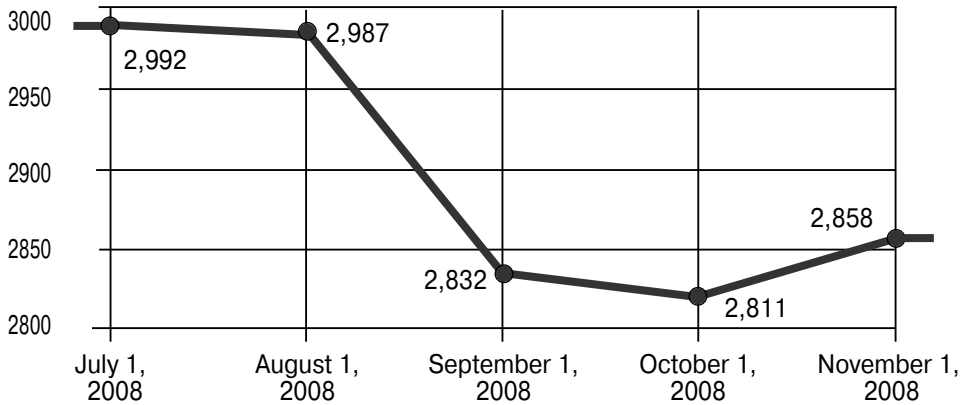


Figure 1. The *iSi* International Security Index (July–November 2008)



- ➔ **Albert Zulkharneev. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INDEX – THE YEAR OF DECLINE.**
- ➔ **Yury Fedorov. A VIEW BY A RUSSIAN LIBERAL: “BLACK AUGUST, OR THE RETURN OF HISTORY.”**
- ➔ **Dmitry Evstafiev. A VIEW BY A RUSSIAN CONSERVATIVE: “WAITING FOR THE DAWN OF MULTIPOLAR WORLD.”**
- ➔ **Konstantin Eggert, Dayan Jayatilleka, Zhiye Ji, Andrey Kortunov, William Potter, Abdulaziz Sager, and Yevgeny Satanovsky. COMMENTS BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERT GROUP**





THE *iSi* INDEX IN JULY–NOVEMBER 2008: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INDEX (*ISI*) – THE YEAR OF DECLINE

Our readers, who follow the dynamics of the International Security Index (*iSi*) since its first publication in 2006, know that each indicator is a sum of two elements.

The first one is a basic value of the index – once a year it fixes the changes in the character of key global security challenges (military, political, terrorist, economic, man-made, technological, and natural). In the ideal world, where there is no threat for life, health and welfare of a human being, such basic value is equal to 4, 210 points. In 2007 our assessment showed that this indicator was 3,209 points, i.e. the world was from its ideal model. In September 2008 the new basic value was calculated – 3,195.¹ When we calculate the monthly index in 2008–2009 we will add the second element (reflecting the current monthly developments) to this basic indicator.

The decrease in the basic value of *iSi* is accounted for by a number of factors. First of all, it is domestic political instability in Pakistan, a *de facto* nuclear weapon state. The country also faces negative trends at the border with Afghanistan, where Islamists groupings are based and continue to fight against the U.S. military. The safety and security, as well as control of the Pakistani nuclear arsenal can be called into question, there are more reasons to apprehend potential confrontation with India – another unrecognized nuclear weapon state. The second factor is the growing threat of sharp tensions among great powers. Developments in Kosovo, Tibet, Myanmar, South Caucasus, deployment of the U.S. missile defense elements in Eastern Europe without negotiations on strategic arms limitation and reduction, increasing rivalry in other regions – all these are only a few events demonstrating grave differences among the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and other leading actors. The third factor is risk for nuclear nonproliferation regime and the danger of enforcement action against Iran and North Korea. The fourth factor is the peril of world financial crisis and its negative impact on manufacture, including deterioration in the area of food and energy production.


In June–October 2008 the situation aggravated and the index went down – from 2,992 on July 1 to 2,811 on October 1. This is the lowest mark since July 2006. On November 1 the index was 2,858.

- **South Caucasus – Russia – West.** One of the principal reasons for the *iSi* decline is the escalation of the conflict in the South Caucasus, the culminating point of which was the military clash between Russia and Georgia on August 8–12, 2008. The political outcome of this crisis is the recognition of independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia (August 26) and the crisis in relations with the West. The force solution of the local conflicts could not have a significant effect on global security, if it was not for a number of circumstances. Firstly, the large-scale hostilities with numerous casualties after 16 years of truce indicated the failure of Georgia, Russia, the United States and other players to resolve the frozen conflict with peaceful means and modern diplomacy. Hence, the capacity of those countries to bear responsibility for the rest of the world, for global and regional security is dubious. Secondly, it was the first armed clash between Russia and a former Soviet republic – this made nervous other countries of the CIS, above all those involved in conflicts, led to substantial aggravation of Russia-Ukraine relations, might exacerbate the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and the situation in Crimea. Thirdly, the crisis in relations between Russia and consolidated West has a destabilizing effect on global security and threatens joint efforts in key areas of international cooperation – strengthening of strategic stability and nonproliferation regime, war on terror, search of common solutions to global economic challenges.

Developments in the South Caucasus boosted the signature of the agreement on missile defense deployment in Poland (adopted on August 20), resulted in the suspension of the Russia-EU negotiations on partnership with Russia, led to George Bush's decision to call back the 123 Agreement with Russia from the Congress, etc.

However, peacemaking efforts of the EU under the French presidency assisted in signing the six principles of conflict resolution on August 12 and elaboration of additional measures on

September 8. Besides, Russia's ability to keep the situation in the Caucasus under control, overall willingness of Russia and the West to avoid further tensions helped to prevent the spillover of the conflict and keep the window of opportunities open for overcoming the crisis.

- ❑ **North Korea.** In summer 2008 the world witnessed some progress in the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue. On June 26 the D.P.R.K representatives submitted to China (as a chairman of the *Six*) the list of nuclear programs and materials. In response the United States promised to lift the economic sanctions and exclude North Korea from the list of countries sponsoring terrorism. Nonetheless, on August 26 Pyongyang suspended the decommissioning of nuclear facilities referring to the non-compliance with commitments on the part of the United States.
- ❑ **Iran.** The dialogue with Iran concerning its nuclear program goes on without any significant success. On June 14 EU foreign policy spokesman Javier **Solana** submitted to the Iranian leaders an incentives package – the proposals of the *six*, which might be implemented in exchange for abandoning the uranium enrichment. Iran rejected those demands and did not give any specific answer. The EU declared new sanctions. In September IAEA Director General Mohamed **ElBaradei** reported the increase in the number of centrifuges and the lack of progress in the areas of major concern.
- ❑ **Pakistan.** The resignation of Pakistani President Pervez **Musharraf** on August 18 and the collapse of the ruling coalition in the parliament marked the new stage of power struggle in this *de facto* nuclear weapon state. On September 6 Co-Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party Asif Ali **Zardari** was elected President. Domestic political strife continues as the situation at the border with Afghanistan is deteriorating and terrorist activities intensify.
- ❑ **Middle East.** On June 19 the truce came into force in the Gaza Sector. It was signed by Israel and *Hamas* with the mediation of Egypt and was repeatedly breached afterwards. Turkey keeps trying to commence the dialogue between Israel and Syria. On July 11 after forty days of negotiations the government of national unity was formed in Lebanon, and on July 27 President of the Palestinian Authority Mahmoud **Abbas** declared the resumption of the intra-Palestinian dialogue. The new platform for the Middle East peace process and for solving the contradictions between the North and the South could be the *Union for the Mediterranean* set up at the July summit in Paris by countries of the Mediterranean region and the EU.
- ❑ **Africa.** All summer the world witnessed political confrontation in Zimbabwe between the opposition (headed by Morgan **Tsvangirai**) and reelected President Robert **Mugabe**. Political struggle occurred at the background of severe economic crisis and unprecedented inflation. The outcome of the elections is not recognized by Western states. However, in September the parties managed to agree on the establishment of the coalition government. Armed clashes between the separatists and the central government in the Democratic Republic of Congo resumed. The situation in Nigeria deteriorated. Inter-tribe tensions remain in Kenya. The pirates are active in Somalia – on September 20 they seized a Ukrainian ship with 33 *T-72* tanks and other material on board.
- ❑ **U.S. elections.** The election campaign in the United States also affects the international security. Economic and political difficulties led to the use of tough foreign policy rhetoric by the Republican candidate and its opposite number. Uncertainty about the change of the administration has a global dimension – everyone expects something new in the foreign policymaking.
- ❑ **World financial crisis.** The crisis reached the new stage in September-October. After the collapse of *Lehman Brothers Holdings Inc* on September 15 the world markets went down. The governments of the EU, Japan, China, Russia and other countries had to undertake extraordinary measures to support their financial systems and to mitigate the impact of the crisis on production. 



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