

*Index*

- 9/11 attacks, 107, 109
- Abkhazia
  - election observers in, 123
  - Russia and, 52
- Academic capital, 20–1
- Adamson, Fiona B., 105
- ADB (*See* Asian Development Bank)
- Addition, 13–14
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, 21, 26–7, 78–9, 180, 182–3
- Afghanistan
  - Central Asia, United States military presence in, 107–9
  - China and, 111–12
  - consensus regarding war, 110
  - Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), 15, 107
  - Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), 111–12
- Africa, LGBTQ persons in, 63–4, 84–6
- AIIB (*See* Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank)
- Aircraft carriers, 22
- Akayev, Askar, 108
- American Conservative Union Foundation, 85
- Amnesty International, 73
- Andean Community, 138
- Andean Development Corporation, 131–2
- Andean Pact, 138
- Andersen, Morten Skumsrud, 26, 178, 181–2, 184
- Ansoms, An, 81
- Architecture of international order
  - distribution of power versus, 36
  - normative goods and, 182
  - positionalist strategy and, 31, 182
  - reformist strategy and, 31, 39, 42, 182
  - revolutionary strategy and, 31, 37–8, 182
  - status quo strategy and, 31, 41, 182
- Arctic Council, 158, 167, 169
- Argentina
  - China and, 130
  - debt owed to China, 59
- Armenia, election observers and, 122
- Armony, Ariel C., 142
- Asian Development Bank (ADB)
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90, 92, 93
  - Central Asia generally and, 113
  - Japan and, 96, 100
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) (*See also specific country*)
  - generally, x, 24–5, 53, 90
  - overview, 101–3
- Articles of Agreement (AOA), 91, 98, 100, 101
- Asian Development Bank and, 90, 92, 93
- Australia and, 88, 91, 95, 96, 100
- Bangladesh and, 90–1
- Belt and Road Initiative and, 115
- Brazil and, 98
- BRICS countries and, 98
- in context of existing international financial order, 90–1
- counter-hegemonic strategy of, 89, 91–4
- Egypt and, 98
- France and, 97–8
- Germany and, 97–8
- goods substitution and, 11, 89, 101–3, 186–7

- hedging and, 98
- herding and, 99
- historical background, 90–1
- IMF and, 90
- India and, 90–1, 92, 98
- integration into existing financial structures, 99–101
- international financial institutions and, 89, 92–4
- Israel and, 98
- Italy and, 97
- Japan and, 92, 96, 97
- Kuwait and, 90–1
- Luxembourg and, 91
- Mongolia and, 90–1
- Nepal and, 90–1
- New Zealand and, 91, 98
- Oman and, 90–1
- Pakistan and, 90–1
- Qatar and, 90–1
- renminbi and, 91–2
- Russia and, 98
- South Africa and, 98
- South Korea and, 88, 91, 92, 95, 96
- Sri Lanka and, 90–1
- United Kingdom and, 88, 91, 97–8
- United States and, 41–2, 88, 91, 92, 95–6, 97, 99, 101–2, 180
- World Bank and, 47, 90, 92–3, 100
- Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 90, 95, 132–3
- Assets versus goods, 7, 128, 185–6
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 90–1
- Australia
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 88, 91, 95, 96, 100
  - Russia and, 46
- Austria, alliances and, 14
- Bader, Julia, 24–5, 42, 53, 180, 181
- Bahrain, Israel and, 148
- Bakiyev, Kurmanbek, 15, 108, 109, 110–11
- Bangladesh, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
- Beckley, Michael, 29
- Belarus
  - election observers and, 122
  - Russia and, 52
- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)
  - generally, 30–1, 53, 89, 102
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 115
  - Central Asia generally and, 115–16
  - “civilizational diversity” and, 120
  - goods substitution and generally, 11
  - Greece and, 2–3
  - Kyrgyzstan and, 116
  - Tajikistan and, 116
- Biden, Joseph, 87
- Bolivarian Alliance (ALBA), 127, 133, 135, 150 (*See also* Ecuador; Venezuela)
- Bolivia
  - debt owed to China, 130
  - shifting of ties in, 130
- Bottom-up drivers of goods substitution, 17–19, 152–5
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 20–1, 182 (*See also* Capital; Fields)
- Bradley, Christopher G., 73
- Brazil
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 98
  - in BRICS countries (*See* BRICS countries)
  - Colombia and, 139–40, 144
  - energy-backed loans from China, 54
  - Bretton Woods system, 47, 100, 101, 102–3, 138
- BRI (*See* Belt and Road Initiative)
- BRICS countries (*See also specific country*)
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 98
  - IMF and, 46
  - international financial institutions and, 45, 46
  - New Development Bank, 47, 53, 100–1, 115
  - positionalist strategy and, 46
  - reformist strategy and, 47
  - revolutionary strategy and, 46
  - rise of, 45
  - status quo strategy and, 45–6
  - Syria and, 46
  - World Bank and, 46
  - World Trade Organization and, 45
- Bukovansky, Mlada, 72

- Bush, George W.  
     Colombia and, 141  
     reformist strategy of, 40, 181  
     Uzbekistan and, 108
- Cameron, David, 97
- Campbell, Kurt M., 4
- Capital  
     academic capital, 20–1  
     cultural capital, 20–1  
     defined, 20  
     diplomatic capital, 20–1, 35  
     economic capital, 35  
     fields, relation to, 20–1, 182  
     meta-capital, 32–3  
     social capital, 20–1  
     symbolic capital, 21–2
- Carr, E. H., 62–3
- Central Asia (*See specific country*)
- Chavez, Hugo, 142
- Chile  
     China and, 130  
     normative goods and, 83
- Chin, Gregory T., 93
- China  
     Afghanistan and, 111–12  
     alliances and, 14  
     in Arctic Council, 167, 169  
     Argentina and, 130  
     Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank  
         (*See Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank*)  
     Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (*See Belt and Road Initiative*)  
     in BRICS countries (*See BRICS countries*)  
     Chile and, 130  
     China Development Bank (CDB), 54, 55–6, 58  
     China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), 57–8, 114–15  
     “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1  
     Colombia and, 130, 139–42, 143–4, 145, 146–7  
     counter-hegemonic strategies in, 88, 178  
     COVID-19 pandemic and, ix, 4, 5  
     Denmark and, 175  
     development assistance and, 179  
     Ecuador and, 126, 127, 133, 135  
     energy-backed loans from (*See Energy-backed loans from China*)  
     Exim Bank, 115  
     Faroe Islands and, 173, 175  
     foreign debt owed to (*See Debt owed to China*)  
     global performance indices and, 70–1, 73–4  
     goods substitution and generally, ix, 5  
     Greece and, 2–3  
     Greenland and, 152, 166–7, 168–71, 175, 180  
     as hegemonic power, 30–1  
     Iceland and, 161–5, 175  
     international order and, 42  
     Israel and, 148  
     Kazakhstan and, 114–15, 124  
     Kyrgyzstan and, 111, 114–15, 124  
     Latin America generally, trade with, 125, 133  
     Middle East and, 149  
     Ming Dynasty as hegemonic power, 1  
     Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 169  
     multilateralism in, 188  
     normative goods and, 62, 64, 83, 86–7  
     North Atlantic generally and, 157, 158–9  
     Pakistan and, 111–12  
     Peru and, 130  
     Philippines and, 17  
     positionalist strategy in, 48, 180, 182  
     power transitions and, 2, 30–1  
     Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), 111–12  
     “re-engineering” in, 89  
     reformist strategy in, 48, 180, 181, 182  
     revolutionary strategy in, 48  
     Serbia and, 4  
     “shadow diplomacy” in, 89  
     Shanghai Cooperation Organization (*See Shanghai Cooperation Organization*)  
     Silk Road Maritime Belt, 115  
     Tajikistan and, 111–12, 114–15, 124  
     Turkmenistan and, 114–15, 124  
     Uighurs in, 50, 109

- United Nations and, 88–9, 102
- United States and, 2, 30–1
- Uzbekistan and, 109–10, 114–15, 124
- Venezuela and, 126, 127, 133, 135
- “Civilizational diversity,” 120–1
- Club goods, 8, 32, 179
- Cold War
  - club goods and, 16
  - Colombia and, 137
  - development assistance and, 15
  - Faroe Islands and, 171
  - Iceland and, 161
  - North Atlantic generally and, 151
  - nuclear weapons and, 16–17
- Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), 107, 109, 110, 124
- Colombia
  - Brazil and, 139–40, 144
  - China and, 130, 139–42, 143–4, 145, 146–7
  - Cold War and, 137
  - Cuba and, 143
  - demand-side factors in, 27–8
  - diversification of ties in, 126–7, 136, 144–7
  - “dry canal” proposal, 140–1
  - Foreign Ministry, 136
  - foreign policy in, 136–8
  - free trade agreement, 141, 142–4
  - Global War on Terror and, 140
  - goods substitution in, 26, 126, 135–6, 149–50
  - hedging in, 136, 138–40, 144, 146–7
  - hierarchical relations and, 126, 136, 139–40
  - leverage in, 130, 136, 140–4, 146–7
  - Ministry of Defence, 136
  - National Police, 136
  - Panama and, 137
  - “Plan Colombia,” 137, 139
  - positionalist strategy in, 147
  - power transitions in, 26, 126, 135–6, 149–50
  - respite polum* in, 137, 143, 144–5, 147
  - respite similia* in, 137–8, 140–1, 143, 144, 147
  - Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 144
  - Russia and, 145
  - as security asset for United States, 126, 140
  - supply-side factors in, 184
  - United States and, 126, 136–47, 150
  - Venezuela and, 140, 142–3
- Colonization, 21, 22
- Color Revolutions, 119, 122
- Common pool goods, 8
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 105, 119–20, 122–3
- Competition strategy for acquisition of normative goods, 65, 77–8, 82–4
- Competitiveness, 71, 75, 80–1, 83
- Confucianism, 1
- Cooley, Alexander, ix–x, 12, 22–3, 25–6, 64, 81, 178, 180, 181–2, 183, 188
- Coproduction of goods, 28, 183–7
- Correa, Rafael, 55
- Corruption, 72, 82, 83
- Corruption Perception Index, 72, 83
- Counter-hegemonic strategies
  - generally, 22–3, 59–61
  - of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, 89, 91–4
  - bottom-up goods substitution as, 153–5
  - in China, 88, 178
  - energy-backed loans from China as, 132
  - goods ecologies and, 178–9
  - normative goods and, 64, 68–9, 86–7
  - in North Atlantic generally, 175–6
  - positionalist strategy (*See* Positionalist strategy)
  - reaction of United States to, 187–8
  - reformist strategy (*See* Reformist strategy)
  - revisionist states and, 29–30
  - revolutionary strategy (*See* Revolutionary strategy)
  - status quo strategy (*See* Status quo strategy)
  - against United States, 59–61
- COVID-19 pandemic
  - generally, ix
  - China and, ix, 4, 5
  - European Union and, ix
  - goods substitution and, ix
  - Italy and, ix

- COVID-19 pandemic (cont.)  
 Russia and, ix  
 Serbia and, ix, 4  
 Spain and, ix  
 United States and, 4
- Creativity strategy for acquisition of  
 normative goods, 65, 78, 84–6
- Credit rating agencies, 83, 91
- Cuba  
 Colombia and, 143  
 global performance indices and, 73,  
 74
- Cultural capital, 20–1
- Davidson, Jason W., 11
- Debt owed to China  
 Argentina, 59  
 Bolivia, 130  
 Ecuador, 59, 127–8, 130, 132  
 Kyrgyzstan, 116  
 Myanmar, 59  
 Russia, 59  
 Sri Lanka, 59  
 Tajikistan, 116  
 Venezuela, 59, 130, 132
- Debusscher, Petra, 81
- de Carvalho, Benjamin, 26–7, 77, 180,  
 182–3
- Decoupling, 39
- Defensive positionalism, 38
- Deglobalization, ix
- Democracy Index, 68, 70–1
- Deng Menmin, 57
- Denmark  
 China and, 175  
 Faroe Islands and, 151, 155, 157,  
 171, 172, 174  
 Greenland and, 151, 155, 157,  
 165–7, 170–1  
 North Atlantic generally and, 152,  
 174, 176  
 Norway and, 155  
 United States and, 157, 185
- Devine, Fiona, 21
- Diplomatic capital, 35
- Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, 14
- Distribution of power  
 architecture of international order  
 versus, 36  
 goods ecologies and, 182  
 positionalist strategy and, 31, 38, 182  
 reformist strategy and, 31, 40, 182,  
 183  
 revolutionary strategy and, 31, 38,  
 182  
 status quo strategy and, 31, 41, 182
- Distributive revisionists, 11–12
- Diversification of ties  
 generally, 128  
 in Colombia, 126–7, 136, 144–7  
 as demand-side mechanism of goods  
 substitution, 129  
 hedging and, 129, 130 (*See also*  
 Hedging)  
 hierarchical relations and, 129–30,  
 134–5, 147  
 leverage and, 129, 130 (*See also*  
 Leverage)  
 shifting of ties versus, 125–6, 147  
 transaction costs and, 128
- Doshi, Rush, 4
- Drezner, Daniel W., 29
- Duque, Iván, 145, 146
- Duterte, Rodrigo, 17, 60
- Ease of Doing Business Index (EDBI),  
 71, 80–1, 83, 86–7
- East Asian financial crisis, 47
- Economic assistance, 18–19
- Economic capital, 20–1, 35
- Economic Intelligence Unit, 68, 70–1
- Ecuador  
 China and, 126, 127, 133, 135  
 debt owed to China, 59, 127–8, 130,  
 132  
 energy-backed loans from China,  
 31–2, 49, 55–6, 131  
 shifting of ties in, 130
- Egypt  
 Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank  
 and, 98  
 IMF and, 18  
 international financial institutions  
 and, 19  
 Kuwait and, 18–19  
 Qatar and, 18–19  
 Saudi Arabia and, 18–19  
 shifting of ties in, 186  
 United Arab Emirates and, 18–19  
 United States and, 18–19

## Index

223

- World Bank and, 18
- Energy-backed loans from China
  - generally, 54–5
  - Brazil, 54
  - as counter-hegemonic strategy, 132
  - Ecuador, 31–2, 49, 55–6, 131
  - Kazakhstan, 54
  - Russia, 54
  - Turkmenistan, 31–2, 49, 56–9
  - Venezuela, 54, 131
- Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 53–4, 60
- Eurasian Economic Union, 52
- “Eurasianism,” 121
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 100, 105–6, 113
- European Economic Area (EEA), 156
- European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 156
- European Union (*See also specific country*)
  - Central Asia generally and, 105
  - COVID-19 pandemic and, ix
  - Faroe Islands and, 156
  - Greenland and, 156, 165
  - Iceland and, 156
  - Iran and, 179
  - Turkey and, 53–4
  - Ukraine and, 2–3, 18
- Excludability of goods, 7–8
- Exiting, 13, 14 (*See also* Shifting of ties)
- Faller, Craig, 145
- Family Prosperity Index, 85, 87
- Faroe Islands
  - bottom-up goods substitution in, 152–3
  - China and, 173, 175
  - Denmark and, 151, 155, 157, 171, 172, 174
  - European Union and, 156
  - goods substitution in, 26–7, 173–4
  - home rule in, 155
  - power transitions and, 26–7, 152–3
  - Russia and, 152, 171–4, 175
  - small population of, 157–8
  - strategic importance of, 151–2
  - United Kingdom and, 171
  - United States and, 171, 173–4, 175
- Fields
  - capital, relation to, 20–1, 182
  - defined, 21
  - symbolic capital and, 21–2
- France
  - alliances and, 14
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 97–8
- Freedom House, 70–1, 73, 74, 81, 82
- Freedom in the World Index, 73
- Gender equality, 80, 81, 85
- Gender Inequality Index (GII), 71–2
- Georgia
  - Abkhazia (*See* Abkhazia)
  - elections in, 119
  - normative goods and, 80–1
  - Russia and, 43, 52
  - South Ossetia (*See* South Ossetia)
  - World Bank and, 80–1
- Germany
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 97–8
  - North Atlantic generally and, 151
  - Turkmenistan and, 58
  - United Kingdom and, 30
- Global Competitiveness Index (GCI), 75, 81
- Global Gender Gap Index, 80
- Global hegemony, 42–3
- Global performance indices (GPIs) (*See also specific index*)
  - generally, 62, 65, 69–70
  - China and, 70–1, 73–4
  - composite indicators, 72–3
  - Cuba and, 73, 74
  - independence of, 73
  - meaning of norms, specifying and concretizing, 71–4
  - moral status, allocation of, 74–7
  - organizational preferences, 73
  - polymaking, role in, 69–70
  - public and comparable standards, providing, 70–1
  - Qatar and, 73
  - Russia and, 70–1, 73–4
  - Singapore and, 71
  - United States and, 74
  - Western bias of, 73–4
  - World Bank and, 73

- Global War on Terror (GWOT), 107, 109, 140
- Goods
- generally, 6
  - assets versus, 7, 128, 185–6
  - club goods, 8, 32, 179
  - common pool goods, 8
  - defined, 7
  - excludability of, 7–8
  - non-rival goods, 7–8
  - normative goods (*See* Normative goods)
  - performance as, 20
  - private goods, 8
  - public goods, 7–8, 32
  - rival goods, 7–8
  - social construction of, 20–2, 182–3
  - specificity of, 8–9
  - status as, 6–7, 21–2
  - symbolic goods, 6–7, 21–2, 32–3
- Goods ecologies
- counter-hegemonic strategies and, 178–9
  - development assistance and, 179
  - distribution of power and, 182
  - goods substitution in, 129
  - international order as, 10–12, 178
  - revisionist states and, 10–12
- Goods substitution (*See also specific topic or country*)
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 11, 89, 101–3, 166–7
  - bottom-up drivers of, 17–19, 152–5
  - competition strategy for acquisition of normative goods and, 83
  - demand-side factors in, 27–8
  - dynamics of, 5–6, 150
  - economic assistance and, 18–19
  - extrinsic factors, 17–18
  - in goods ecologies, 129
  - “hard balancing” and, 34–5
  - hegemonic powers and, 32–3
  - hierarchical relations and, 150
  - international order and, 12–13
  - intrinsic factors, 17
  - logics of (*See* Logics of goods substitution)
  - politics of, 5–6, 31
  - positionalist aim (*See* Positionalist strategy)
  - power transitions and, x, 33–4
  - reasons for, 31
  - reformist aim (*See* Reformist strategy)
  - revolutionary aim (*See* Revolutionary strategy)
  - social contract view of, 178, 183–4, 186
  - “soft balancing” and, 34–5
  - status quo aim (*See* Status quo strategy)
  - synthetic approach to, 6
  - top-down drivers of, 15–17
- GPIs (*See* Global performance indices)
- Greece
- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and, 2–3
  - China and, 2–3
  - NATO and, 10
  - normative goods and, 81–2
- Greenland
- bottom-up goods substitution in, 152–3
  - China and, 152, 166–7, 168–71, 175, 180
  - Denmark and, 151, 155, 157, 165–7, 170–1
  - difficulty of investing in, 168–9
  - European Union and, 156, 165
  - goods substitution in, 26–7, 167–8
  - home rule in, 155, 165–6
  - Japan and, 168
  - mining in, 166, 168, 169
  - NATO and, 167
  - Philippines and, 168
  - potential independence of, 165–7
  - power transitions and, 26–7, 152–3
  - Russia and, 168, 175
  - Self Government Act, 165
  - small population of, 157–8
  - South Korea and, 168
  - strategic importance of, 151–2
  - Thailand and, 168
  - United States and, 151–2, 156–7, 165, 166, 167, 168–9, 170–1, 174
- Greico, Joseph, 38
- Grimsson, Ólafur Ragnar, 160–1
- Group of 77, 138
- Gulf States (*See specific country*)

- Haarde, Geir, 160
- Haley, Nikki, 146
- “Hard balancing,” 34–5
- Hedging
- generally, 13, 14–15
  - alliances and, 17–18
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 98
  - in Colombia, 136, 138–40, 144, 146–7
  - diversification of ties and, 129, 130 (*See also* Diversification of ties)
  - power transitions and, 34
- Hegemonic powers
- club goods and, 32
  - counter-hegemonic strategies (*See* Counter-hegemonic strategies)
  - global hegemony, 42–3
  - goods substitution and, 32–3
  - power transitions and, 2
  - public goods and, 32
  - regional hegemony, 42–3
  - rise and decline of, 1–2, 29
  - symbolic goods and, 32–3
- Hezbollah, 43
- Hierarchical relations
- Colombia and, 126
  - diversification of ties and, 129–30, 134–5, 147
  - goods substitution and, 150
- Hill, James T., 139–40
- Hirai, Tadashi, 71
- Human Development Index (HDI), 71, 72–3, 75–6
- Humanitarian assistance, 185–6
- Hungary in NATO, 124
- Iceland
- Aurora Observatory, 162
  - bottom-up goods substitution in, 152–3
  - China and, 161–5, 175
  - Cold War and, 161
  - demand-side factors in, 27–8
  - economic crisis in, 159–60, 174
  - European Union and, 156
  - free trade agreement with China, 162–3
  - goods substitution in, 26–7, 152–3
  - IMF and, 160
  - Keflavik airbase, 151, 156–7, 159–60, 161, 174
  - leverage in, 164–5
  - NATO and, 156–7, 159
  - power transitions and, 26–7, 152–3
  - Russia and, 152, 159–61, 163–5, 175
  - small population of, 157–8
  - Soviet Union and, 161
  - strategic importance of, 151–2
  - United States and, 151–3, 156–7, 159–60, 161, 174
- Identity, 184–5
- IFIs (*See* International financial institutions)
- Ikenberry, G. John, 63
- IMF (*See* International Monetary Fund)
- India
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1, 92, 98
  - in BRICS countries (*See* BRICS countries)
  - Israel and, 148
  - Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 50, 52–3
- Inter-American Development Bank, 56, 126, 131–2
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 63, 187
- International financial institutions (IFIs) (*See also* International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank)
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 89, 92–4
  - BRICS countries and, 45, 46
  - Central Asia generally and, 105–6, 112
  - Egypt and, 19
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- generally, 33
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90, 92–3
  - BRICS countries and, 46
  - Central Asia generally and, 105–6, 113
  - Egypt and, 18
  - Iceland and, 160
  - Latin America generally and, 131–2
  - Malaysia and, 47
  - United States and, 96, 99, 187



- International order
  - generally, 6
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
    - in context of, 90–1
  - China and, 42
  - defined, 9–10
  - distributive revisionists, 11–12
  - as goods ecology, 10–12, 178
  - goods substitution and, 12–13
  - military capabilities and, 12
  - normative revisionists, 11–12
  - radical revisionists, 11–12, 29, 37–8
  - revisionist states, 10–12 (*See also* Revisionist states)
- International rankings (*See* Normative goods)
- International Students Association, x
- Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), 46
- INTERPOL, 120
- Iran
  - European Union and, 179
  - Israel and, 43
  - Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, 179, 188
  - Russia and, 43
  - Saudi Arabia and, 43
  - United States and, 179
- Iraq
  - Abu Ghraib prison, 118
  - insurgency in, 118
- Israel
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
    - and, 98
  - Bahrain and, 148
  - China and, 148
  - India and, 148
  - Iran and, 43
  - Oman and, 148
  - Russia and, 148
  - Saudi Arabia and, 148
  - United States and, 148, 150
- Italy
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
    - and, 97
  - COVID-19 pandemic and, ix
- Japan
  - Asian Development Bank and, 96, 100
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
  - and, 92, 96, 97
- Central Asia generally and, 113
- Greenland and, 168
- United States and, 32
- Johnson, Stephen, 125
- Karimov, Islam, 108, 109–10
- Kazakhstan
  - anti-Americanism in, 118
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
    - and, 90–1
  - China and, 54, 114–15, 124
  - “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1
  - economics of, 104–5
  - election fraud in, 3–4
  - election observers in, 122–3
  - energy-backed loans from China, 54
  - extrication from Soviet system, 104
  - goods substitution and, 25–6, 106–7
  - illiberal regimes in, 118, 119–22
  - IMF and, 105–6, 113
  - independence, “unwanted” nature of, 104
  - LGBTQ persons in, 121
  - liberalism in, 104
  - nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to, 119–20
  - noninterference and, 120–1
  - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and, 3–4, 14–15
  - regional order and, 105
  - regional trade in, 113–14
  - Russia and, 105, 124
  - Shanghai Cooperation Organization
    - and, 50, 107
  - Soviet Union and, 112–13
  - “traditional values” and, 121
  - transition economics in, 113
  - United States and, 104, 105–6, 113, 124
  - World Bank and, 105–6
- Kelley, Judith G., 69, 71, 73–4, 123
- Kennedy, John F., 22
- Keohane, Robert O., 142
- Kindleberger, Charles, 32
- Kissinger, Henry, 37
- Krasner, Stephen D., 32
- Krebs, Ronald R., 10

- Kuwait  
     Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1  
     Egypt and, 18–19  
 Kyoto Protocol, 63, 187  
 Kyrgyzstan  
     anti-Americanism in, 118  
     Belt and Road Initiative and, 116  
     China and, 111, 114–15, 124  
     “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1  
     debt owed to China, 116  
     economics of, 104–5  
     election observers in, 122–3  
     elections in, 119  
     extrication from Soviet system, 104  
     goods substitution and, 25–6, 106–7  
     illiberal regimes in, 118, 119–22  
     IMF and, 105–6, 113  
     independence, “unwanted” nature of, 104  
     Kant military base, 109, 111  
     LGBTQ persons in, 121  
     liberalism in, 104  
     Manas Air Base, 52, 109, 110–11  
     Manas Transit Center, 15, 107–8  
     nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to, 119–20  
     noninterference and, 120–1  
     political reform in, 116–18  
     regional order and, 105  
     regional trade in, 113–14  
     Russia and, 52, 105, 109, 111, 124  
     Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 50, 107  
     Soviet Union and, 112–13  
     “traditional values” and, 121  
     transition economics in, 113  
     United States and, 15, 104, 105–6, 107–8, 109, 110–11, 113, 124  
     World Bank and, 105–6
- Lake, David A., 32, 178, 186  
 Larson, Deborah Welch, 77  
 Latin America (*See specific country*)  
 Legitimization, 186  
 Leira, Halvard, 26–7, 180, 182–3  
 Leverage  
     overview, 13, 15  
     in Colombia, 130, 136, 140–4, 146–7  
     diversification of ties and, 129, 130  
     (*See also* Diversification of ties)  
     in Iceland, 164–5  
 Levine Renan, 118  
 LGBTQ persons  
     in Africa, 63–4, 84–6  
     in Central Asia, 121  
     in Kazakhstan, 121  
     in Kyrgyzstan, 121  
     in Uganda, 84–6  
 Liberalism  
     in Central Asia, 104, 105–6  
     normative goods and, 63, 64, 68, 86  
 Libya  
     no-fly zone in, 45  
     Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and, 45  
 Li Xiaopeng, 146  
 Logics of goods substitution  
     generally, 6  
     addition, 13–14  
     diversification of ties (*See* Diversification of ties)  
     exiting, 13, 14  
     hedging (*See* Hedging)  
     leverage (*See* Leverage)  
     shifting of ties (*See* Shifting of ties)  
 Luxembourg, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 91
- Mabus, Ray, 175  
 Makled, Walid, 142–3, 144  
 Malaysia, IMF and, 47  
 Manas Air Base, 52, 109, 110–11  
 Manners, Ian, 77  
 McCaffrey, Barry, 139  
 McCaul, Michael, 143  
 Medvedev, Dmitry, 110  
 Michelsen, Alfonso Lopez, 137–8  
 Minsk Treaty, 119–20  
 Mobility strategy for acquisition of  
     normative goods, 65, 77, 79–82  
 Mohammed Bin Salman, 148–9  
 Mongolia, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1  
 Morningstar, Richard, 58  
 Morse, Lulia C., 142  
 Morsi, Mohamed, 18–19  
 Mubarak, Hosni, 18–19

- Multipolarity, 12, 16, 29–30, 44–5, 124, 187
- Mutually Assured Destruction, 10
- Myanmar, debt owed to China, 59
- NATO (*See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
- Nazarbayev, Nursultan, 3–4
- Nepal, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
- Netherlands, United States and, 185
- Nexon, Iver B., 28, 77
- New Development Bank (NDB), 47, 53, 100–1, 115
- New International Economic Order, 138
- New Zealand, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 91, 98
- Nexon, Daniel, ix–x, 12, 22–3, 64, 178, 181–2, 183, 188
- Non-Aligned Movement, 138
- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to in Central Asia, 119–20
- Non-rival goods, 7–8
- Normative goods (*See also specific country*)  
generally, 23–4, 86–7, 179  
architecture of international order and, 182  
behavioral standards, 66, 68  
competition strategy for acquisition of, 65, 77–8, 82–4  
conversion of rankings to goods, 64, 65  
counter-hegemonic strategies and, 64, 68–9, 86–7  
counter-stigmatization, 78–9  
creation of norms, 67–8  
creativity strategy for acquisition of, 65, 78, 84–6  
critical perspective and, 62  
esteem as, 66–7  
global performance indices (*See* Global performance indices)  
historical background, 62–4  
honor as, 66–7  
identity as, 185  
liberalism and, 63, 64, 68, 86  
mobility strategy for acquisition of, 65, 77, 79–82  
nature of, 65–9  
pluralism and, 68  
realist perspective and, 62  
status as, 67  
stigma-management strategies and, 78–9  
stigma recognition, 78  
stigma rejection, 79  
strategies for acquisition generally, 77–9
- Normative revisionists, 11–12
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 133
- North Atlantic (*See specific island*)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
Central Asia generally and, 105  
club goods and, 8, 32, 179  
Greece and, 10  
Greenland and, 167  
Hungary in, 124  
Iceland and, 156–7, 159  
North Atlantic and, 151–2  
Poland in, 124  
Russia and, 2–3, 10  
Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 51, 53  
Turkey and, 10  
United States and, 30, 32, 39
- Norway  
Denmark and, 155  
humanitarian assistance and, 185–6  
identity and, 184  
North Atlantic generally and, 152, 155  
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), x  
Norwegian Research Council, x  
Palestinian Authorities and, 185–6  
Sweden and, 155  
United States and, 184, 185–6
- Nubo, Huang, 163
- Obama, Barack, 41–2, 96
- Offensive positionalism, 38
- Oman  
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1  
Israel and, 148
- O'Neill, Jim, 45

- Orban, Viktor, 60
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 13, 101, 179
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) generally, 60
- Central Asia generally and, 105
- “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1
- election observers and, 122, 123
- Kazakhstan and, 3–4, 14–15
- Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 3–4, 122, 123
- Organization of Islamic States, 85
- Organski, Abram Fimo Kenneth, 102
- Osborne, George, 88, 97
- OSCE (*See* Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe)
- Otunbayeva, Roza, 111
- Pakistan
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
- China and, 111–12
- Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), 111–12
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 50, 52–3
- Palestinian Authorities, Norway and, 185–6
- Panama, Colombia and, 137
- Paris Agreement on Climate Change, 187
- Pastrana, Andres, 139
- Performance as goods, 20
- Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), 179
- Permanyer, Inaki, 72
- Peru, China and, 130
- Philippines
- China and, 17
- Greenland and, 168
- Russia and, 17
- shifting of ties in, 186
- Pizano, Eduardo, 139–40
- Pluralism, normative goods and, 68
- Poe, Steven C., 73
- Poland in NATO, 124
- Positionalist strategy, 38–9
- generally, 31, 36–7, 177, 181–2
- architecture of international order and, 31, 182
- BRICS countries and, 46
- in China, 48, 180, 182
- in Colombia, 147
- defensive positionalism, 38
- distribution of power and, 31, 38, 182
- intentions and effects, 41, 42
- in Latin America generally, 133
- in North Atlantic generally, 174–5
- offensive positionalism, 38
- shifting of ties as, 133
- United States, against, 44–5
- Power transitions
- in Central Asia generally, 25–6, 106–7
- China and, 2, 30–1
- in Colombia, 26, 126, 135–6, 149–50
- goods substitution and, x, 33–4
- hedging and, 34
- hegemonic powers and, 2
- in North Atlantic generally, 26–7, 152–3
- politics of goods substitution in, 31
- theory of, 102
- in Ukraine, 2–3
- uneven economic growth and, 30
- United States and, 2, 30–1, 59–61
- Prestige (*See* Status)
- Private goods, 8
- Prussia, alliances and, 14
- Pu, Xiaoyu, 39
- Public goods, 7–8, 32
- Putin, Vladimir V.
- Faroe Islands and, 173
- gender equality and, 85
- terrorism and, 107
- Ukraine and, 2–3
- Qatar
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
- Egypt and, 18–19
- global performance indices and, 73
- Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), 111–12

- Radical revisionists, 11–12, 29, 37–8
- Rankings (*See* Normative goods)
- Realism, 16, 34–5, 38, 62–3
- Reformist strategy, 39–40
  - generally, 31, 36–7, 177, 181–2
  - architecture of international order and, 31, 39, 42, 182
  - BRICS countries and, 47
  - in China, 48, 180, 181, 182
  - distribution of power and, 31, 40, 182, 183
  - intentions and effects, 41, 42
  - in Latin America generally, 133–4
  - rules versus distribution of power, 183
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 53
- shifting of ties as, 133–4
- against United States, 44–5
- in United States, 40, 181
- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), 132–3
- Regional hegemony, 42–3
- Relationalism, 180
- Renminbi (RMB) (currency), 91–2, 97
- Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 45, 63
- Restrepo, Carlos Lleras, 138
- Revisionist states
  - generally, 177, 180–2
  - counter-hegemonic strategies and, 29–30
  - distributive revisionists, 11–12
  - goods ecologies and, 10–12
  - in international order, 10–12
  - normative revisionists, 11–12
  - radical revisionists, 11–12, 29, 37–8
  - Russia as, 181, 182
- Revolutionary strategy, 37–8
  - generally, 31, 36–7, 177, 181–2
  - architecture of international order and, 31, 37–8, 182
  - BRICS countries and, 46
  - in China, 48
  - distribution of power and, 31, 38, 182
  - in Russia, 43
  - against United States, 44–5
- Rival goods, 7–8
- “Rogue states,” 140, 149
- Rohrabacher, Dana, 139
- Rome (Ancient) as hegemonic power, 1
- Rumelili, Bahar, 23–4, 182–3
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 51
- Russia (*See also* Soviet Union)
  - Abkhazia and, 52
  - in Arctic Council, 167
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 98
  - Australia and, 46
  - Belarus and, 52
  - in BRICS countries (*See* BRICS countries)
  - Colombia and, 145
  - COVID-19 pandemic and, ix
  - Crimea, annexation of, 2–3, 46
  - debt owed to China, 59
  - election observers and, 122–3
  - energy-backed loans from China, 54
  - Faroe Islands and, 152, 171–4, 175
  - Gazprom, 56, 57–8
  - Georgia and, 43, 52
  - global performance indices and, 70–1, 73–4
  - goods substitution and generally, ix, 5
  - Greenland and, 168, 175
  - Iceland and, 152, 159–61, 163–5, 175
  - Iran and, 43
  - Israel and, 148
  - Kazakhstan and, 105, 124
  - Kyrgyzstan and, 52, 105, 109, 111, 124
  - Middle East and, 149
  - Ministry of Finance, 160
  - NATO and, 2–3, 10
  - normative goods and, 62, 64, 77–8, 82, 83, 85, 86–7
  - North Atlantic generally and, 157, 158–9
  - Philippines and, 17
  - as regional hegemonic power, 43
  - Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and, 63
  - as revisionist state, 181, 182
  - revolutionary strategy in, 43
  - Rosneft, 56
  - sanctions against, 2–3, 152, 172
  - Saudi Arabia and, 148–9

- Shanghai Cooperation Organization  
and, 31, 48–9, 50, 51–3, 107 (*See also* Shanghai Cooperation Organization)
- South Ossetia and, 52
- Syria and, 43
- Tajikistan and, 105, 109, 111, 124
- “traditional values” and, 121
- Turkmenistan and, 56, 57–8, 105, 124
- Ukraine and, 2–3, 18, 43, 46, 63
- United States and, 2–3
- Uzbekistan and, 105, 109–10, 124
- World Trade Organization and, 114
- Rwanda  
Constitution, 80  
normative goods and, 80, 81
- Saakashvili, Mikheil, 119
- Santos, Juan Manuel, 140–1, 142–4
- Saudi Arabia  
Egypt and, 18–19  
Iran and, 43  
Israel and, 148  
Russia and, 148–9  
United States and, 150
- Savage, Mike, 21
- Schatz, Edward, 118
- Schengen Area, 156
- Schock, Aaron, 143
- Schueth, Sam, 81
- Schweller, Randall L., 39
- SCO (*See* Shanghai Cooperation Organization)
- Sending, Ole Jacob, 28
- Serbia  
China and, 4  
COVID-19 pandemic and, ix, 4
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), 49–54  
generally, 31, 48–9, 124  
“civilizational diversity” and, 120–1  
Counterterrorism Treaty, 50  
economic cooperation, 51  
election monitoring, 51  
emergency fund, 52  
India and, 50, 52–3  
Kazakhstan and, 50, 107  
Kyrgyzstan and, 50, 107  
NATO and, 51, 53  
Pakistan and, 50, 52–3  
“Peace Missions,” 50  
reformist strategy of, 53  
Regional Anti-Terror Structure (RATS), 50, 120  
Russia and, 31, 48–9, 50, 51–3, 107  
Tajikistan and, 50, 107  
“three evils,” 50  
Turkey and, 53–4  
United States and, 181  
Uzbekistan and, 50, 107
- Shevchenko, Alexei, 77
- Shifting of ties  
generally, 128  
in Bolivia, 130  
as demand-side mechanism of goods substitution, 129  
diversification of ties versus, 125–6, 147  
in Ecuador, 130  
in Egypt, 186  
in Philippines, 186  
as positionalist strategy, 133  
as reformist strategy, 133–4  
transaction costs and, 128  
in Turkey, 186  
in Venezuela, 130
- Simmons, Beth, 69, 71, 73–4, 106
- Singapore  
Economic Development Board, 80, 82  
global performance indices and, 71  
normative goods and, 80, 82, 84
- al-Sisi, Abdel Fattah, 18–19
- Skaale, Sjórdur, 172
- Slovenia, normative goods and, 80, 84
- Social capital, 20–1
- Social competition strategy for  
acquisition of normative goods, 65, 77–8, 82–4
- Social construction of goods, 20–2, 182–3
- Social contract view of goods  
substitution, 178, 183–4, 186
- Social creativity strategy for acquisition  
of normative goods, 65, 78, 84–6
- Social mobility strategy for acquisition  
of normative goods, 65, 77, 79–82

- Society of Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunications (SWIFT), 179
- “Soft balancing,” 34–5
- South Africa
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 98
  - in BRICS countries (*See* BRICS countries)
- South Korea
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 88, 91, 92, 95, 96
  - Greenland and, 168
  - normative goods and, 84
- South Ossetia
  - election observers in, 123
  - Russia and, 52
- Soviet Union (*See also* Russia)
  - alliances and, 14
  - Iceland and, 161
  - Kazakhstan and, 112–13
  - Kyrgyzstan and, 112–13
  - as regional hegemonic power, 42–3
  - Tajikistan and, 112–13
  - Turkmenistan and, 112–13
  - United States and, 15, 16–17, 22, 30
  - Uzbekistan and, 112–13
- Spain
  - COVID-19 pandemic and, ix
  - decline of monarchy, 30
- Specificity of goods, 8–9
- Sri Lanka
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
  - debt owed to China, 59
- Status
  - as good, 6–7, 21–2
  - as normative good, 67 (*See also* Normative goods)
- Status quo strategy, 41
  - generally, 31, 36–7, 177, 181–2
  - architecture of international order and, 31, 41, 182
  - BRICS countries and, 45–6
  - distribution of power and, 31, 41, 182
  - intentions and effects, 41–2
- Stigma-management strategies, normative goods and, 78–9
- Strauss, Julia C., 142
- Suarez, Marco Fidel, 137
- Sun, Yun, 94
- Sweden
  - normative goods and, 80
  - Norway and, 155
- Symbolic capital, 21–2
- Symbolic goods, 6–7, 21–2, 32–3
- Syria
  - BRICS countries and, 46
  - Russia and, 43
- Tajfel, Henry, 77
- Tajikistan
  - anti-Americanism in, 118
  - Belt and Road Initiative and, 116
  - China and, 111–12, 114–15, 124
  - “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1
  - debt owed to China, 116
  - economics of, 104–5
  - election observers in, 122–3
  - extrication from Soviet system, 104
  - goods substitution and, 25–6, 106–7
  - illiberal regimes in, 118, 119–22
  - IMF and, 105–6, 113
  - independence, “unwanted” nature of, 104
  - liberalism in, 104
  - nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to, 119–20
  - noninterference and, 120–1
  - Nurek space observation center, 109
  - Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), 111–12
  - regional order and, 105
  - regional trade in, 113–14
  - Russia and, 105, 109, 111, 124
  - Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 50, 107
  - Soviet Union and, 112–13
  - “traditional values” and, 121
  - transition economics in, 113
  - United States and, 104, 105–6, 113, 124
  - World Bank and, 105–6
- Tessman, Brock, 34, 187
- Thailand
  - Greenland and, 168
  - United States and, 17
- Thorhallsson, Baldur, 164

- Tillerson, Rex, 145  
 Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart, 3–4, 123  
 Top-down drivers of goods  
     substitution, 15–17  
 Towns, Ann, 21, 23–4, 182–3  
 “Traditional values,” 121  
 Transaction costs, 128  
 Transnistria, election observers in, 123  
 Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 125, 132–3  
 Transparency International, 72, 73, 83  
 Trujillo, Carlos Holmes, 146  
 Trump, Donald  
     alliances and, 16  
     Brexit and, 187  
     China and, 133  
     Colombia and, 143, 145–6  
     European Union and, 187  
     foreign aid and, 34  
     Greenland and, 151, 174  
     international order and, 42, 87  
     NATO and, 187  
     Paris Agreement and, 187  
     reformist strategy of, 181  
     revisionist strategy of, 40  
     Russian interference in election of, 2–3  
     shifting of ties and, 131  
     transactional approach, 187  
     Trans-Pacific Partnership and, 125, 132–3  
     World Health Organization and, ix, 4–5  
 Turkey  
     European Union and, 53–4  
     NATO and, 10  
     normative goods and, 63, 82–3  
     Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 53–4  
     shifting of ties in, 186  
 Turkmenistan  
     anti-Americanism in, 118  
     Bagtyarlyk (South Yolotan) oil field, 57  
     China and, 114–15, 124  
     “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1  
     economics of, 104–5  
     election observers in, 122–3  
     energy-backed loans from China, 31–2, 49, 56–9  
     extrication from Soviet system, 104  
     Galkynysh (South Yolotan) oil field, 58  
     Germany and, 58  
     goods substitution and, 25–6, 106–7  
     illiberal regimes in, 118, 119–22  
     IMF and, 105–6, 113  
     independence, “unwanted” nature of, 104  
     liberalism in, 104  
     nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to, 119–20  
     noninterference and, 120–1  
     regional order and, 105  
     regional trade in, 113–14  
     Russia and, 56, 57–8, 105, 124  
     Soviet Union and, 112–13  
     “traditional values” and, 121  
     transition economics in, 113  
     United States and, 104, 105–6, 108, 113, 124  
     World Bank and, 105–6  
 Turner, John C., 77  
 Tymoshenko, Yulia, 18  
 Uganda, LGBTQ persons in, 84–6  
 Ukraine  
     election observers in, 122–3  
     elections in, 119  
     European Union and, 2–3, 18  
     Maidan movement, 2–3  
     power transitions in, 2–3  
     Russia and, 2–3, 18, 43, 46, 63  
 Unipolarity, 33, 36  
 United Arab Emirates, Egypt and, 18–19  
 United Kingdom  
     alliances and, 14  
     Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 88, 91, 97–8  
     Brexit, 187  
     Faroe Islands and, 171  
     Germany and, 30  
     as hegemonic power, 1, 30, 42–3  
     United States and, 1–2  
 United Nations  
     China and, 88–9, 102  
     Development Programme (UNDP), 71, 72–3  
     gender equality and, 85



- United Nations (cont.)
  - global performance indices and, 73
  - Human Rights Council, 121
  - Security Council, 20, 45
- United States
  - 9/11 attacks, 107, 109
  - Agency for International Development (USAID), 80–1, 110
  - alliances and, 16
  - in Arctic Council, 167
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 41–2, 88, 91, 92, 95–6, 97, 99, 101–2, 180
  - Central Asia, military presence in, 107–9
  - China and, 2, 30–1
  - Colombia and, 126, 136–47, 150
  - Commerce Department, 46
  - counter-hegemonic strategies against, 59–61
  - COVID-19 pandemic and, 4
  - Denmark and, 157, 185
  - development assistance and, 179
  - dollar as global currency, 92
  - Egypt and, 18–19
  - Export–Import Bank, 56
  - Faroe Islands and, 171, 173–4, 175
  - foreign aid and, 34
  - global performance indices and, 74
  - Global War on Terror, 107, 109, 140
  - Greenland and, 151–2, 156–7, 165, 166, 167, 168–9, 170–1, 174
  - Guantánamo Bay, 63
  - as hegemonic power, 30, 42–3
  - hegemonic self-harm in, 188
  - Iceland and, 151–3, 156–7, 159–60, 161, 174
  - IMF and, 96, 99, 187
  - International Criminal Court and, 63
  - Iran and, 179
  - Israel and, 148, 150
  - Japan and, 32
  - Kazakhstan and, 104, 105–6, 113, 124
  - Kyoto Protocol and, 63
  - Kyrgyzstan and, 15, 104, 105–6, 107–8, 109, 110–11, 113, 124
  - moon landing, 22
  - NATO and, 30, 32, 39
  - Netherlands and, 185
  - normative goods and, 63, 64, 68–9, 83, 86–7
  - North Atlantic generally and, 175, 176
  - Norway and, 184, 185–6
  - Operation Enduring Freedom, 15, 107
  - positionalist strategy against, 44–5
  - power transitions and, 2, 30–1, 59–61
  - reaction to counter-hegemonic strategies in, 187–8
  - reformist strategy against, 44–5
  - reformist strategy in, 40, 181
  - revolutionary strategy against, 44–5
  - Russia and, 2–3
  - Saudi Arabia and, 150
  - Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 181
  - Soviet Union and, 15, 16–17, 22, 30
  - State Department, 73, 108–9
  - Tajikistan and, 104, 105–6, 113, 124
  - Thailand and, 17
  - Turkmenistan and, 104, 105–6, 108, 113, 124
  - unipolarity and, 33, 36
  - United Kingdom and, 1–2
  - Uzbekistan and, 51, 104, 105–6, 107, 108–10, 113, 124
  - World Health Organization and, ix, 4–5
- Uribe, Álvaro, 141, 144
- Uzbekistan
  - Andijon massacre, 108–10
  - anti-Americanism in, 118
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90–1
  - China and, 109–10, 114–15, 124
  - “civilizational diversity” and, 120–1
  - economics of, 104–5
  - election observers in, 122–3
  - extrication from Soviet system, 104
  - goods substitution and, 25–6, 106–7
  - illiberal regimes in, 118, 119–22
  - IMF and, 105–6, 113
  - independence, “unwanted” nature of, 104
  - Karshi-Khanabad (K2) airfield, 51, 107, 109–10
  - liberalism in, 104

*Index*

235

- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), opposition to, 119–20
- noninterference and, 120–1
- Regional Anti-Terror Structure (RATS) in, 50
- regional order and, 105
- regional trade in, 113–14
- Russia and, 105, 109–10, 124
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization and, 50, 107
- Soviet Union and, 112–13
- “traditional values” and, 121
- transition economics in, 113
- United States and, 51, 104, 105–6, 107, 108–10, 113, 124
- World Bank and, 105–6
- Vatican, gender equality and, 85
- Venezuela
  - China and, 126, 127, 133, 135
  - Colombia and, 140, 142–3
  - debt owed to China, 59, 130, 132
  - energy-backed loans from China, 54, 131
  - shifting of ties in, 130
- Vikings, 155
- Vučić, Aleksandar, 4
- Ward, Steven, 29, 31, 41
- Warde, Alan, 21
- Washington Consensus, 46
- Webb, Michael C., 32
- Wohlforth, William C., 36
- Wolfe, Wojtek, 34, 187
- World Bank
  - generally, 54, 56, 126
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 47, 90, 92–3, 100
  - BRICS countries and, 46
  - Central Asia generally and, 105–6, 113
  - Ease of Doing Business Index (*See* Ease of Doing Business Index (EDBI))
  - Egypt and, 18
  - Georgia and, 80–1
  - global performance indices and, 73
  - Latin America generally and, 131–2
  - World Congress of Families, 121
  - World Economic Forum, 80
  - World Health Organization (WHO), ix, 4–5
  - World Trade Organization (WTO), 45, 114
  - World War I, 30, 151
  - World War II, 30, 151
- Xi Jinping
  - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and, 90
  - Belt and Road Initiative and, 89, 115
  - goods substitution and, 4
  - Latin America generally and, 125
  - Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and, 132–3
- Yanukovych, Viktor, 2–3, 122–3
- Zhang, Xiaojun, 21