
Index

- AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association of Europe 183
- Afghanistan:
International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) 17, 45, 335
Kabul International Airport 335, 337, 338, 338–40
military operations in 21, 133, 295
NATO and 17, 45, 335, 341
UN and 335
- Africa:
Baltic states and 384, 387
Great Lakes region 248
West 248
- Ahlin, Urban 212
- Aho, Esko 102
- Ahtisaari, Martti 230
- Åland:
demilitarization 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354
ESDP and 350–51
EU and 351
Europe and 353
European integration 354
Finland and 349, 351–55
history of 349–50
NATO and 353
neutrality 349, 351, 352, 353, 354
Non-Fortification and Neutralization Convention (1921) 349, 352, 353, 354
Russia and 350, 351, 352
- Albania 242, 248
- alliances 365–66
- Althea, EUFOR 133, 138–39, 147, 148, 163
- Alvis 177
- Alvis Häggblunds 172
- Amnesty International 250
- Annan, Kofi 205
- Anti-Personnel Mines Convention (1977) 311, 319
- Arias Foundation 249–50
- armaments industries, Europe:
commercialization and 185, 186
consolidation 124–25, 185–92
defence establishments, relationship with 123
governments and 124, 186–87
internationalization 192
joint procurement 124
joint ventures 169
problems with 124–25
see also following entry and under Nordic countries
- armaments market 124, 125, 169–70, 175, 179, 180, 187, 188
- arms brokering 247, 250
- arms embargoes 243
- arms export control regimes 18, 241–42:
end-user certificates 244–45
- arms exports 17, 167, 169, 175 *see also under names of countries*
- Artemis, Operation 20–21, 71–72, 133, 137, 138, 273
- Ásgrímsson, Halldór 207, 332, 340, 343, 347
- Asmus, Ronald D. 390
- Austria 61–62, 69
- BAE Systems 177
- Balkans 44–45, 73, 312 *see also* Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia; Serbia; Yugoslavia, former
- Baltic Assembly 357
- Baltic Defence College 358
- Baltic Sea:
countries around 356
USSR and 234
- Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference 357
- Baltic Sea region:
cooperation, history of 356–58
Denmark's position 43–44
Germany and 362
NATO and 360
Poland and 362
security and 356
threats to 356
see also following entry
- Baltic states:
Africa and 384, 387

- Atlanticism 364
 banking 357
 cooperation between 389
 Denmark and 357, 383
 differences between 358–62, 368, 379
 EDA and 380–81
 ESDP and 362, 363, 364, 379–85, 387, 389, 391
 EU and:
 battle groups 365, 381–84
 decision making 382
 joining 367, 368, 388
 Russia and 371
 Finland and 357, 362, 363, 383
 Germany and 362, 389–90
 globalization, view of 372
 grand target for 387
 immigration 360–61
 investments 360, 361–62, 369
 major powers and 390
 national sovereignty 387
 NATO and 7, 236, 356, 359, 360, 362, 364, 368, 377, 378, 380, 389
 Nordic countries and 7, 357, 364–65, 383, 386, 388–89
 Norway and 383
 peace operations and 357
 Poland and 389
 postmodernism and 367
 Russia and 7, 359–62, 364, 368, 369–70, 371–72, 373–77, 385–91:
 occupation by 359, 362
 security:
 definitions 366–67
 EU and 367
 hard 365, 366, 373–77, 387
 policy formulation 365
 soft 365, 366, 387
 Western states and 376, 388
 as small states 365
 Sweden and 357, 362, 383
 terrorism and 368
 threats to 367–73
 USA and 359–60, 363, 364, 368, 373, 376–77, 377–79, 387–88, 390, 391
 Western Europe and 388
 Barents Euro-Arctic Council 5fn., 306
 Beck, Ulrich 270
 Belarus 368, 377, 391
 Belgium 339
 Berlin Wall, fall of 43, 67, 69, 156
 Bernadotte, Folke 229
 Bigo, Didier 269
 Bildt, Carl 229
 Biting the Bullet 250
 Bjarnason, Björn 346–47
 Bjurner, Anders 90
 Blair, Tony 97
 Bofors Defence 177
 Bondevik, Kjell Magne 232, 323, 324, 326
 Bosnia and Herzegovina:
 Baltic states and 357
 Denmark and 44–45
 EU and 91, 133, 138–39, 147, 148, 163, 207, 211, 219, 267, 334
 Iceland and 334
 military personnel, limitations of 218
 Nordic countries and 91, 163
 SFOR and 9, 133, 219
 UN and 231
 Bourdieu, Pierre 270
 Brauch, Hans Günter 269
 Brundtland, Gro Harlem 325
 Bush, President George W. 79, 97, 342:
 NATO and 17
 Cambodia 242, 248
 Caucasus 225, 377, 384, 387, 391
 CFE Treaty (Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 1990) 235–36:
 adaptation 236
 CFE-1A Agreement (1992) 235–36
 CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy):
 extension of 91
 funding for 214
 High Representative for 201, 224
 ‘internationalistic’ activities 204
 morality and 204
 policy-making process 208
 reform of 92
 small arms and light weapons 243–44
 terrorism and 279
 chemical weapons 261–62
 Chernobyl power plant 264, 265
 China, arms embargo on 244
 CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) 377, 384, 386, 387, 390
 Civilian Headline Goal 210–11
 cold war:
 defence systems transformations 121, 125
 end 43
 legacy management 121
 US presence in Europe and 68
 conflict *see* wars

- Congo, Democratic Republic of the (DRC),
 peacekeeping in 20–21, 71–72, 93, 119, 133,
 139, 211–12, 229, 273
- container shipping, security and 280
- Control Arms campaign 250
- Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) 5fn.,
 44, 357
- crime:
 cross-border 156
 organized 122, 267
- Crisis Management Initiative 230
- Croatia 44–45, 231
- CSCE (Conference on Security and
 Co-operation in Europe) 200, 234
- CTBT (Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban
 Treaty, 1996) 260, 261
- Cyprus 225–26
- Czech Republic 176
- Damgaard, Erik 106
- Dassault Aviation 183
- Davies, Norman 365–66
- defence equipment, cost 123
- defence industries *see* armaments industries
- de Gaulle, President Charles 324
- Delors, Jacques 325
- Denmark:
 ‘1864 syndrome’ 40–41
 Afghanistan and 45
 aid from 249
 Amsterdam Treaty and 105
 armaments industries 171, 174
 armed forces, reform 37, 46, 98, 306, 308,
 317
 arms exports 168, 175, 190
 arms imports 168, 170, 173–74, 175, 191
 Atlantic dimension 47–48
 Atlanticism 56, 64, 68, 81, 97, 108
 Balkans and 44–45
 Baltic states and 44, 158, 357
 basic facts about 6:
 military 10
 Bosnia and Herzegovina and 44–45
 CFE Treaty and 235
 CFSP and 95, 214
 civil defence 41
 Civilian Headline Goal 210
 Common Market and 100
 conscription 46, 317, 322
 Conservative People’s Party 100
 crisis management, civilian 311–12
 Croatia and 44–45
- Danish Institute of International Studies
 (DIIS) 43
- Danish People’s Party 103, 105
- Defence Commission 45–46, 307–308
- Defence Ministry 318
- EC, joining 38, 95
- EDA and 65
- Emergency Management Administration
 318
- ESDP and:
 collective defence and 108
 compound fusion 97–98
 criticism of 52
 domestic factors and 81, 95–97, 100, 101,
 103–105, 107, 307–308
 integration 72–73, 95
 military crisis management 209–10
 opt-out 11, 24, 37, 38–39, 43, 46–47, 49,
 56–57, 64–65, 69, 72, 75, 79, 96, 97, 98,
 106, 107, 109, 203, 205, 212, 306–307,
 308, 309, 312
 performance case for 96
 political parties 82, 83
 public understanding of 214
 scepticism about 65
 security guarantees 61
 support for 64–65
- EU and:
 Constitutional Treaty and 97
 domestic politics and 106, 306
 foreign policy 208
 joining 99
 Justice and Home Affairs 95
 Middle East and 211
 peace-building 202, 203, 211, 212, 213
 referendums on 105, 106, 108
- EU–NATO and 51–52, 56
- euro 39
- European integration and 52
- Faroe Islands 47–48
- ‘footnote years’ 38, 42–45
- foreign forces barred 4, 234
- FYROM and 45
- G8 Global Partnership and 264
- Germany and 44, 96:
 occupation by 52
- Holstein 40
- home guard 41
- IEPG and 182
- International Brigade 46
- Iraq and 154, 336
- JSF project 179

- Kosovo and 45
 Left Socialist Party 105
 Maastricht Treaty and 11, 37, 38, 43, 95, 96, 105
 military expenditure 41, 107, 108
 military offsets 173–74
 NATO and 3, 4, 39, 42, 51, 53, 56, 74, 81, 108, 255, 265
 Navy 46, 47
 neutrality 255
 NPT and 261, 263–64
 nuclear energy 256
 nuclear equipment banned 234
 nuclear weapons and 4, 81, 253, 257–58, 258–59, 265
 peacekeeping 44, 98
 Poland and 44
 police 277
 political elite 97
 political parties 96, 103
 Progress Party 105
 Prussian war (1864) 40, 49
 public opinion 37, 52, 65, 96, 97, 100, 103–106, 107
 Red–Green Alliance 103, 105
 Russia and 44
 Schleswig 40
 security:
 civil–military separation 311
 homeland 293, 294
 internal 314, 318
 policy 40–47, 52, 52, 57
 as producer of 43–47
 strengthening of 43
 territorial defence 318
 as small country 44, 96, 180
 Social Democratic Party 38, 42, 43, 44, 100, 105
 Social-Liberal Party 42, 43, 45, 100, 105, 107
 Socialist People’s Party 39, 100, 105
 Stand-by High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG) 45, 137
 surveys on defence 316
 Sweden and 48–49
 UN and 205, 264, 391
 USA and 48, 97, 169, 206–207, 258–59, 264
 USSR and 40–41, 42
 Venstre party 100
 voter participation 103

 WEU and 38, 68
 WMD and 264
 World War II and 40
 Deutsch, Karl 286
 Devold, Kristin Krohn 312, 327
 Dwan, Renata 218, 267

 EADS 172, 183, 186
 ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) 248
 ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons (1998) 240, 247, 248
 EDA (European Defence Agency):
 arms production, consolidation of 188
 Baltic states and 380–81
 establishment of 56, 129, 134–35, 181
 functions 129–30, 182
 role 129, 181–82, 186–87
 tasks 129
 WEAG and 182
 Egeland, Jan 232
 Eliasson, Jan 229
 Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe 43, 44
 Eritrea 45
 ESDP (European Security and Defence Policy):
 Action Plan for Civilian Aspects (2004) 218, 220
 Africa and 384
 aims of 1
 alternative frameworks 150–66
 ambiguity 288
 battle groups 65, 73, 93, 119, 135–37, 138, 139, 146, 205, 305, 312, 382
 beginnings of 11–12
 Berlin Plus arrangements 29, 55, 127, 128, 133, 207
 capability targets 119, 120, 125, 126–30, 139, 141–49
 crisis management 85, 86, 87, 88, 90–91, 93, 217–20:
 civilian element 209–10, 217–20, 233
 military element 209–10
 see also under EU (European Union)
 EU constitution and 56, 59–65
 as EU policy 16
 flexible cooperation 60, 61
 frameworks for defence cooperation 150–66
 fusion perspective and 83–88
 immigration and 361
 key member states controlling 120

- launch of 1
- mediation 233
- NATO and 1
- non-military aspects 12
- operational demands 119, 120, 121, 134, 139, 141–49
- operational realities and 132–34
- policy-making process 208
- political integration and 78–81
- rapid-reaction forces and 224
- role of 270
- security guarantees and 60, 107, 346
- small arms and light weapons control 237–38
- territorial defence and 270, 346
- third way 91–92, 94, 96–97
- threats prioritized 122
- USA and 159, 341
- world events and 73–75
- see also under names of countries*
- Estonia:
 - economy 361, 369
 - EDA and 380–81
 - ESDP and 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384
 - EU battle group and 383
 - Finland and 357, 383
 - National Security Concept (2004) 368, 378
 - NATO and 362, 377, 382, 383, 385
 - as Nordic country 379, 383
 - OSCE mission 371
 - Russia and 359, 373, 375
 - Russian-speaking minority 359, 371–72, 372
 - security 365, 367, 377–78, 385
 - threats 369, 372
 - USA and 364, 377–78, 388
 - see also* Baltic states
- Ethiopia 45
- EU (European Union):
 - Ad Hoc Working Party on a European Armaments Policy (POLARM) 242–43, 245
 - Amsterdam Treaty (1997) 11–12, 105, 121, 131, 209, 307, 380
 - anti-terrorism coordinator 293
 - anti-Western feeling and 295
 - armed forces, retirement costs 123
 - arms brokering and 247
 - arms production:
 - cooperation 181, 187
 - integration of 23
 - borders 270, 274, 280
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina 91, 133, 138–39, 147, 148, 163, 211, 219, 267, 334
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina, Comprehensive Policy towards (2004) 133, 138
 - Capability Commitments Conference 126, 127, 136
 - changes in since 1990s 29, 67
 - citizenship 11
 - civil protection 281
 - Civil–Military Planning Cell 138, 139
 - Civilian Capabilities Commitment Conference 218
 - Civilian Crisis Management Committee 210
 - Code of Conduct on Arms Exports (1998) 241, 242, 243–44, 247
 - Commission 22, 130, 184, 201, 218, 279, 280:
 - Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Unit 221
 - Commissioner for External Relations 201
 - Common Fisheries Policy 329
 - ‘common spaces’ 386
 - Common Strategy on Russia 386
 - conflict prevention 201, 210, 219–20, 304
 - Congo (DRC) and 21, 93, 133, 139, 211–12
 - Constitutional Treaty (2004):
 - disarmament and 237
 - ESDP and 59–65, 92, 121, 273
 - extracts from 393–403
 - making 55–56
 - military commitment and 23
 - peacekeeping and 273
 - security coordination and 304–305, 309
 - security guarantees and 56, 60
 - solidarity clause 56, 304
 - terrorism and 283
 - Convention on the Future of Europe (2002–2003) 56:
 - EU constitution and 60
 - defence policy eurozone 60
 - working group on defence 60
 - Copenhagen Criteria (1993) 165
 - Council 201, 224, 242, 283, 293
 - Council meetings:
 - Brussels (December 2003) 120
 - Brussels (June 2004) 134
 - Cologne (June 1999) 58
 - Edinburgh (December 1992) 11, 105
 - Feira (June 2000) 219
 - Helsinki (December 1999) 11, 58, 119, 332 *see also* Helsinki Headline Goal
 - Nice (December 2000) 126

- Counter-Terrorism Coordinator 309
- crisis management 57, 58, 64, 93, 94, 97, 131, 137–38, 214, 304:
 - boosting 206
 - capacity for created 201
 - civilian 139, 210–11, 215–16, 218–19, 220, 221
 - civilian–military balance 138–39
 - civilian–military cooperation 309–10
 - financing 214
 - importance growing 309
 - mediation 220–22
 - NATO and 279
 - post-conflict engagement 219
 - see also under ESDP
- defence budgets 1
 - as defence framework 16–20
- diplomacy and 201
- EMU 11, 53, 95
- enlargement 7–8, 74, 272, 303, 325, 346
- European arrest warrant 280
- European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) 119, 127–28
- European Security Strategy (ESS) 29, 74, 97, 120, 121, 122, 134, 137, 139, 145, 160, 219, 267, 279, 302, 304, 309
- foreign minister 309
- foreign policy 205
- foreign policy cooperation 200–201
- FYROM and 73, 98, 132–33, 139, 211, 219, 224
- Georgia and 219
- government institutions, security of 280–81
- Helsinki Force Catalogue 212
- homeland security 285, 288–96
- institutions, security of 280–81
- integration 22–25, 51, 291:
 - compound polity 87–88, 93
 - domestic factors 77–98
 - ESDP and 78–81
 - federalism 86–87
 - fusion perspective 78, 83–88, 91–92, 93–94
 - security and 303
 - supranationalism 86–87, 88, 95, 98
 - third way 86–87, 91, 92
- Intergovernmental Conference (2003–2004) 56, 61, 64
- Iraq and 60, 97
- Joint Action on Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons (1998) 241–42, 244, 246–47, 247–48
- Joint Situation Centre 214
- Justice and Home Affairs 278, 279–80
- Maastricht Treaty (1992) 11, 38, 43, 52, 105, 121, 253–54, 306, 307, 351
- mediation and 224–27, 233
- militarization of 12, 19, 107
- Military Committee 12, 57, 126, 128, 132
- military doctrines and 22
- Military Staff 12, 57, 126, 132, 134, 138, 145
- motto 3
- nation state and 84–85
- NATO and 13, 51–76, 92, 132, 133, 181, 279, 332–33, 341, 346
- new neighbourhood policy 272
- Nice Treaty (2000) 60
- Nordic battle group and 327
- Nordic countries and, security policies and 301–14
- nuclear weapons and 165, 254
- OSCE and 211
- Parliament 243, 291
- peace activities 158–59, 273, 303
- peace-building 200–202, 212:
 - adapting to 202–207
 - civilian 211
- ‘pillars’ 269, 272, 278, 279–80
- Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism (2004) 288
- planning 138, 139 *see also under* Petersberg Tasks
- police cooperation 269
- Political and Security Committee 126, 127, 332–33
- Presidencies:
 - Denmark 96
 - Finland 58, 59, 210
 - Italy 61
 - Netherlands 139
- Programme of Action (2001) 248
- Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts (2001) 210
- rapid-reaction force 64, 119, 139, 187, 381
- civilian 218, 219
- Rapid Reaction Mechanism 221
- Rome Treaty (1957) 184, 242
- Russia and 283, 322, 372, 385, 385–86
- Russian energy and 370
- Schengen arrangements 9, 306, 313, 325, 371

- security:
- competence 291–92
 - comprehensive 302, 303, 309, 310
 - coordination 304–305
 - costs 294
 - definition 269
 - elements of 302–305
 - Europe's responsibility 295
 - external 303, 309–12
 - external–internal interface 267–87
 - guarantees and 25, 56, 60, 61, 64
 - homeland 288–96
 - identity 271, 273
 - internal 304, 313–14
 - meaning of 303
 - societal 280, 288, 289, 292–95
 - strategy agreed 296
 - territorial dimension 283–84
 - trans-boundary 285–87
 - USA and 295
 - widening field of 271–73, 278
 - WMD 290
- security community 285–87
- security management, international 200–202
- Single European Act (1986) 105
- small arms and light weapons control 237–38, 241–44, 250
- small countries, bureaucracy burden on 380
- soft security capabilities 91
- 'solidarity' commitment 21, 23
- Special Envoy 226
- Special Representatives 224, 226
- Stability and Growth Pact 122
- strategic lift 135
- Strategy against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (2003) 211, 346
- territorial defence 201, 271
- terrorism and 19, 21, 23, 267, 268, 278–86, 291, 345:
 - solidarity clause on 268, 270, 277, 279, 281–82, 283–85, 286, 292
- terrorist attacks and 60
- threats to 270, 295
- 'troika' 201
- UN and 93, 214, 273:
 - crisis management cooperation 137–38, 205, 211
- USA and 159, 206–207, 281, 295, 376
- vulnerability commission 290, 293
- WEU and 11, 12, 331
- WMD and 254, 262, 266
- Working Group on Conventional Arms (COARM) 241, 242, 245
- see also* CFSP; ESDP; Petersberg Tasks
- EU–Russia Industrialists' Round Table 369, 371
- EURENCO 172, 177
- euro 39, 53, 71, 95, 103, 109
- Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) 7, 18, 69, 93
- EUROBALTIC Programme for Civil Protection 357
- 'Eurocorps' 42
- Eurofighter 124
- Eurojust 280, 292
- Europe:
 - collective interests 20
 - USA and 54, 68, 265, 295, 345, 380
 - see also* armaments industries
- European Airlift Centre 135
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 264
- European Community (EC) 38, 51, 67, 69, 95, 99–100, 101, 115, 116, 200, 285, 286
- European Community Monitoring Mission 200
- European Economic Area (EEA) 9, 301fn., 306
- European Free Trade Area (EFTA) 9
- European Gendarmerie Force 132
- European Monetary Union (EMU) 11, 53, 95
- European Political Cooperation 200, 253
- European Security Research Programme 125, 134
- Europol 280, 292
- F-15 aircraft 342, 343
- F-16 aircraft 45, 179, 346
- F-35 aircraft 178
- failed states 122, 216, 217
- Faroe Islands 47–48
- Finland:
 - aid from 249
 - Anti-Personnel Mines Convention and 311, 319
 - armaments industries 171–72, 183
 - armed forces reform 308
 - arms control and disarmament policy 236
 - arms exports 167, 168, 172–73, 175, 190
 - arms imports 168, 169, 175, 191, 192
 - basic facts about 6:
 - military 10

- battle group 154, 181
- Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners 102
- Centre Party 62, 103
- CFSP and 58
- Christian Democrat Party 102
- cold war position 52
- conscription 4, 317, 318, 319, 321, 322
- crisis management and 89–94, 215, 218, 219
- defence self-reliance 20
- Defence White Paper (2001) 58,
- Defence White Paper (2004) 74, 317, 319, 320, 375
- EC application 67, 69
- ESDP and 12, 16, 19, 24, 61–62, 65–66, 79, 212–13:
 - compound fusion 93–94
 - domestic factors 80–81, 81–83, 89–94, 108, 306
 - military crisis management 209–10
 - performance case 89–91
 - political parties 83
 - security guarantees 320
 - will to defend and 320–22
- ESS and 311
- EU and 49, 52, 69:
 - battle group 93, 154, 181, 311, 384
 - integration 306
 - joining 99–100, 306, 351
 - peace-building 202, 203, 211, 213
 - security policy 308–309
- EU constitution and 61
- EU defence policy and 57–59
- EU–NATO and 52–53, 59, 63
- euro adopted 71
- Euro-scepticism 16, 108
- European integration and 52
- European security institutions and 13–15
- G8 Global Partnership 264
- Green League 102
- independence 349
- Left Alliance 102
- mediation 228, 230
- military non-alignment 8, 52
- National Coalition party 62, 102
- NATO and 8, 13, 16, 17, 49, 52, 63, 69–70, 75, 89, 90, 94, 184, 255, 351, 352
- neutrality 3, 8, 52, 68, 70–71, 99, 107, 108, 228, 230, 255, 306, 307
- non-alignment 62, 70–71, 80–81, 89–94, 204–205, 228, 230, 255, 321
- Northern Dimension initiative (1997) 210
- NPT and 261, 263
- nuclear energy 256
- nuclear safety and 264
- nuclear weapons and 253, 257, 259–60, 265, 266
- peace enforcement and 71
- Petersberg Tasks and 157
- Partnership for Peace and 8
- police 275
- political parties 103
- public debate 62
- public opinion 63, 70, 75, 101–102, 103, 104, 106–107
- Rural Party 102
- Russia and 235, 319, 352, 357
- security:
 - comprehensive 311
 - internal 94, 313–14
 - policy 53, 275–76
 - will and 320–22
- Social Democratic Party 102
- ‘solidarity’ commitment 23
- surveys on defence 316
- territorial defence 71, 235, 311, 319, 321, 322
- terrorism and 275–76
- True Finns party 102
- UN and 91, 206, 248
- USSR and 4, 49, 52, 68, 71, 80, 169, 235:
 - Treaty of Friendship with 3, 68, 255
- voter participation 103
- WEAG and 182
- Western identity 306
- WEU and 8–9
- WMD and 264
- see also* Åland
- Framework Agreement on a Multilateral Nuclear Environmental Programme in the Russian Federation (2003) 263
- Framework Agreement on the restructuring of the European defence industry (2000) 176, 180, 182, 183, 192
- France:
 - Congo (DRC) and 71, 72
 - ESDP and 60, 120
 - Framework Agreement 176
 - Middle East and 226, 227
 - nuclear testing 259
 - nuclear weapons 25, 259
 - Petersberg Tasks and 131
 - St Malo process 120, 288
 - UK and 56

- Freivalds, Laila 203, 205, 206, 261
 FYROM *see* Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic of
- G8 (Group of Eight):
 Evian Summit 264
 Gleneagles Summit 261
 Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction 260, 261, 262, 263, 264
 Sea Island Summit 264
- Gade, Søren 37
 Gardberg, Anders 352–53
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich 44
 Georgia 219, 242, 249:
 EU and 219
- Germany:
 arms exports 175, 190–91
 Berlin Wall, fall of 43, 67, 69, 156
 Civilian Headline Goal 210
 Empire 40
 ESDP and 60
 EU battle group 384
 Framework Agreement 176
 Middle East and 226
 NATO and 41
 Russia and 359
 USA and 360
 USSR and 362
- globalization 217
 Goldman, Kjell 204
 Greece 333, 354
 Greek islands 354
 Green Cross 261–62
 Greene, Owen 240
 Greenland 47–48, 256, 259:
 Thule Air Base 47
 USA and 47
- Gripen aircraft 176, 179
 Guatemala 249
 Guinea-Bissau 248
- Haarde, Geir 347
 Häggblunds 177, 285
 Halvorsen, Kristen 244
 Hammar skjöld, 229
 Hammarström, Ulf 310
 Hannikainen, Lauri 350–51
 Hansen, Lene 95
 Heinebäck, Bo 229
 Helgesen, Vidar 232
- Hellenic Aircraft Industry 183
 Helsinki Commission 357
 Helsinki Final Act (1975) 121:
 negotiations 234
 Helsinki Headline Goal (1999) 22, 55, 119, 120, 130, 308, 333:
 defined 126
 ECAP and 128
 elaboration of 131, 132
 Headline Goal 2010 134–35:
 aims 134, 136
 battle groups 135, 381
 follow-on forces 136
 planning 136
 Sweden and 146, 147
- Heurlin, Bertel 45
 Hill, Fiona 370
 Holkeri, Harri 230–31
 Holst, Johan Jørgen 232
 human rights violations 217
 Hungary 176
- IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) 256
 IANSA (International Action Network on Small Arms) 249, 250
- Iceland:
 Afghanistan and 335, 337, 338–40
 armaments industry, lack of 330
 armed forces 328, 331, 337, 338
 Atlanticism 81, 332
 basic facts about 6:
 military 10
 Bosnia and Herzegovina and 335
 CFSP and 9, 328
 crime and 330
 EEA and 328, 329, 330, 346
 energy self-sufficiency 330
 ESDP and 13, 81, 331–34, 341, 346
 EU and 77, 207, 212, 301fn.
 EU and:
 attitudes to 347
 joining 328, 330, 348
 peace missions and 334, 335–36
 Europe and 328, 329:
 security institutions and 13–15
 fishing industry 329, 346
 foreign policy 329
 geography 330
 globalization 330
 Helsinki decisions and 333, 334

- Iceland Defense Force 328, 341, 343
 Icelandic Critical Response Unit (ICRU) 334–40
 immigration policy 330
 Independence Party 329, 342, 346, 348
 International Aid Agency 338
 Iraq and 336
 Kabul International Airport and 335, 337, 338–40
 Kosovo and 335, 336, 337
 Left-Green Movement 337
 national identity 329, 330
 NATO and 3, 13, 17, 81, 328, 332, 335, 336, 337, 344–45, 347
 opinion polls 330
 OSCE and 335
 peacekeeping force 334–40
 pollution 330
 Pristina Airport 335, 336, 337, 338
 Progressive Party 347, 348
 Schengen arrangements and 9, 328, 346
 security:
 guarantees 348
 seen in military terms 346, 348
 small arms and light weapons control 245–46, 250
 as small state 330
 Social Democratic Alliance 337–38, 347
 Sri Lanka and 335
 terrorism and 330
 UN and 335, 336
 USA and 16, 328–29, 336, 346, 347:
 air defence capacity 342
 Defense Agreement (1951) 328, 342, 344, 347, 348
 military base 328, 329, 336–37, 338, 341–42, 343, 344, 345, 348
 WEU and 331, 332–33
 Icelandic Church Aid 338
 Igalina International Decommissioning Support Fund 264
 Independent European Armaments Group (IEPG) 182, 331
 Indonesia 230
 Institute for Security Studies in South Africa 249
 Iraq:
 Coalition Provisional Authority 97
 ‘coalitions of the willing’ 159, 347, 368
 peace missions in 336
 USA and 67, 74, 97:
 Europe, tension over 345
 war in 21, 45, 74, 97, 133, 139, 154, 258, 267, 295, 338, 345
 Iraq–Iran War (1980–88) 229
 Ireland 230, 231, 245:
 ESDP and 61–62
 EU, joins 69
 non-alignment 69
 Irish Republican Army (IRA) 230
 Israel:
 EU and 224–25, 226, 227, 232
 Palestine and 225
 West Bank barrier 224
 Italy:
 Framework Agreement (2000) 176
 Petersberg Tasks and 132
 Jagland, Thorbjørn 207
 Jarring, Gunnar 229
 JAS-39 Gripen aircraft 176
 Jervis, Robert 270
 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) aircraft project 178, 179, 187
 Jørgensen, Knud Erik 209
 Juul, Mona 232
 Kaldor, Mary 216
 Kaliningrad 79, 389
 Karl XIV Johan, King 228
 Kekkonen, Urho 230
 Kenya 249
 Knutsen, Bjørn 161
 Kongsberg Defence & Aerospace 171
 Kosovo:
 EU and 218
 KFOR 9, 93, 335
 NATO and 335
 peace-building in 218, 230, 231
 Pristina Airport 335, 337
 UN Development Fund for Women 335
 Kuchma, President Leonid 224
 Laitinen, Kari 321
 Landmines, International Campaign to Ban 249
 Latvia:
 Baltic roots 379
 economy 361
 EDA and 381
 ESDP and 378, 379, 380, 382, 384
 EU and 379
 EU battle group 384
 Iraq, forces in 382

- National Security Concept 378
 NATO and 362, 378–79, 382, 385
 oil pipeline 370
 OSCE and 372
 Russia and 359, 373
 Russian-speaking minority 359, 371–72
 security 365, 367, 377, 378–79, 385
 Sweden and 357, 358
 threats 368–69, 372
 USA and 364, 378–79, 383, 388
 Ventspils 370
- Laursen, Finn 106
- League of Nations 349
- Liberia, UN Mission in 147
- Liechtenstein 9, 328
- Lindh, Anna 206, 211, 260
- Lipponen, Paavo 62
- Lithuania:
 EDA and 381
 ESDP and 379, 380, 381, 382, 384
 EU battle group 384
 National Security Strategy 367, 369
 NATO and 362, 385
 Netherlands and 384
 Poland and 384, 389
 Russia and 369, 373, 377, 389
 Russian-speaking minority 371
 security 377, 379, 385
 security policy 365
 Sweden and 357, 358
 threats 372
 USA and 364, 366, 388
- Lockheed Martin 178
- Løvold, Andreas 151
- Luhmann, Niklas 270
- Luxembourg 330, 337
- Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic of (FYROM), peacekeeping in 45, 73, 91, 98, 119, 128, 132–33, 139, 211, 219, 231
- Malmborg, Mikael af 54, 59, 68
- Manigart, Philippe 317
- Médecins Sans Frontières 340
- mediation 220–24, 228–33
- Middle East, EU Special Representative 224–25, 226–27
- military expenditure 122–23, 124, 125, 129:
 imbalance in 125
 quality of 125
 research and development and 125
see also under names of countries
- Milosevic, President Slobodan 230
- Moldova 226, 249
- Møller, Per Stig 202, 206–207
- Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (1939) 362
- Montenegro 225, 226
- Moratinos, Miguel Ángel 226–27
- Mouritzen, Hans 390
- Mozambique 242
- Myrdal, Alva 229
- Nagorno-Karabakh 229
- Namibia 230
- Nammo 171
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):
 Afghanistan and 17, 45, 335, 341
 Balkans and 44–45, 73, 312
 Baltic Approaches Command 41
 Bosnia and Herzegovina and 9, 159, 207
 changes in 17, 19, 67, 345
 collective defence guarantee 378
 Defence Capabilities Initiative 128
 demilitarization and 353
 double-track decision 258
 ESDP and 13, 382
 EU and 13, 51–76, 133, 181, 312, 332–33, 341
 Eurogroup 331
 FYROM and 73, 91, 132
 German entry 41
 Independent European Programme Group 181–82, 188, 331
 Iraq and 45, 336
 Kabul International Airport and 339
 Kosovo Force (KFOR) 9, 45
 NACC 7, 69
 non-aligned and NATO members 78, 79
 non-EU members 13
 Partnership for Peace (PFP) 7, 8, 18, 69, 142, 145
 peace missions 17
 Prague Capability Commitments process 128
 reinvention of 7
 Research and Technology Agency 182
 Response Force 382, 384
 Russia and 236
 Russian energy and 370
 small countries and 74, 76
 Strategic Concept 121
 terrorism and 74
 Turkey and 13
 undermining by ESDP 12, 39
 US policies and 74

- Washington Declaration (1999) 13
- Washington Summit (1999) 332
- Washington Treaty (1949) 48
- Netherlands 218, 247, 248, 250, 384
- New Agenda Coalition 260, 262, 264
- NH90 helicopter 169
- Nokkala, Arto 321
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs) 221, 233
- NORCAPS (Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support) 25, 73
- NORDAC (Nordic armaments cooperation) Agreement (2000) 169–71, 173, 177, 180, 182, 244
- Nordic Council 4–5, 159, 199, 244, 357
- Nordic countries:
 - Anti-Personnel Mines Convention and 319
 - armaments industries:
 - arms deliveries 167–69
 - cooperation 167–92
 - costs/competition 187–90
 - research and development cooperation 182
 - transactions between companies 171–73
 - armed forces, new internal role 278, 285
 - armed forces reform and 308
 - arms control and disarmament policy, paradoxes of 234–37
 - arms trade 168–69, 170, 173–78, 179–80, 184, 190, 191:
 - offsetting 170, 173–75
 - Baltic states and 7, 158, 357–58
 - battle group 146, 154, 314
 - CFSP and 204, 209, 305–307
 - cold war and 199, 265
 - conscription 22–23, 317–18
 - cooperation between 75
 - counter-terrorism activities 268
 - defence industrial base 169
 - defence policies:
 - alternatives 150–66
 - balance 152–53
 - converging 25, 26, 49, 51, 314
 - counter-power 153–55
 - international organizations and 154
 - political aspects 158–61
 - reality and theory 5, 7
 - separate 48–49, 141
 - defence union 41
 - defend, will to 315–17
 - differences between 3, 65, 68, 301–14
 - ESDP and 11–25, 59–76, 72–73, 78–81, 150, 209–10, 307–309:
 - alternatives 150–66
 - crisis management 85, 86, 87, 88, 93
 - domestic factors 77–109
 - effect on 150
 - political parties 82–83
 - EU and:
 - current attitudes to 102–107
 - federo-scepticism 79
 - fusion perspective and 83–88
 - future of 108
 - joining 99–102
 - Maastricht Treaty 307
 - nuclear weapons and 266
 - peace-building 199–214
 - peacekeeping 195
 - security policies and 11–25, 65, 158, 301–14
 - EU–NATO relationship and 51–76, 159–60
 - EUqualizer 161, 162, 164
 - euro and 109
 - Euro-sceptical parties 102–103
 - European institutional operations 20–21
 - foreign forces in 18
 - foreign policy 204, 205
 - funding aid 248–29
 - geography 156
 - historical sketches 3–11, 156–58, 349–50
 - internal challenges absent 5
 - internal problems, military force and 21
 - international organizations, funding 248–49
 - Lutheran tradition 51
 - maps 2
 - mediation 228–33
 - military expenditure 24
 - NATO and 17–18, 18, 158
 - nuclear disarmament and 234
 - nuclear weapon-free zone 235, 258
 - nuclear weapons and 252–66:
 - convergence of policies 265
 - peace missions and 20
 - peacekeeping 90–91, 199
 - Petersberg Tasks and 107
 - pillars 155–62
 - political elites 79, 108
 - political parties 82–83, 99–109
 - public opinion 20, 21, 65, 79, 99–109
 - resources 161–62
 - Russia and 24, 79, 156, 318
 - St Malo process and 56–59

- security:
- civil–military cooperation 313
 - ‘comprehensive’ 274, 301–302, 313
 - differences between 301–14
 - external–internal interface 267–87
 - institutional relationships 14–15, 17–19
 - territorial defence 313
- security community 390
- similarities 4
- small arms and light weapons, control of 238, 244–50
- as small countries 51, 65, 67, 72, 73, 75, 78, 152, 208
- surveys on defence 316–17
- territorial defence 318–19
- terrorism and 21, 94, 156, 273–78, 318
- threats to 318–19
- UN and 4, 21, 78, 107, 158, 199, 248, 249
- USA and 16, 17, 169, 177, 329:
 - terrorist attack and 273–75, 278–82
- USSR and 5, 16, 41
- weapons of mass destruction and 260
- Nordic Passport Union 9
- North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) 7, 69
- North–South relations 205
- Northern Dimension Environmental Partnership Support Fund 261
- Northern Ireland 230, 231
- Norway:
 - aid from 248
 - armaments industries 171
 - armed forces reform 308, 317
 - arms exports 168, 175
 - arms imports 167, 168, 175, 191, 192
 - Atlanticism 53, 68, 231
 - basic facts about 6:
 - military 10
 - battle group 181, 327
 - Centre Party 101, 326
 - CFE Treaty and 235
 - CFSP and 9, 207, 305–306, 325
 - Christian Democratic Party 101
 - conscription 4, 317, 322
 - EEA and 325, 326
 - ESDP and 13, 16, 53–54, 65, 66, 81, 161, 207, 306, 308, 325, 326–27:
 - domestic factors 81
 - ESS and 312
 - EU and 9, 49, 65, 77:
 - associated member 301
 - attitude to 324–25
 - domestic divisiveness 323, 327
 - joining 99, 323, 324, 326
 - peace-building 202, 212
 - policy making 207
 - referendums on 53, 72, 75, 324
 - security and 57, 308, 312, 323–27
 - support for 207
 - EU battle groups and 312, 323
 - EU–NATO and 53–54, 56, 57
 - Eurofighter Typhoon project 179
 - European security institutions and 13–15, 160–61
 - flank status 235
 - foreign forces banned 4, 234
 - foreign policy 231, 233
 - G8 Global Partnership 263
 - geography 53–54, 68, 231
 - IEPG and 182
 - JSF project and 179
 - Labour Party 323, 326
 - mediation 228, 231–33
 - NATO and 3, 4, 13, 17, 53, 74, 81, 207, 228, 231
 - Netherlands and 248
 - neutrality 231
 - NPT and 261
 - nuclear energy 256
 - nuclear weapons and 4, 234, 253, 257–58, 262–63, 265
 - opinion polls 17
 - peacekeeping 231–32
 - police 277–78
 - political parties 100–101
 - public opinion 66, 100, 102
 - Russia and 235, 262–63
 - St Malo process and 308
 - Schengen programme and 9
 - security:
 - convergences 301–14
 - internal 313, 318
 - territorial defence 318
 - security policy, civil–military separation 311
 - small arms and light weapons, control of 245–46, 247, 250
 - Socialist Left Party 100–101, 244, 326
 - surveys on defence 316
 - Svalbard and 353–54
 - terrorism and 277–78
 - UN and 17, 248, 327
 - USA and 248
 - Venstre party 101

- NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968) 259:
 Nuclear Weapon States' obligations 259,
 261, 262
 Review Conferences 260, 261, 262
 nuclear energy 255–56
 nuclear weapon-free zones 235, 258, 259
- Oddsson, Davið 342, 343, 347
 Olsen, Gorm Rye 37, 46
 Open Skies Treaty 236
 Operation Moufflon 249
 operations, military:
 Allied Force 132
 Allied Harmony 132
 Desert Storm 131
 operations, peace:
 Althea 133, 138–39, 147, 148, 211
 Artemis 20–21, 71–72, 133, 137, 139,
 211–12, 273
 Concordia 133, 211
 Organisation Conjointe de Coopération en
 matière d'Armement (OCCAR) 182
 Orion maritime patrol aircraft 343
 OSCE (Organization for Security and
 Co-operation in Europe):
 Baltic states and Russian-speaking
 minorities 371–72
 EU and 211
 FYROM and 73
 Nagorno-Karabakh 229
 Nordic countries and 248–49
 Oslo Meetings on Small Arms and Light
 Weapons 246–47
 Otte, Marc 224
 Oxfam 250
- Palestine 225, 226, 232
 Palme, Olof 228, 229
 Paris Treaty (1856) 349, 351
 Patria 171, 172
 Patria Hägglunds 172
 Pedersen, Thomas 95
 Persson, Göran 89, 92, 262, 276
 Petersberg Tasks:
 ambiguity of 131, 132, 135
 Amsterdam Treaty and 209, 307
 capability targets and 126
 limitations accepted 134
 planning and 131–38
 Swedish support for 109, 307
 updating 60
 upper limits 132
- Petersen, Jan 263
 Petersen, Nikolaj 46
 Pilegaard, Jess 37, 46
 Poland:
 Baltic states and 362, 379, 382, 384
 Denmark and 44
 Program for Coordination and Assistance on
 Security and Development (PCASED) 248
 Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) 260,
 261, 265
 Prussia 40, 49
 Putin, President Vladimir 373, 385–86
- Ramaphosa, Cyril 230
 RAND Corporation 387–88
 Rasmussen, Anders Fogh 39, 96–97
 Raufoss 171
 Red Cross 338, 340
 refugees 216, 217
 regional organizations 225
 Rehn, Elisabeth 231
 Rice, Condoleezza 342
 Rieker, P. 72, 90
 Riste, Olav 231
 Robertson, Lord 343
 Rød-Larsen, Terje 232
 Rome Treaty (1957) 184
 Rosas, Allan 350
 Rumsfeld, Donald 342
 Russia:
 armed forces 373–74, 375
 citizens abroad 376 *see also* Russian-
 speaking minorities *under* Estonia; Latvia;
 Lithuania
 democracy in 374, 385, 386, 390, 391
 economic reform 369
 economy 375
 energy policy politics 369, 370
 foreign policy 385
 imperial ambitions 374–76
 instability and 79
 investment in 369
 Kaliningrad 79, 389
 Kola Peninsula 262
 Leningrad military district 375, 376
 military expenditure 375
 NATO and 376
 nuclear safety, assistance with 262–63
 nuclear weapons 259, 376
 oil exports 370
 strengths of 375–76
 weakness 5fn., 156

- Western views of 373–74
for relations with other countries see under names of the other countries
- Rüütel, President Arnold 383
- Rynning, Sten 45
- Saab 171, 172, 177, 183
- SaferAfrica 249, 250
- Saferworld 250
- Sahlin, Michael 224
- St Malo summit meeting:
 declaration 120
 European defence context 122
 process 55, 56–59
- Schell, Jonathan 252
- Serbia 225, 226 *see also* Kosovo
- SFOR (Stabilisation Force) 9, 133, 219
- Sierra Leone 248
- Sloan, Stan 378
- small arms and light weapons (SALW):
 black market 239
 cheapness 238–39
 control of 237–51
 definitions 238–39
 international context 239–40
 measures to control 240, 243
 non-state groups and 242
 state supply and 240
see also Oslo Meetings on Small Arms and Light Weapons
- Small Arms Survey 249
- SME 172
- Solana, Javier 12, 217, 224, 279
- Solheim, Erik 232
- South Africa, small arms destroyed 249
- South America 248
- Spain:
 Framework Agreement 176
 Madrid bombings 267, 283, 292, 293, 295, 345
- Sri Lanka 232–33, 335
- Standard Nordic Helicopter Programme 170
- START II Treaty (1993) 261
- Stoltenberg, Jens 323, 327
- Sundelius, Bengt 94, 284
- Sundh, Lena 229
- Svalbard 353–54
- Sweden:
 aid from 248, 249
 aircraft industry 176
 Åland and 351
 armaments industry 142, 168–69, 170–71, 172, 174, 176, 180, 191–92:
 foreign ownership 177, 178, 191
 Framework Agreement 176, 180
 research and development 180
 transformation process 183
- armed forces:
 future of 146
 international crisis management and 148–49
 officers 148–49
 police and 145, 276–77
 reform 54, 93–94, 141, 143, 144, 308, 317, 319
 resource use inefficiency 143–44
 size 142
 turbulence in 149
- Armed Forces International Centre 310
- arms control and disarmament policy 236
- arms exports 17, 167, 169, 175, 190, 192
- arms imports 167, 168, 175, 180, 191
- arms procurement 146, 147
- Association of Swedish Defence Industries 174
- Baltic states and 158
- basic facts about 6:
 military 10
- battle group 154, 181, 212
- bio-safety/bio-security and 262
- Bosnia and Herzegovina and 144
- Centre Party 101, 103, 108
- CFSP and 208, 214
- chemical weapons 261–62
- Christian Democrat Party 101, 108
- civil–military coordination 145
- Civilian Headline Goal and 210
- cold war and 142, 228, 254
- conflict prevention and 210
- conscription 4, 147, 317, 322
- crisis management and 89–94, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147–48, 210, 215, 218, 219
- Defence Commission 143
- Defence Ministry 319
- defence union proposed by 170
- Defence White Paper (2004) 63–64, 74–75, 143, 149
- Denmark and 48–49
- EC application 67, 69
- EDA and 72, 184
- elections 142
- Emergency Management Agency 318–19

- ESDP and 12, 16, 19, 24, 54–55, 59, 61–62, 63–64, 79, 307, 363:
 capability targets 141–49
 compound fusion 93–94
 crisis management, civilian 210
 crisis management, military 209–10
 domestic factors 80–81, 89–94, 107, 108–109
 operational demands 141–49
 performance case 89–91
 political parties 82–83
 public understanding of 214
 security guarantees 320
 supporter of 142, 149
- ESS and 310
- EU and:
 Congo (DRC), Military Operation in 20–21
 Constitutional Treaty 6, 63, 142, 143, 144
 defence policies and 59
 disarmament 262
 ESS and 144
 joining 52, 54, 69, 99–100, 101
 military missions 146
 military solidarity with 144, 145
 peace-building 202, 203, 211, 212, 213
 security policy 305, 308, 310
- EU battle group and 25, 93, 146, 147, 148
- EU–NATO and 53–54
- euro and 103, 141
- Euro-scepticism 16, 55, 141–42
- European security institutions and 13–15, 19
- Folke Bernadotte Academy 310
- foreign policy 206, 228–29
- G8 Global Partnership and 261
- Germany and 191
- Green Party 101, 103, 107, 142, 149, 184
- international defence industrial cooperation 176–77
- Left Party 101, 103, 107, 142, 149, 184
- Liberal Party 100
- mediation 228–29
- military cooperation, international 145
- military expenditure 143–44, 147–48, 183–84
- military non-alignment 8
- military offsets 174
- Moderate Party 100
- NATO and 4, 8, 13, 16, 17, 49, 69–70, 75, 90, 94, 108, 142, 254, 352, 362
- neutrality 3, 8, 54, 69, 70–71, 74–75, 99, 107, 108, 144–45, 149, 228, 254–55, 305, 307
- non-alignment 8, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70–71, 75, 80–81, 82, 89–94, 107, 142, 149, 169, 184, 204–205, 228, 229
- NPT and 261
- nuclear energy 256
- nuclear weapons and 253, 254, 256–57, 259, 260, 265, 266
- ‘peace dividend’ 143
- peace enforcement 71, 72
- peacekeeping 142
- Petersberg Tasks and 132, 142, 157
- Partnership for Peace and 8
- police 276–77
- political parties 101, 103
- public opinion 69, 70, 75, 101, 103, 104, 106–107, 141–42
- Russia and 357, 359
- Scandinavian defence union proposed 68
- security:
 civil–military cooperation 310
 guarantees 145
 internal 313–14, 318
 territorial defence 71, 146, 235, 318
- security policy:
 background 142–43
 comprehensive 310
 new 141, 144–46
- small arms and light weapons, control of 250
- Social Democratic Party 82, 101, 149, 184
- ‘solidarity’ commitment 23
- surveys on defence 316
- territorial defence 71, 146, 235, 318
- terrorism and 94, 145, 149, 276–77
- UK and 191, 248
- UN and 4, 91, 142, 205
- USA and 54, 184, 191, 206, 360
- USSR and 362
- voter participation 103
- WEAG and 182
- weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and 145, 260–62
- WEU and 8–9
- White Paper on defence (2004) 143, 149
- Syrén, Håkan 149

- Talvitie, Heikki 225
 Tamil Tigers 232
 Terma Industries 168
 terrorism:
 Baltic states and 368
 CFSP 279
 EU and 19, 21, 23, 267, 268, 278–86, 291, 345
 Finland and 275–76
 Iceland and 330
 NATO 74
 Nordic countries 21, 94, 156, 273–78, 318
 Norway 277–78
 small arms and light weapons and 241
 Sweden 94, 145, 149, 276–77
 WMD and 295
 war on 79
 Thales 183
 track-two diplomacy 221, 222–24, 233
 Trägårdh, Lars 80
 Trans-Dniester 226
 Tuomioja, Erkki 202–203
 Turkey 331, 332, 334, 354:
 NATO and 13
 Turkmenistan 370
- Ukraine 368, 370, 377, 389, 391:
 Chernobyl 264, 265
 crisis in 224
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR):
 Chernobyl 264, 265
 collapse of 5fn., 7, 79, 156, 230
 Finland, Treaty of Friendship with (1948) 3, 68, 255
 Kola Peninsula 234, 258
 Leningrad Military District 234
 nuclear weapons 258
 United Defense 177
 United Kingdom:
 defence doctrine 163–64
 Defence Ministry 163
 ESDP and 12, 56, 64, 66, 120
 Finland and 12
 Framework Agreement 176
 France and 56
 IRA and 231
 JSF project 179
 London bombings 295
 nuclear weapons 25, 257, 259
 Petersberg Tasks and 131–32
 St Malo process 120, 288
 Sweden and 12, 248
- United Nations:
 Bosnia and Herzegovina and 231
 Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects 240, 243
 Congo (DRC) and 133
 Department of Peacekeeping Operations 138
 Development Programme 248:
 Trust Fund for the Reduction of Small Arms Proliferation 248
 EU and, crisis management cooperation with 137–38
 FYROM and 73
 mediation and 225
 peacekeeping 91
 Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons 237–38, 239
 Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition (2001) 239–40
 Security Council:
 Counter-Terrorism Committee 264
 reform 214
 Resolution 1371 133
 Resolution 1484 133
 Resolution 1540 260, 264, 291–92
 small arms and light weapons control 245
 WMD and 262, 292
 United States of America (USA):
 air marshals 294
 arms exports 175, 187
 ballistic missile defence 47, 261
 ‘coalitions of the willing’ 159, 347
 foreign policy assertiveness 79, 94
 homeland security 295
 military expenditure 124, 125
 National Security Strategy (2002) 286, 309
 nuclear weapons 257–58, 259
 Russian foreign policy and 370
 Strategic Defense Initiative (Stars Wars) 258–59
 terrorist attack on, 2001 67, 74, 121, 267, 273–78
 unmanned air vehicles (UAVs) 183
 USEUCOM (US European Command) 345
for relations with other countries see under names of the countries

- Vienna Documents 236
- Viking submarine 169, 170, 180
- Vollebæk, Knut 231
- Wæver, Ole 202
- wars:
- Clausewitzian model 216
 - interstate 215
 - intra-state 215
 - new 216–17
 - peace, distinction from 216
 - post-Clausewitzian 216–18, 227, 233
- Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO):
- collapse of 7, 79:
 - small arms and light weapons disposal 240
- Washington Declaration (1999) 13
- Washington Treaty (1949) 48
- weapons of mass destruction 260 *see also*
- nuclear weapons
- Wessells, Wolfgang 83, 84
- Western European Armaments Group (WEAG) 182, 331
- Western European Union (WEU):
- Central European countries and 8
 - Civilian Headline Goal 210–11
 - Common Security Concept 121
 - EU and 11, 55, 56, 57
 - ‘revival’ 331
 - IEPG and 182, 331
 - NATO and 56
 - Nordic countries and 8–9
 - Petersberg Tasks and 132, 380
- Wickremasinghe, Ranil 232
- World Bank 248, 249
- World War II 40, 47, 48, 254, 362
- Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of 231
- Yugoslavia, former:
- crises in 43, 67, 73, 132, 295
 - EU and 200, 312§