Carlton et al. (1993): *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London: Pinter

Wæver, Ole, Henrik Larsen, and Ulla Holm (1990): 'Forestillingen om Europa: et studie i fransk og tysk tænkning efter revolutionerne i Øst' [The European Stage: A Study in French and German Thinking After the Revolutions in the East], *Vandkunsten: Konflikt, Politik og Historie* 3: 136–212

Wæver, Ole, Pierre Lemaitre, and Elzbieta Tromer (1989) (eds.): *European Polyphony: Beyond East–West Confrontation*, London: Macmillan

Walker, Martin (2000): 'Europe: Superstate or Superpower?', *World Policy Journal* 27 (4): 7–16

Walker, R. B. J. (1993): *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Walker, William (1998): 'International Nuclear Relations After the Indian and Pakistani Test Explosions', *International Affairs* 74 (3): 505–28

Wallander, Celeste (2000): 'Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War', *International Organization* 54 (4): 705–35

Wallander, Celeste A., and Robert Keohane (1995): *An Institutional Approach to Alliance Theory*, Cambridge: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Working Paper Series, 95: 2

Walt, Stephen M. (1987): *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

(1998): 'International Relations: One World, Many Theories', *Foreign Policy* 110: 29–46

(2000): *Keeping the World 'Off-Balance': Self-Restraint and US Foreign Policy*, John F. Kennedy School of Government: Harvard University, Working Paper no. RWP00–013

Walton, C. Dale (1997): 'Europe United: The Rise of a Second Superpower and Its Effect on World Order', *European Security* 6 (4): 44–54

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979): *Theory of International Politics*, New York: Random House

(1993a): 'The Emerging Structure of International Politics', *International Security* 18 (2): 44–79

(1993b): 'The New World Order', *Millennium* 22 (2): 187–95

(2000a): 'Intimations of Multipolarity', in Birthe Hansen and Bertel Heurlin (eds.), *The New World Order: Contrasting Theories*, London: Macmillan, 1–17

(2000b): 'Structural Realism After the Cold War', *International Security* 25 (1): 5–41

(2002): 'The Continuity of International Politics', in Ken Booth and Tim Dunn (eds.), *Worlds in Collision*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 348–54

Ward, John (1997): *Latin America: Development and Conflict Since 1945*, London and New York: Routledge

Watson, Adam (1984a): 'European International Society and Its Expansion', in Bull and Watson 1984, 13–32

(1984b): 'Russia and the European States System', in Bull and Watson 1984, 61–74

(1987): 'Hedley Bull, State Systems and International Studies', *Review of International Studies* 13 (2): 147–53

(1990): 'Systems of States', *Review of International Studies* 16 (2): 99–109
(1992): *The Evolution of International Society*, London: Routledge
(1997): *The Limits of Independence: Relations Between States in the Modern World*, London: Routledge
Weatherbee, Donald E. (1978): 'US Policy and the Two Southeast Asias', *Asian Survey* 18 (4): 408–21
Weber, Cynthia (1995): *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State and Symbolic Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Weinbaum, Marvin G., and Chetan Kumar (1995) (eds.): *South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press
Wendt, Alexander (1999): *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Whitehead, Laurence (2001): 'Bolivia and the Viability of Democracy', *Journal of Democracy* 12 (2): 6–16
Wiberg, Håkan (1993a): 'Jugoslavien som grekisk tragedi', *Internasjonal Politikk* 3: 291–308
(1993b): 'Societal Security and the Explosion of Yugoslavia', in Wæver et al. 1993, 93–109
(1994): 'Den lange historiske baggrund', in Erik A. Andersen and Håkan Wiberg (eds.), *Storm over Balkan: Fra Oldtidshistorie til Stormagtsspil*, Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 8–21
Wiberg-Jørgensen, Paul (1999): 'America's Freedom to Act in the Caspian Area', *European Security* 8 (4): 100–8
Widfeldt, Åke (2001): 'The Caribbean: Legacy and Change', in Schulz et al. 2001, 211–33
Wilkinson, David (1999): 'Unipolarity Without Hegemony', *International Studies Review* 1 (2): 141–72
Williams, Michael C., and Iver B. Neumann (2001): 'From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia and the Power of Identity', *Millennium* 29 (2): 357–87
Williams, Phil (2001): 'Transnational Criminal Networks', in John Arguilla and David Ronfeldt (eds.), *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 61–97
Wills, Garry (1995): 'The New Revolutionaries', *New York Review of Books* 10 (August): 50–4
Winn, Peter (1999): *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*, Berkeley: University of California Press
Winrow, Gareth M. (2001): 'Turkey and Central Asia', in Allison and Jonson 2001, 199–218
Wivel, Anders (2000): *The Integration Spiral: International Security and European Integration 1945–1999*, Copenhagen: Ph.D dissertation, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen
Wohlforth, William C. (1999): 'The Stability of a Unipolar World', *International Security* 24 (1): 5–41

Wolfers, Arnold (1962): *Discord and Collaboration*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Wolfowitz, Paul D., US Deputy Secretary of Defense, with General Richard B. Myers (2001): 'Brief on QDR Update', Wednesday, 8 August 2001, http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Aug 2001/t08082001_t0808dsd.htm

Woods, Ngaire (2000): 'The Political Economy of Globalization', in Ngaire Woods (ed.), *The Political Economy of Globalization*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1–19

Wriggins, W. Howard (1992) (ed.): *Dynamics of Regional Politics: Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim*, New York: Columbia University Press

Wu, Xinbo (1998): 'China: Security Practice for a Modernizing and Ascending Power', in Alagappa 1998, 115–56

Wyatt-Walter, Andrew (1995): 'Regionalism, Globalism, and World Economic Order', in Fawcett and Hurrell 1995, 74–121

Yapp, M. E. (1991): *The Near East Since the First World War*, London: Longman

Yu, Chung-hsun (1996): 'Unification of the Asian Economics [sic] and Japan: With a Special Look at the Role by the Ethnic Chinese Economies', *Dokkyo International Review* 9: 217–37

Yu, Peter Kien-hong (1996): 'Chinese Re-unification: Opening a Window of Opportunity', *Security Dialogue* 27 (4): 475–84

Zagorski, Paul W. (1992): *Democracy vs. National Security: Civil–Military Relations in Latin America*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner

Zakaria, Fareed (1998): *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Zanders, Jean Pascal (1997): *Evolving Global and Regional Approaches to Arms Control and Security Mechanisms*, Alexandria, VA: Draft Paper prepared for the SIPRI Middle East Security and Arms Control Project, 23–25 February

(1999): *Security Through Universality. Some Fundamentals Underlying Article X of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention*, http://www.fas.org/ahead/zanders.htm

Zangl, B., and M. Zürn (1999): 'The Effects of Denationalisation on Security in the OECD World', *Global Society* 13 (2): 139–63

Zartman, I. William (1995) (ed.): *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

Zelikow, Philip (1992): 'The New Concert of Europe', *Survival* 34 (2): 12–30

Zha, Daojiong (2000): *Writing Security in the South China Sea*, Los Angeles: Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference, March

Zhang, Yongjin (1998): *China in International Society Since 1949: Alienation and Beyond*, Basingstoke: Macmillan

Zhao, Suisheng (1999): 'China's Periphery Policy and Its Asian Neighbors', *Security Dialogue* 30 (2): 335–47

Žižek, Slavoj (2000): *The Fragile Absolute – or, Why Is the Christian Legacy Worth Fighting For?*, London and New York: Verso

Zysman, John, and Wayne Sandholtz (1989): '1992: Recasting the European Bargain', *World Politics* 42: 95–128

News media

Articles also from newspapers and internet news services have as far as possible been listed by their individual author, but anonymous articles from an agency are cited simply by reference to the publication, date, and page. Given the global coverage of the book, some of these news services are likely to be unfamiliar to some readers or ambiguous because there are several organs called, for example, *Monitor*. All news sources cited in this general way are therefore listed here with place of publication and a web address. This does not always mean that the articles can be accessed (for free) from the web page, but it is a way to locate the publication in question, even if only paper archives exist.

AFP. Paris, France. Available at: www.afp.com/english/home.
BBC. London, UK. Available at: www.bbc.co.uk.
BusinessWeek online. USA. Available at: www.businessweek.com.
Central Asia Caucasus Analyst. Washington, DC. Available at: http://www.cacianalyst.org/.
Central Asia Monitor. Benson, VT, USA. Available at: http://www.chalidze.com/cam.htm.
Christian Science Monitor. Boston, USA. Available at: www.csmonitor.com.
CNN. Atlanta, GA, USA. Available at: www.cnn.com.
dpa, Deutsche Presse-Agentur. Hamburg, Germany. Available at: http://www.dpa.de.
Economist. London, UK. Availabe at: www.economist.com.
Interfax Information Services. Prague, Czech Republic. Available at: www.interfax-news.com.
International Herald Tribune. New York and Washington, DC. Available at: www.iht.com.
Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles, CA. Available at: www.latimes.com.
Monitor. Jamestown Foundation, Washington, DC. http://www.jamestown.org.
Oilonline. Houston, TX, USA. Available at: www.oilonline.com.
RFE/RL, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Prague, Czech Republic. Available at: www.rferl.com.

Blagov, Sergei (2002): 'Russia Mulls a New Unilateralism', *Eurasia Insight* July (16): http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav071602.shtml

Blair, Tony (1997): *Speech by the Prime Minister: The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair MP in Paris, May 27*, http://www.number-10.gov.uk/textonly/page840.asp

(2000a): *Speech by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair*, Warsaw: Polish Stock Exchange, 6 October

(2000b): *Speech by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair*, Zagreb: EU/Balkan Summit, 24 November

Blank, Stephen (2000): 'The New Russo-Chinese "Partnership" and Central Asia', *Central Asia and Caucasus Analyst* August (16): http://www.cacianalyst.org/Aug_16/RUSSO-CHINESE_PARTNERSHIP. htm

(2002): 'US Military in Azerbaijan, to Counter Iranian Threat', *Central Asia Caucasus Analyst* April (10): http://www.cacianalyst.org/2002-04-10/20020410_US_AZERBAIJAN_IRAN.htm

Blua, Antoine (2002): *Uzbekistan: Tashkent Withdraws from GUUAM, Remaining Members Forge Ahead*, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, http://rferl.org/nca/features/2002/06/18062002164458.asp

Blum, William (1995): *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventionism Since World War II*, Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press

Bøås, Morten (2000): 'Nigeria and West Africa: From a Regional Security Complex to a Regional Security Community', in Einar Braathen, Morten Bøås, and Gjermund Sæther (eds.), *Ethnicity Kills? The Politics of War, Peace, and Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 141–62

Bobrow, Davis B. (2001): 'Visions of (In)Security and American Strategic Style', *International Studies Perspectives* 2 (1): 1–12

Bonde, Simon (2001): *USA og Slyngelstaterne – en konstruktivistisk analyse af amerikansk sikkerhedspolitik i 1990'erne*, Copenhagen: MA thesis, Institute for Political Science, University of Copenhagen

Boot, Max (2001): 'The Case for American Empire: The Most Realistic Response to Terrorism Is for America to Embrace Its Imperial Role', *Weekly Standard* 007(5): http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000-000/000/318qpvmc.asp

Bourdieu, Pierre (1991): *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Bourne, Kenneth (1967): *Britain and the Balance of Power in North America*, London: Longman

Bracken, Paul (1994): 'The Military Crisis of the Nation State: Will Asia Be Different from Europe?', *Political Studies* 42 (Special Issue): 97–114

Braham, Mark, and Matthew Braham (2000): 'Romani Migrations and EU Enlargement', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13 (2): 97–116

Brands, H. W. (1998): 'Exemplary America Versus Interventionist America', in Robert L. Hutchings (ed.), *At the End of the American Century*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press

Stratfor, Strategic Forecasting. Austin, TX, New York, and Washington, DC. http://www.stratfor.com/.
Time. USA. Available at: www.time.com/time.
Washington Post. Washington, DC. Available at: www.washingtonpost.com.
Yeni Azerbaijan. Baku, Azerbaijan. Available at: www.yeniaz.com.

Bray, John (1997): 'Pakistan at 50: A State in Decline?', *International Affairs* 73 (2): 315–31
Bremer, Paul (2000): *Statement of Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, III, Chairman National Commission on Terrorism*, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information, 28 June
Brenner, Michael (1992): 'The EC in Yugoslavia: A Debut Performance', *Security Studies* 1 (4): 586–608
Bringa, Tone (1995): *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
Brown, L. Carl (1996) (ed.): *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, New York: Columbia University Press
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, and Paige Sullivan (1997) (eds.): *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and London: M. E. Sharpe
Buchan, David (1993): *Europe: The Strange Superpower*, Aldershot: Dartmouth
Buchanan, Paul G. (1999): 'US Defense Policy for the Western Hemisphere: New Wine in Old Bottles, Old Wine in New Bottles, or Something Completely Different?', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 38 (1): 1–31
Bull, Benedicte (1999): '"New Regionalism" in Central America', *Third World Quarterly* 20 (5): 957–70
Bull, Hedley (1977): *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, London: Macmillan
(1984a): 'The Emergence of a Universal International Society', in Bull and Watson 1984, 117–26
(1984b): 'The Revolt Against the West', in Bull and Watson 1984, 217–28
Bull, Hedley, and Adam Watson (1984) (eds.): *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Burnashev, Rustam (2002): 'Regional Security in Central Asia: Military Aspects', in Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 114–65
Bush, G. W. (2002): *Remarks by the President in Fayetteville, North Carolina, Cumberland County Complex, March 15*, http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/02031501.htm
Butler, Judith (1997): *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, New York and London: Routledge
Buzan, Barry (1978): *A Sea of Troubles? Sources of Dispute in the New Ocean Regime*, London: International Institute for Security Studies Adelphi Paper no. 143
(1983): *People, States, and Fear*, Brighton: Wheatsheaf
(1988a): 'Japan's Future: Old History Versus New Roles', *International Affairs* 64 (4): 557–73
(1988b): 'The Southeast Asian Security Complex', *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 10 (1): 1–16
(1989): 'The Future of Western European Security', in Wæver et al. 1989, 16–45
(1991a): 'New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century', *International Affairs* 67 (3): 431–51

(1991b [1983]): *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd edn, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf
(1994): 'The Post-Cold War Asia Pacific Security Order: Conflict or Cooperation', in Andrew Mack and John Ravenhill (eds.), *Pacific Cooperation: Building Economic and Security Regimes in the Asia-Pacific Region*, St Leonards: Allen and Unwin Australia; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 130–51
(1996): 'International Security in East Asia in the 21st Century: Options for Japan', *Dokkyo International Review* 9: 281–314
(1998): 'The Asia-Pacific: What Sort of Region in What Sort of World?', in Anthony McGrew and Christopher Brook (eds.), *Asia-Pacific in the New World Order*, London: Routledge, 68–87
(forthcoming): *After Bipolarity What?*
Buzan, Barry, and Thomas Diez (1999): 'The European Union and Turkey', *Survival* 41 (1): 41–57
Buzan, Barry, Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lemaitre, Elzbieta Tromer, and Ole Wæver (1990): *The European Security Order Recast: Scenarios for the Post-Cold War Era*, London: Pinter
Buzan, Barry, and Richard Little (2000): *International Systems in World History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Buzan, Barry, Richard Little, and Charles Jones (1993): *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism*, New York: Columbia University Press
Buzan, Barry, Gowher Rizvi, et al. (1986): *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers*, London: Macmillan
Buzan, Barry, and Gerald Segal (1996): 'The Rise of the "Lite" Powers: A Strategy for Postmodern States', *World Policy Journal* 13 (3): 1–10
(1998): *Anticipating the Future: Twenty Millennia of Human Progress*, London: Simon & Schuster
Buzan, Barry, and Ole Wæver (1992): 'Framing Nordic Security: Scenarios for European Security in the 1990s and Beyond', in Jan Øberg (ed.), *Nordic Security in the 1990s: Options in the Changing Europe*, London: Pinter, 85–104
(1998): *Liberalism and Security: The Contradictions of the Liberal Leviathan*, Copenhagen: COPRI Working Paper 23
Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde (1998): *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner
Cable, Vincent (1995): 'What Is International Economic Security?', *International Affairs* 71 (2): 305–24
Calderón, Ernesto Garcia (2001): 'Peru's Decade of Living Dangerously', *Journal of Democracy* 12 (2): 46–58
Calleo, David (1999): 'The United States and the Great Powers', *World Policy Journal* 16 (3): 11–19
Calvocoressi, Peter (1982): *World Politics Since 1945, 4th edn*, London: Longman
Cammett, Melanie (1999): 'Defensive Integration and Late Developers: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Maghreb Union', *Global Governance* 5 (3): 379–402

Campbell, David (1992): *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
(1998): *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press
Cantori, Louis J., and Steven L. Spiegel (1970): *The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall
(1973): 'The Analysis of Regional International Politics: The Integration Versus the Empirical Systems Approach', *International Organization* 27 (4): 465–94
Caporoso, James (1996): 'The European Union and Forms of the State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 29–52
Carpenter, Ted Galen (1991): 'The New World Disorder', *Foreign Policy* 84: 24–39
Carter, Ashton B. (1999–2000): 'Adapting US Defence to Future Needs', *Survival* 41 (4): 101–23
Casanova, José (1998): 'Ethno-Linguistic and Religious Pluralism and Democratic Construction in Ukraine', in Barnett R. Rubin and Jack Snyder, *Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State Building*, London: Routledge, 81–103.
Castle, Allan (1997): *Transnational Organized Crime and International Security*, Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Working Paper 19
Cawthra, Gavin (1997a): *Securing South Africa's Democracy: Defence, Development and Security in Transition*, Basingstoke: Macmillan
(1997b): *Sub-Regional Security Cooperation: The Southern African Development Community in Comparative Perspective*, University of the Western Cape, Southern African Perspective No. 63
(2000): *Reconceptualising Security for the Twenty-First Century: South Africa's Experience in Remaking Defence*, Buenos Aires: Paper prepared for the Workshop on 'The Traditional and the New Security Agenda: Inferences for the Third World', Universidad di Tella, Buenos Aires
Celac, Sergiu (2000): *The Nagorno-Karabakh Question: An Update*, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, http://www.ceps.be/Pubs/2000/Caucasus/nkquestion.php
Celac, Sergiu, and Michael Emerson, et al. (2000) (eds.): 'A Stability Pact for the Caucasus', working document no. 145, May, CEPS Task Force for the Caucasus, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, http://www.ceps.be/Pubs/2000/Caucasus/ndc/Newdeal.php#Contents
CFR (Council on Foreign Relations) (2000): *US–Cuban Relations in the Twenty-First Century, Independent Task Force Report*, http://www.cfr.org/public/resource.cgi?pub!3083
Cha, Victor D. (2000): 'Globalization and the Study of International Security', *Journal of Peace Research* 37 (3): 391–403
Chace, James (2000): 'The Next New Threat', *World Policy Journal* 17, 1 (Spring): 113–15
Chellaney, Brahma (1998–9): 'After the Tests: India's Options', *Survival* 40 (4): 93–111

Chirac, Jacques (1999): Intervention télévisée du président de la République M. Jacques Chirac à l'occasion de la Fête nationale, extraits, juilliet–août, 14 juli, 40
(2000): *Our Europe*, Berlin: Speech to the German Bundestag, 27 June
Christensen, Thomas (2002): *Russian Security Policy According to a Hegelianised Copenhagen School*, Copenhagen: MA thesis, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, http://thomas.dossier.dk/thesis/thesis.html
Christensen, Thomas J. (1999): 'China, the US–Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia', *International Security* 23 (4): 49–81
(2001): 'Posing Problems Without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for US Security Policy', *International Security* 25 (4): 5–40
Chubin, Shahram, and Charles Tripp (1996): *Iran–Saudi Arabia Relations and Regional Order*, London: International Institute for Security Studies, Adelphi Paper no. 304
Cilliers, Jakkie (1999): *An Emerging South African Foreign Policy Identity?*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper no. 39, http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/Papers/39/Paper39.html
(2000): *African Security*, Abuja: Paper at the Ministerial Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa, 8–9 May
Clapham, Christopher (1995): 'The International Politics of African Guerilla Movements', *South African Journal of International Affairs* 3 (1): 81–91
(1996): *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
(1998a)(ed.): *African Guerrillas*, Oxford: James Currey
(1998b): 'Degrees of Statehood', *Review of International Studies* 24 (2): 143–57
(1998c): 'Discerning the New Africa', *International Affairs* 74 (2): 263–9
(1998d): *Westphalian Agendas in Tropical Africa*, Enschede: Paper for conference on '350th Anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia', July
Clark, Ian (1999): *Globalization and International Relations Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Clark, John F. (2001): 'Explaining Ugandan Intervention in Congo: Evidence and Interpretation', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 39 (2): 261–87
Claude, Innis L. (1984 [1956]): *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, 4th edn, New York: Random House
Clermont, Jean (2002): *Regional Rivalries in Northeast Asia*, New Orleans: Paper presented to ISA Conference, 24–27 March
Clinton, William Jefferson (1995): 'Speech on Bosnia, November 27, 1995', http://www.cnn.com/US/9511/bosnia_speech/speech.html
Clissold, Gillian Gunn (1998): *Divergent International Perspectives on the Caribbean: The Interaction Between the Ongoing Caribbean, US, and European Adaptations to the New Global Economy*, Georgetown: Georgetown University Caribbean Project, Caribbean Briefing Paper
CNN.com/World (1999): 'China Lashes Taiwan over Lee's Rhetorical Change', 13 July: http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/asiapcf/9907/13/china.taiwan/