

Index

- 9/11 attacks, 79, 171, 176
 - effects on American foreign policy, 68–70
 - struggle to understand the reasons for, 156–157
- Abaza, Khairi, 161
- Abdullah, King of Saudi Arabia, xii, 159
- Acemoglu, Daren, 237
- Adesnik, David, 199
- Afghanistan, 70, 78, 88
 - costs of the Afghan war, 88
 - Soviet Union invasion (1979), 5, 21
 - Taliban regime, 70
- Agency for International Development, 229
- Alawite
 - loyalty to Assad in Syria, 101–102
- Algeria, 96, 144, 147, 222
- al-Qaeda, xii, 79, 88, 89, 99, 118, 157, 169, 178
- American benevolent hegemony proposal, 65–67
- American foreign policy
 - accommodation of Cold War conditions, 3–5
 - détente with the Soviets, 7–9
- American policy on Arab democracy
 - ambivalence of, 155
 - appropriateness of gradual change approach, 237–240
- Arab monarchies, 201–207
- Bahrain, 204–207
- building a constituency for democracy, 223–230
- civil society organizations and political activism, 189–194
- Cold War security question, 211–212
- conditional participation of Islamic political parties, 230–232
- continuing influence of Cold War thinking, 176–178
- critical American role for the future, 240–242
- Egypt, 160–163, 170–172
- elections and the issue of parties, 185–189
- focus on free and fair elections, 237–240
- focus on noncontroversial civil society projects, 189–194
- Freedom Agenda of Bush, 170–172
- future prospects for Arab democracy, 242–244
- influence of the outcome of the Arab Spring, xiii–xiv
- influences on, xiii–xv
- Libya, 163–166
- need for clear support from the White House, 217–219
- need for political organization of activists, 181–185
- Obama/Clinton approach, 172–175
- problems with civil society approach, 181–185
- problems with human rights policy approach, 198–200
- protection of minority rights, 222–223
- protection of minority/liberal/moderate voices, 223–230
- reassessment of achievements of economic aid in dictatorships, 236–237

INDEX

- American policy on Arab democracy (*cont.*)
 repression as a source of extremism, 212–214
 review of policy toward Egypt, 208–210
 Saudi Arabia, 158–160
 security assistance conditional on security reform, 232–235
 security dilemma, 212–214
 spending on democracy and human rights support, 194–198
 stopping American support for repressive regimes, 219–221
 support for Arab democratic parties, 223–230
 support for civil society organizations, 179–181
 support for forms of dictatorship, xiii
 support in the Bush years, 155–158
 targeting threats to existing democracy, 221–223
 targets of the democracy budget, 194–198
 toward a better policy, 214–217
 Tunisia, 166–167
 unrealistic nature of *realpolitik*, 201–204
 Yemen, 167–169
 American Political Science Association, 35
 Angola, 5
 Annan, Kofi, 150
 Annapolis Conference, 172
 Annapolis process, 82
 Aquino, Benigno, 57, 97
 Arab Barometer, 110, 111, 133
 Arab democracy
 and Arab legitimacy, 242–244
 barriers to development, 113–117
 challenges in mukhabarat states, 115–117
 future prospects, 242–244
 Arab exceptionalism, xii, xiii, 115, 176
 Arab Human Development Reports, 69, 120, 186
 Arab League, 100
 Arab monarchies
 American policy toward, 201–207
 consequences of the Arab Spring, xi–xii
 Arab regimes
 longevity of, 92
 Arab Socialism, 106
 Arab Spring, 182, 191, 201, 227
 after the failure of, 242–243
 Bahrain, 204–207
 corruption in Arab regimes, 95–96
 disillusionment and pessimism over, xii–xiii
 divided opposition to Arab regimes, 97–99
 freedom deficit in Arab nations, 92–94
 hopes for the expansion of democracy, xii
 influence on American policy, xiii–xiv
 Islamists' responses to the uprisings, 103–105
 lack of a unified purpose and clear goals, 100–101
 legitimacy deficit in Arab regimes, 94–97
 obstacles to democratization, 107–112
 power structures in Arab States, 105–107
 progress and consequences of the uprisings, xi–xii
 reasons for failure to establish democracy, 100–101
 resilience of authoritarian Arab states, 92
 response of the Obama administration, 173–175
 survival of the monarchies, 101–103
 the missing democrats, 107–112
 trigger for the uprisings, xi
 unexpected uprisings, 92
 Arab states
 lack of representative government, 105–107
 Arafat, Yasser, 70–71, 78
 Argentina, 21, 53
 Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 152
 Assad, Bashar al-, 92, 95, 110, 120, 174, 213
 response to the Arab Spring uprisings, xi
 Assad, Hafez al-, 92
 Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
 EA appointment in the Reagan administration, 44, 52
 Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
 EA appointment in the Reagan administration, 52, 55
 Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs
 EA appointment in the Reagan administration, 39
 Atlantic Council, 175, 176
 Aung San Suu Kyi, 84
 authoritarian regimes
 choice between autocracy or chaos, 94

INDEX

- inherent weakness of nondemocratic systems, 96–97
 use of the threat of Islamism, 97–99
- Bahrain
 consequences of the Arab Spring, xii, 204–207
 monarchy supported by other Arab countries, xii
 survival of the monarchy, 101–102
- Baker, James, 61
- Balkans war, 64–65
- Bangladesh, 114
- Batista, Fulgencio, 177
- Beirut
 Hezbollah takeover (2008), 81
- Belarus, 79
- Ben Ali, Zine El Abedine, xi, 92, 95, 120, 136, 173
 pressure from the Bush administration, 166–167
- Berlin
 Brandenburg Gate speech by Reagan, 59
- Berlin Wall
 fall in 1989, 60
- Biden, Joseph (Joe), 173
- Biscet, Oscar Elias, 84
- Blair, Tony, 164, 206
- Boko Haram, 138
- Bolivia, 53, 227
- Bosnian war, 64–65
- Bouazizi, Mohammed
 self-immolation, xi, 100
- Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 147
- Brands, Hal, 39, 53, 54
- Brazil, 177
- Brezhnev, Leonid
 meetings with Nixon, 7–8
- Brinkley, Joel, 172
- Brooke, Stephen, 144–145
- Brownlee, Jason, 101, 173, 220, 242
- Brynen, Rex, 102
- Buckley, William F., 19, 37
- Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, 53
- Burma, 79, 80
- Bush, George H.W.
 realpolitik approach to foreign policy, 60–61
- Bush, George W., xiv
 development of the Freedom Agenda, 67–86
 effects of the 9/11 attacks, 68–70
 Freedom Agenda, 68–69, 170–172
 negotiations with Muammar Qadhafi, 163–166
 on expanding democracy in the Arab world, 92–93
 Palestinian issue, 70–72
 pressure on Mubarak in Egypt, 160–163
 pressure on the Ben Ali regime in Tunisia, 166–167
 progression from *realpolitik* to democracy promotion, 67–86
 regime change in Afghanistan, 70
 support for democracy, 155–158
 support for democracy in Egypt, 82–85
 ultimatum to the Taliban, 70
- Bush, Laura, 80
- Bush, Sarah, 155, 192, 193, 230
- Byman, Daniel, xiii
- Cammett, Melanie, 126–128
- Carothers, Tom, 174–175, 179–180, 183, 189, 191, 193, 215, 218, 219, 236
- Carter, Jimmy
 approach to South Korea, 199
 policy on Communist regimes, 24–32
 view on human rights, 17–36
- Casey, William, 54
- Castro, Fidel, 177
- Ceausescu, Nicolae, 26, 58
- Cedar revolution, 191
- Center for International Private Enterprise, 48
- Cesari, Jocelyne, 104, 119
- Chavez, Hugo, 152
- Chile, 177
 Pinochet regime, 54–56
- China
 economic miracle, 95–96
 inherent weakness of nondemocratic systems, 96–97
 visit of Secretary of State Clinton, 172
- Chirac, Jacques, 164
- Chun Doo Hwan, 56, 199, 217
- Church, Frank, 25
- civil rights movement in the United States, 184
- civil society organizations
 American support for, 179–181
 and political activism, 189–194
- Clark, William, 39–40

INDEX

- Clinton, Bill, 78
 approach to human rights, 62–65
 Clinton, Hilary R.
 policy on Arab democracy, 172–175
 state relations prioritized over human rights, 15–16
 Coalition for a Democratic Majority, 35
 Cold War, xv, 170
 American sense of losing the struggle, 3–5
 American situation at the end of, 62, 65
 collapse of the Soviet Union, 61
 Communism portrayed as evil, 2–3
 continuing influence on American policy on Arab democracy, 176–178
 power politics approach, 2–3
 Reagan administration policy on the Soviet Union, 58–60
 security and dictatorships, 211–212
 Cold War liberals, 6, 10
 Coleman, Isobel, 187, 236
 color revolutions, 191
 Committee on Human Rights in the Soviet Union, 9
 Communism, 106
 portrayed as evil by America, 2–3
 Reagan anti-Communist position, 36–37
 view of President Carter, 24–32
 corruption in Arab regimes, 95–96
 Cuba, xii, 79, 177, 203
 support for Marxist regimes, 5
 cultural condescension
 on countries' prospects for democracy, 93
 Czech Republic, 100
 Czechoslovakia
 Prague Spring uprising (1968), 4–5
 Decter, Midge, 35
 democracy
 absence as a threat to peace, 16–17
 American hostility to promoting, 86–91
 American spending on democracy support projects, 194–198
 and liberalism, 117–122
 Clinton administration policy, 62–65
 cultural condescension, 93
 Freedom Agenda of George W. Bush, 67–86
 future prospects for Arab democracy, 242–244
 hopes for expansion following the Arab Spring, xii
 illiberal democracy, 120–122
 influences on American policy towards, xiii–xv
 move from protest to politics, 181–185
 promotion as the path to peace, 16–17
 role of elections, 185–189
 stages of development, 185–189
 Democratic Party, 3
 influence of Henry (Scoop) Jackson, 6–7
 split over the Vietnam War, 5–6
 Derian, Patricia, 20, 27, 49
 détente
 given priority over human rights, 11–12
 peaceful coexistence with the Soviets, 7–9
 Diamond, Larry, 148–149, 184, 224
 dictatorships
 American support for, xiii
 American tolerance of, 2–3
 argument that they prevent Islamism, 210–212
 Cold War security question, 211–212
 inherent weakness of, 16–17
 reassessment of achievements of economic development aid, 236–237
 repression as a source of extremism, 212–214
 Duarte, Jose Napoleon, 52
 Dunne, Michele, 160
 Duvalier, Jean-Claude (Baby Doc), 53–54
 Eagleburger, Lawrence, 61
 East Asian growth model
 compared to the Middle East model, 115–116
 economic development aid
 reassess achievements in dictatorships, 236–237
 Ecuador, 227
 Egypt, 79
 American policy on democracy, 160–163, 170–172
 consequences of Muslim Brotherhood rule, 144–146
 consequences of the Arab Spring, xii
 coup against Morsi in 2013, 132
 electoral performance of Islamists, 129–130
 factors in the Islamist electoral victory, 130–131

INDEX

- military control under President Sisi, 116–117
 Muslim Brotherhood loss of popularity when in power, 130
 National Democratic Party, 147
 review of American policy approaches, 208–210
 support for democracy from George W. Bush, 82–85
 support for removal of Morsi, 118
 suspension of parliament, 105
 El Salvador, 5, 34, 38, 39, 177
 policy of the Reagan administration, 51–53
 elections
 role in the process of democracy, 185–189
 Erbakan, Necmettin, 141
 Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 131–132, 221
 Ethics and Public Policy Center, 38
 Ethiopia, 5, 175
 European Union, 63

 Facebook, 181
 Fairbanks, Charles, 48
 fascism, 2
 Ferjani, Said, 138
 FMLN group in El Salvador, 5, 34, 52, 53
 Ford, Gerald, 8, 12, 13
 Foreign Assistance Act, 18
 Fotouh, Abdel Moneim Aboul, 129
 Fraser, Donald, 18
 Freedom Agenda
 Condoleezza Rice on, 88
 development by George W. Bush, 67–86
 freedom deficit, 69
 and terrorism, 156–157
 Freedom House, xv, 229
 French Revolution, 107
 Fukuyama, Francis, 113–114, 119, 212

 Georgia, 191
 Gerges, Fawaz, 173
 German political party foundations, 229–230
 Germany
 prospects for democracy after Hitler, 93
 Gerson, Michael J., 76
 Ghannouchi, Rachid, 123, 136–139, 141, 148
 Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede, 240

 global democratization
 third wave, 92
 Goldwater, Barry, 37
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 59
 Gore, Al, 67
 Grand, Stephen R., 100, 108, 111, 149, 179, 187, 225–226
 Grenada, 60
 New Jewel movement, 5
 Guatemala, 34, 177
 Guehenno, Jean-Marie, xii
 Gulf Cooperation Council, 205

 Haig, Alexander, 37, 40, 44, 50
 Haiti, 152
 policy of the Reagan administration, 53–54
 Hamas, 81, 126, 149, 239
 political participation in Palestine, 150–151
 Hamid, Shadi, 103, 104, 118–119, 121, 125, 135, 143–144, 145, 157
 Haring, Melinda, 229
 Hariri, Rafik, 78
 Hariri, Saad, 78
 Helsinki Accords, 19
 Helsinki Conference (1974), 8–9
 Hertzke, Alan, 64
 Hezbollah, 81
 Holmes, Justice, 203
 Honduras, 34
 Houthis, xi
 Hu Jintao, 159
 human rights
 Helsinki Accords (1974), 8–9
 R2P (Responsibility to Protect), 63–64, 70
 realpolitik view, 15–17
 Soviet definitions, 23–24
 Soviet human rights movement, 9
 Soviet Jewry movement, 7, 9
 support for, xiv, xv
 Human Rights Bureau
 EA's appointment in the Reagan administration, 49–51
 human rights policy
 abandonment of R2P by Obama, 80
 American benevolent hegemony
 proposal, 65–67
 American hostility to promoting democracy, 86–91
 American influence by example, 1–2

INDEX

- human rights policy (*cont.*)
 American spending on support projects, 194–198
 calls for promotion of democratic change, 65–67
 Carter administration, 17–36
 challenges for the Reagan administration, 43–49
 Clinton administration, 62–65
 comparison of Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Obama approaches, 59–60
 détente given priority over human rights, 11–12
 EA and the Kennedy-Clark Memorandum, 40–43
 effects of the end of the Cold War, 65
 Freedom Agenda of George W. Bush, 67–86
 George H.W. Bush *realpolitik* approach, 60–61
 humanitarian interventions, 63
 influence of the Cold War, 2–3
 Jackson Amendment, 7, 10–15
 low-key approach of the Obama administration, 172–175
 power politics approach, 2–3
 principle of linkage, 10–15
 priorities of the Obama administration, 15–16
 problems with this approach, 198–200
 Reagan administration, 28
 Reagan administration and Chile, 54–56
 Reagan administration and El Salvador, 51–53
 Reagan administration and Haiti, 53–54
 Reagan administration and Nicaragua, 53
 Reagan administration and Romania, 58
 Reagan administration and the Philippines, 56–58
 Reagan administration and the Soviet Union, 58–60
 Reagan's approach to human rights, 36–37
 regime change issue, 66–67
 state relations prioritized over human rights, 15–16
 systemic change and promotion of democracy, 16–17
 toleration of repression during the Cold War, 2–3
 Humphrey, Hubert, 5
 Huntington, Samuel, 241
 Hurricane Katrina, 81
 Hussein, Saddam, 61, 69, 78, 79, 95
 Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, 99, 170, 171, 219
 illiberal democracy
 and Islam, 120–122
 India
 commitment to democracy, 93
 Indonesia, 114
 performance of Islamist parties, 129
 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 180
 International Republican Institute, 48, 229
 budget and areas of spending, 196–197
 International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976, 18
 Iran, 28, 29
 fall of the Shah, 203
 nuclear deal with the Obama administration, 15, 23
 Iraq, 78, 88, 94, 95, 106
 after Saddam Hussein, 78
 costs of the Iraq wars, 88
 George W. Bush on democracy in, 72
 invasion in 1991, 61
 ongoing violence and turmoil (2008), 81
 WMD reason for invasion, 89
 ISIL, 110
 ISIS, 104, 118, 176, 178
 Islam
 and illiberal democracy, 120–122
 debate over its meaning in the twenty-first century, xiv
 problems with liberalism, 117–122
 Sunni/Shia religious divide, 97–98, 101
 Islamic exceptionalism, 115
 Islamic State, 89, 99, 104, 138, 176, 202, 213
 Islamism
 argument that dictatorships prevent it, 210–212
 as threat to democracy, 97–99
 definitions, 148
 repression as a source of extremism, 212–214
 Islamists
 ability to become politically organized, 125
 arguments for political exclusion or inclusion, 148–152

INDEX

- benefit from repression of liberals and moderates, 124
- challenge of maintaining popularity in power, 123
- changes brought about by being in power, 136–141
- charitable provision of social services, 124
- concept of a pan-Islamic caliphate, 104–105
- conditional participation in the political process, 230–232
- decline in support after electoral victories, 131–136
- declining support for political Islam, 133
- effects of opening up political systems, 141–148
- effects of repressing them, 141–148
- electoral performance in Egypt, 129–130
- factors in their electoral victory in Egypt, 130–131
- fears they will prevent fair and free elections, 131–136
- how to defeat them, 141–148
- isolation from government corruption, 123
- military restraint on political power, 140–141
- performance in Indonesian and Malaysian elections, 129
- political advantage after periods of repression, 123–128
- political role in Morocco, 140
- position in monarchies, 102
- range of political positions, 138
- reputation for social welfare provision, 126–127
- reputational risks in government, 126
- responses to the Arab Spring uprisings, 103–105
- social media challenge to traditional communications networks, 135–136
- suspicion of democracy, 103–105
- weak competition from secular groups, 124–125
- weakness of other political party structures, 125
- why they can be beaten, 128–131
- Israel, 9, 11, 156, 219
- Israel-Hezbollah war (2006), 81, 172
- Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, 81–82, 172
- Jackson Amendment, 7, 10–15, 19, 58
- Jackson, Henry M. (Scoop), 6–7, 26–27, 35
- Jews
 - human rights and the Jackson Amendment, 7
 - See also* Soviet Jewry movement
- Jiang Zemin, 159
- jihadi groups, 118
- Johnsen, Gregory, 169
- Jordan, 102, 222, 230
 - Muslim Brotherhood, 139
- Kagan, Robert, 27, 66–67, 240–241
- Kampelman, Max, 35, 36
- Kaufman, Robert, 26
- Kedourie, Elie, 148
- Kennedy, John F., 177
 - Alliance for Progress, 2
- Kennedy, Richard, 40
- Kennedy-Clark Memorandum, 40–43
- Khomeini, Ayatollah, 27
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 34, 35, 36, 39, 54
 - criticisms of Carter human rights policy, 28–32
 - influence on Reagan human rights approach, 36–37
- Kissinger, Henry, 8, 13, 18, 54, 56
 - détente given priority over human rights, 11–12
- Koran, 118
- Korany, Baghat, 102
- Kosovo, 65, 114
- Kozulin, Alexander, 84
- Kristol, Irving, 33–34, 35
- Kristol, William, 27, 66–67
- Krueger, Alan, 156, 157
- Kuwait, 61, 117, 222, 230
 - Muslim Brotherhood, 139
 - parliament, 105
- Kyrgyzstan, 187, 191
- labor unions, 183
- Lake, Anthony, 38, 65
- Lakoff, Sanford, 115
- League of Nations, 2
- Lebanon, 79, 121, 191
- Lebanon war (2006), 81, 172
- Lee Kuan Yew, 236
- Lefever, Ernest (Ernie), 38
- legitimacy deficit in Arab regimes, 94–97
- Levitsky, Steven, 188
- Lewis, Bernard, 95

INDEX

- liberal democracy
 - challenges to, 113–114
 - meaning of, 117–122
- Libya, 89
 - American policy on democracy, 163–166
 - consequences of the Arab Spring, xi
- linkage
 - and the Jackson Amendment, 10–15
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, 94–95, 229
- Lockerbie victims, 163
- Luong, Pauline Jones, 126–128
- Lust, Ellen, 98
- Lyman, Princeton, 181–182
- Lynch, Marc, 92, 184

- Magen, Amichai, 106–107
- Malaysia, 114
 - performance of Islamist parties, 129
- Maleckova, Jitka, 156, 157
- Mali, 114
- Mandela, Nelson, 97, 181–182
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 56–58, 177, 217
- Marks, Monica, 138, 139
- Masoud, Tarek, xiii, 101, 127, 224, 242
- McCain, John, 67
- McGovern, George, 5–6
- McGurn, Bill, 84
- Mecham, Quin, 135
- Meir, Golda, 11
- Milenium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 197–198
- military forces
 - restraint on Islamist political power, 140–141
- minority rights
 - protection of, 222–223
- Mohamed VI, King of Morocco, xi
- Mondale, Walter, 35
- Morocco, 102, 222, 230
 - constitutional amendments, xi
 - parliament, 105
 - political role of Islamists, 140
- Morsi, Mohamed, 103–104, 116, 118, 132, 148, 149, 174, 222
 - coup against him in 2013, 132
 - election as president, 129–130
- most-favored-nation (MFN) status, 8, 10, 19
 - China, 62
- Moynihan, Daniel P., 4, 6, 19, 25
- Muasher, Marwan, 125, 133
- Mubarak, Gamal, 85, 95, 163, 208
 - 187, 217, 218
 - choice between autocracy or chaos, 94
 - consequences of the Arab Spring, xi
 - meeting with Secretary of State Rice (2006), 82
 - meetings with George W. Bush, 82, 83, 84, 85
 - Muslim Brotherhood response to his overthrow, 103–104
 - political role of Islamists, 98–99
 - pressure from the Bush administration, 160–163
 - problem of legitimacy, 94–95
 - relationship with the Obama administration, 173
 - treatment of democratic opposition groups, 98–99
 - weakening of reformist and liberal groups, 107–108
- Mugabe, Robert, 152
- mukhabarat states, 105, 118, 201
 - challenge to democracy, 115–117
- Muslim Brotherhood, 85, 99, 103, 116, 118, 124, 127, 130, 139, 174, 178, 213, 222, 239
 - consequences of their rule in Egypt, 144–146
 - election of Morsi as president, 129–130
 - Hamas, 150–151
 - Jordan, 139
 - Kuwait, 139
 - loss of popularity when in power, 130
 - reputation for social welfare provision, 126–127
 - response to the overthrow of Mubarak, 103–104
- Muslim democracy, 113–117

- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 106
- Nathan, Andrew, 96–97
- National Democratic Institute, 48
- National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 189, 229
 - budget and areas of spending, 196–197
- National Endowment for Democracy, 48, 73, 93, 157, 177, 195, 229
 - budget and areas of spending, 196–197
- National Security Council, 54
- NATO, 63, 64, 65
 - intervention in Libya (2011), xi

INDEX

- neoconservatives, 10, 14, 22, 28, 34–35, 37, 44, 66
- New Jewel movement in Grenada, 5
- Nguyen Van Ly, 84
- Nicaragua, 2, 27–28, 29, 34, 39, 177, 203, 227
- policy of the Reagan administration, 53
- Sandinista movement, 5
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3
- Nixon, Richard M.
- détente given priority over human rights, 11–12
- meetings with Brezhnev, 7–8
- realpolitik* approach, xv
- Noble, Paul, 102
- Non-Aligned Movement, 3
- Noriega, Manuel, 220
- Norway
- Nazi occupation, 7
- Nour, Ayman, 83, 84, 85, 161
- Obama, Barack, 56
- abandonment of R2P, 80
- administration response to the Arab Spring, 173–175
- Iran nuclear deal, 15, 23
- lack of action over Syria, 15
- policy on Arab democracy, 172–175
- restrained use of American power, 90
- state relations prioritised over human rights, 15–16
- use of force in Libya, 89
- view of Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, 173
- O’Connell, Jamie, 140–141, 143, 213
- Olmert, Ehud, 81
- Ottaway, Marina, 182
- Ottoman Empire, 115
- Ounissi, Sayida, 139
- Pakistan, 114, 170
- paleocons, 37
- Palestine
- political participation of Hamas, 150–151
- Palestinian elections, 239
- Palestinian issue, 70–72, 78, 81
- Palestinian territories, 79
- Panama, 60, 220
- pan-Islamic caliphate concept, 104–105
- Paraguay, 53, 177, 220
- Pastor, Robert, 27–28
- Pearl Harbor, 89
- Peru, 53
- Philippines, xii, 177, 178
- policy of the Reagan administration, 56–58
- Pinochet regime in Chile, 54–56
- Pipes, Daniel, 148
- Podhoretz, Norman, 35
- Poindexter, John, 54
- Poland
- Solidarity movement, 59
- Powell, Colin, 166
- Qadhafi, Muammar, 92
- consequences of the Arab Spring, xi
- negotiations with the United States, 163–166
- question of his sons succeeding him, 95
- Qadhafi, Saif al-Islam, 165
- Qasim, Sheik Isa, 205
- R2P (Responsibility to Protect), 63–64, 70
- abandonment by Obama, 80
- Ranney, Austin, 35
- Reagan, Ronald, 22
- American influence by example, 1
- and the neoconservatives, 35
- approach to human rights, 36–39
- approach to South Korea, 199
- debate over human rights policy, 39–40
- EA and the Kennedy-Clark memorandum on human rights, 40–43
- foundations of the Reagan Doctrine, 39
- human rights policy, 28
- National Endowment for Democracy, 93
- on cultural condescension, 93
- problem filling human rights post, 38
- speech to the British Parliament, 73
- realpolitik*
- unrealistic nature of, 201–204
- view of human rights, 15–17
- refuseniks, 9, 59
- regime change issue, 66–67
- Reynolds, Andrew, 101, 242
- Rice, Condoleezza, 27, 68, 79, 84, 150, 161, 170, 171
- effects of the 9/11 attacks, 68–69
- Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, 81–82
- meeting with Mubarak (2006), 82
- on American strategic thinking, 91

INDEX

- Rice, Condoleezza (*cont.*)
 on American support for democracy in
 Egypt, 162
 on the Freedom Agenda, 88
 visit to Libya (2008), 164
 Robbins, Michael, 110
 Robertson, Graeme, 115
 Robinson, James A., 237
 Romania
 policy of the Reagan administration, 58
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 2
 Roy, Olivier, xii, 120, 145–146
 Rustin, Bayard, 5, 184
 Rwandan genocide (1994), 63, 64
- Sadat, Anwar, 95
 Sadiki, Larbi, 186
 Sakharov, Andrei, 7, 9, 12–13, 14, 86
 Salafi-jihadi ideology, 106
 Salafists, 118, 127, 130, 139, 146
 Saleh, Ali Abdullah, xi, 167–169
 Salman, Sheik Ali, 205, 206
 SALT (strategic arms limitations treaties),
 7–8
 Samuelson, Paul, 5
 Sanders, Bernie, 90
 Sandinistas, 5, 27, 34, 53, 177
 Saudi Arabia, 170, 186, 207, 222
 American policy on democracy, 158–160
 issue of religious freedom, 158–160
 King Abdullah, xii
 military support for Bahrain, 205
 support for the monarchy in Bahrain, xii
 Sawers, John, 92
 Scowcroft, Brent, 61
 Second World War, 2, 89
 security assistance
 making it conditional on security
 reform, 232–235
 security dilemma
 American policy on Arab democracy,
 212–214
 Senegal, 114
 Shafik, Ahmed, 129, 131
 Shah of Iran, 5, 21, 27, 203
 Sharansky, Anatoly (Natan), 7, 10–11,
 14–15, 16–17, 22, 76, 86, 108
 Sharia law, 104, 148
 Shevardnadze, Eduard, 59
 Shultz, George P., 50–52, 53, 54, 55
 human rights in the Soviet Union, 58–59
 Sinai Peninsula, 233
- Singapore, 236
 Sisi, Abdel Fattah el-, 116, 144, 174, 222
 Smith, Tony, 212
 social media
 erosion of traditional Islamist
 communications networks, 135–136
 Solidarity Center, 48
 Solidarity movement in Poland, 59
 Solingen, Etel, 115–116
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 9, 13
 Somoza, Anastasio, 2, 27–28, 29, 177
 South Korea, xii, 21, 56, 170, 177, 178, 218
 contrasting approaches of Carter and
 Reagan, 199
 South Sudan, 175
 Soviet human rights movement, 9, 10
 Soviet Jewish refuseniks, 59
 Soviet Jewry movement, xv, 7, 9, 10
 subordination to détente, 11–12
 Soviet Union
 collapse of, xii, 60, 61
 human rights policy of the Reagan
 administration, 58–60
 Springborg, Robert, 116–117, 232, 234
 Srebrenica massacre (1995), 63, 64–65
 stagnation
 effects in the Middle East, 96
 Stalin, Joseph, 221
 State Department
 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights,
 and Labor, 195
 Stepan, Alfred, 114–115
 Stroessner, Alfredo, 53, 220
 Sudan, 88
 forced Islamization and oppression in
 the south, 64
 human rights violations in the south, 175
 Suharto, 129
 Sunhyuk Kim, 199
 Sunni/Shia religious divide, 97–98, 101
 tensions in Bahrain, 204–207
 Sykes-Picot states, 115
 Syria, 79, 106
 Alawite loyalty to Assad, 101–102
 consequences of the Arab Spring, xi
 inaction of the Obama administration,
 15
 local expressions of the desire for
 democracy, 109–110
 Tadros, Samuel, 108, 117, 130–131,
 190–191

INDEX

- Tahrir Square demonstrations, 85, 181
 Taiwan, xii, 170
 Taliban, 69, 70, 79, 89
 terrorism, 37
 and the freedom deficit, 156–157
 effects of the 9/11 attacks, 68–70
 fight against, xiv
 understanding the reasons for, 156–157
 Third World
 barriers to democracy, 115
 orientation toward the USSR, 3–5
 Tiananmen Square massacre (1989), 61
 Tito, Marshal, 25
 totalitarian-authoritarian distinction, 30,
 33, 36, 38, 55, 56
 Trade Act of 1974, 10, 13
 trade unions, 183
 Trager, Eric, 130, 134, 146, 148, 174
 Traub, James, 78, 161, 172
 Tulip revolution, 191
 Tunisia, 79, 101, 222
 American policy on democracy, 166–167
 Ennahda Party, 118, 123, 130, 136–139
 parliament, 105
 post-dictatorship situation, 210–211
 start of the Arab Spring, xi
 Wikileaks revelations and the 2011
 uprising, 123
 Tunisian League for Human Rights, 166
 Turkey, 114, 221
 coup against Erdoğan, 131–132
 Tutsis
 Rwandan genocide (1994), 64
 Twitter, 181

 U.S. Commission on International
 Religious Freedom, 159
 Ukraine, 191
 United Arab Emirates, 186
 military support for Bahrain, 205
 support for the monarchy in Bahrain, xii
 United Nations, 3, 4
 United Nations Development Program
 Human Development Report for the
 Arab states, 93–94

 United Nations Universal Declaration of
 Human Rights, 47, 180
 Uruguay, 177
 USAID, 192–193, 229
 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights,
 and Governance, 195
 USS *Cole* attack (2000), 169

 Vaisse, Justin, 34
 Vance, Cyrus, 23, 38
 Vatican, 59
 Venezuela, 79, 152, 227
 Vietnam War, 4, 5, 18, 19
 violent extremism
 fight against, xiv
 Vogelgesang, Sandra, 18–19

 Walesa, Lech, 97
 Ward, Michael D., 240
 Warnke, Paul, 25
 Wasat Party in Egypt, 107–108
 Wattenberg, Ben, 35
 Way, Lucan, 100, 188
 weapons of mass destruction, 79, 88, 89,
 165
 Wehrey, Frederic, 207
 Westphalian state system, 61, 63
 Wikileaks, 123
 Wiktorowicz, Quintan, 191
 Wilson, Woodrow, 1, 2, 33
 Winthrop, John, 1
 Wolfowitz, Paul, 57
 Wollack, Ken, 189–190
 World Bank, 20
 World War I, 2

 Yemen, xi, 79
 American policy on democracy,
 167–169
 Young, Andrew, 36
 Yugoslavia, 61, 62

 Zakaria, Fareed, xii, 120, 188
 Zimbabwe, 152
 Zumwalt, Elmo, 35