
Index

- Abkhaz, 244*n*8
Adoula, Cyrille, 57, 58
Africa, role in case selection, 30; role in vulnerability argument, 2, 8–9, 13–14
African-Americans, 245*n*26
Ahidjo, Ahmadou, *see* Cameroon
Albania, costs of refugees, 3; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 142, 143, 146; support of Kosovo, 1, 204, 213, 246*n*10
Angola, 219
Arab countries, role in Nigerian Civil War, 73, 90–91
Argentina, 216
Arkan, 246*n*9
Armenia, 160, 185
Ash, Timothy Garton, 128
Austria, role in Yugoslav conflict, 124, 141–142, 143, 144, 146, 153
Azerbaijan, 160, 185
Badinter Commission, 108, 123, 130, 140
Baker, James, 139
Balewa, Abubakar Tawafa, 54–55
Baltic Republics, 163
Basques, 9
Belgium, role in the Congo Crisis, 37–40, 41–46, 63, 64, 68, 155, 204, 207, 208, 209, 211
Biafra, *see* Nigerian Civil War
Bilirakis, Michael, 140
Bongo, Albert, *see* Gabon
Bosnia, 1, 113–114, 158, 163, 197, 246*n*9; ethnic cleansing in, 3; *see* also Yugoslavia
Brioni Accords, 107
Bulgaria, role in Yugoslav conflict, 114, 142, 143, 152, 207
Burundi, 219
Bush, President George, 138, 139, 140
Cameroon, role in Nigerian Civil War, 87–89, 96
Caritas, role in Nigerian Civil War, 73–74

- Carment, David and Patrick James, 23, 232n86
- Central African Republic, role in Congo Crisis, 60–61, 63
- Chechnya, 3, 30, 32, 135, 146, 185, 247n15
- Chernomyrdin, Viktor, 214
- China, Republic of (PRC), 197, 207, 245n21, 245n24; role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 75, 83, 207–208, 217
- Chopra, Jarat, 5
- Civic nationalism, 43, 49, 51–52, 55, 56, 68, 79, 204, 210–211, 216
- Clash of Civilizations, 152, 203, 209, 246n5
- Clinton, President Bill, 138–139, 140, 209
- Clinton, President William, 4; impeachment and foreign policy, 6; policy towards Yugoslavia, 5, 242n149;
- Collective action, logic of, 15
- Communism, role in Congo Crisis; 46, 57–58, 69; role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 81
- Confederation des associations Tribales du Katanga (Conakat), 39–40
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, see Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- Conflict management, techniques, 5, 221–222, 247n132
- Congo (Zaire), 244n8, also see Congo Crisis
- Congo Crisis, 6, 96, 97, 99, 103, 106, 107, 153, 155, 204, 205, 207, 208, 220, 221, 222; ambivalent and neutral states, 56–61; case selection of, 30–31, 70, 71; ethnic politics within, 38–40; origins, 37–38; supporters of Congo, 50–56; supporters of Katanga, 41–50;
- Congo-Brazzaville, 60; role in Congo Crisis, 41, 48–50, 63, 66–68, 204, 206, 209
- Constituency, 22–23
- Contagion, 223n14, 244n113
- Conventional wisdom, see Vulnerability
- Corsica, 9, 117–118, 146
- Crawford, Beverly, 126, 128–129
- Croatia, 123, 158, 163, 222, 239n35, 239n38, 240n80, 244n8; irredentism, 104, 112–113; see also Yugoslavia
- Cuban Missile Crisis, 59, 209
- Czech Republic, 158
- Dacko, David, 60
- David, Steven, 20
- Davies, John, 5
- Davis, David and Will H. Moore, 23
- Dayton Accords, 108, 138–139, 205
- De Gaulle, Charles, 58, 118; influence on Francophone countries, 80, 91
- Diori, Hamani, see Niger
- Diversionary theories of war, 6–7, 215–216, 240n76
- Djilas, Aleksa, 124
- Dodd, Thomas, 59
- East Timor, 32
- Economic Sanctions, 4, 106, 120, 221
- Egypt, 244n9; role in Nigerian Civil War, 90, 96, role in Yugoslav conflict, 141
- Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 57–58, 63

- Eritrea, 158, 163
- Ethiopia, 196; role in Congo Crisis, 55–56, 231n74, 232n90; role in Nigerian Civil War, 85–87, 96, 99, 101, 209
- Ethiopia-Somalia war, 4
- Ethnic Cleansing, 3
- Ethnic conflict, danger of spread, 4–5, 16
- Ethnic enmity, 24–25
- Ethnic politics and foreign policy, 6, 8; and the Congo Crisis, 66–69; elaboration of, 22–29; ethnic ties, 23–24, 26–29; impact of heterogeneity, 25–26, 45; implications for broader academic debates, 215–219; implications of cases studies for, 208–211; and the Nigerian Civil War, 99–101; statistical summary of case studies, 155; and trends in the international relations of ethnic conflict, 163–166; and why groups receive support, 168–169, 175, 181, 212; and why states give support, 185, 212; and the Yugoslav conflicts, 149–152
- Ethnologue, 171
- European Community, involvement in Yugoslavia, 1, 103, 107–108, 114, 117, 122–123, 133, 136, 138, 146–148, 149, 206, 238n2, 243n8
- European Union, see European Community
- Falkland Islands, 216
- Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, role in Congo Crisis, 40, 41, 46–48, 50, 63, 64, 69, 204, 207
- Former Soviet republics, 158
- Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), see Macedonia
- Forum-shopping, 217–218
- France, 207, 245n21; role in Congo Crisis, 38, 40, 48–49, 50, 60, 207; role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 92, 207; role in Yugoslav conflict, 1, 5, 116, 117–119, 123, 133, 139, 144, 146, 151, 152, 197, 209, 218, 229n85, 240n79
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), 128
- Gabon, role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 82–83, 86, 92, 96, 97
- Genscher, Hans Dietrich, 122, 123, 129
- Georgia, 244n8
- Germany, 197, 244n9, 245n21; refugees in, 3; role in Kosovo conflict, 214; role in Yugoslav conflict, 1, 116, 117, 118, 122–131, 133, 144, 148–149, 206, 207, 240n79
- Ghana, 79; role in Congo Crisis, 49, 51–53, 222, 231n63
- Gibbs, David, 57, 220
- Gligorov, Kiro, 115; see also Macedonia
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 118, 134
- Gowon, Yakubu, 71, 73
- Great Britain, 207, 245n21; role in Congo Crisis, 38, 40, 47, 207, 208; role in Kosovo conflict, 214; role in Nigerian Civil War, 85, 207; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 1, 5, 117, 123, 139, 144, 146, 197, 218, 240n79

- Greece, 142; conflict with Turkey 3, 140–141, 215; policies towards Macedonia, 1, 109, 115, 116, 123, 126, 127, 130, 135–137, 143, 144, 148, 151, 152, 210, 238n11, 242n136
- Greek-American lobby, 139, 140, 209
- Guinea, 244n9; role in Congo Crisis, 49, 55–56
- Gurr, Ted Robert, 5, 29
- Haiti, recognition of Biafra, 233n2
- Hamarskjold, Dag, 38
- Harvey, Frank, 5
- Hausa-Fulani, see Nigerian Civil War
- Henderson, Errol, 23
- Heraclides, Alexis, 17–18
- Herbst, Jeffrey, 14–15, 17, 69, 99
- Hercegovina lobby, 112
- Houpou—t-Boigny, Felix, 86; see also Ivory Coast
- Humanitarian concerns, 2–4
- Hungary, relations with Romania, 121, 151; role in Yugoslav conflict, 116, 131–133, 143, 144, 146, 207, 208
- Huntington, Samuel, 209; see also Clash of Civilizations
- Hutus, 245n23
- Ibos, 88–89; see Nigerian Civil War
- India, 79, 196, 219, 232n86, 232n87, 245n21; role in Congo Crisis, 55, 63, 205, 218, 231n74
- Indigenous peoples, 219, 245n26
- Indonesia, 32, 244n9
- Indo-Pakistani War, 4
- International norms, 7, 16
- International organizations, ; role in case selection, 31; role in ethnic conflict, 7, 16
- Iran, 114, 116, 141, 146, 197, 204, 244n8, 245n24
- Iraq, 245n24
- Irredentism, 104, 136, 225n2, 238n4, 238n11
- Israel, 235n60; role in Nigerian Civil War, 73, 74, 83–84, 98
- Italy, 245n21; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 141–142, 143, 144, 146, 153, 204, 206
- Ivory Coast, role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 80–82, 86, 92, 97, 206
- Jackson, Robert and Carl Rosberg, 13, 17, 69, 99
- Japan, 197, 245n21
- Jeszenszky, Gáza, 131
- Kasavubu, Joseph, 37, 42, 57; ties to Congo-Brazzaville, 49
- Katanga, 36, ethnic politics within, 38–40; role of white settlers, 39
- Kaufmann, Chaim, 5
- Kaunda, Kenneth, 86; see also Zambia
- Kennedy, President John F., 58–59, 63, 209, 218
- Kenya, role in Nigerian Civil War, 92
- Keohane, Robert, 14
- Kohl, Helmut, 123
- Kosovo Liberation Army, 142, 213
- Kosovo, 4, 30, 35, 126, 185, 203, 206, 212–215, 217, 238n11, 246n9; supporters of Albanians, 1, 144; threat to spillover, 140–141, 214–215, 239n53
- Kurds, 245n24
- Kuwait, 244n8
- Labs, Eric, 21
- Latin America, 234n11
- Libal, Michael, 126–127, 128, 130

- Libya, 246n42; role in Nigerian civil war, 90
- Lumumba, Patrice, 37, 39, 42, 43, 51, 57, 64, 68, 210, 231n43; fear of, 46, 50, 207, 211, 232–233n94
- Maastricht Treaty, 125
- Macedonia, 3, 114–115, 123, 126, 127, 130, 152, 163, 207, 238n11, 242n128, 242n129; role in the Kosovo conflict, 213, 239n53; see also Greece, Yugoslavia
- Malvinas, see Falkland Islands
- Malaysia, role in Yugoslav conflict, 141, 197, 244n8
- Maull, Hans 128
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 105–106, 110, 131, 134, 212, 214, 228n65
- Minorities At Risk dataset (MAR), 29, 35, 154, 158–160, 166, 171, 211, 220, 229n75, 229n87, 229n87, 243n4, 244n16
- Mitterand, Francois, 118–119, 209
- Moldova, impact on Romania, 121, 151
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 7, 217
- Morgan, Clifford and Kenneth Bickers, 215–216
- Morocco, role in the Congo Crisis, 55–56, 63, 232n90
- Nagorno-Karabakh, 3
- Nakarada, Radmila, 9, 16
- Neoliberal Institutionalism, 7, 14, 217, 225n18
- Netherlands, role in Nigerian Civil War, 92
- Niger, role in Nigerian Civil War, 89–90, 96
- Nigeria, role in Congo Crisis, 53–55, 231n74, 232n84
- Nigerian Civil War, 6, 106, 153, 197, 204, 205, 207, 208, 221; ambivalent and neutral states, 91–94; case selection of, 30–31, 70–71; ethnic politics in, 72–74; origins of the conflict, 71–72; supporters of Biafra, 74–85; supporters of Nigeria, 85–91;
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 49, 86, 231n63; see also Ghana
- Nordchurchaid, role in Nigerian Civil War, 73–74
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 42, 44; intervention in Kosovo, 1, 213–214, 215, 247n15; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 103, 106, 108, 109, 114, 119, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131–132, 133, 134–135, 137, 139–140, 143, 146–148, 205, 208, 217, 218, 242n149
- Northern Ireland, 9, 146, 224n33
- Nyerere, Julius, see Tanzania
- Offensive capability, 19
- Ojukwu, C. Odumegwu, 72, 73, 91
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), criticism of Croatia, 113; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 103, 108, 141
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 64; role in case selection, 30–31; role in Nigerian Civil War, 70, 72, 75, 82, 85, 86–87, 88, 92, 99, 167, 196, 205, 218; role in vulnerability argument, 2, 8–9, 14;
- Organization of the Islamic Conference, 137, 243n8
- Outcomes of ethnic conflict, 2
- Pakistan, 196
- Pan-Africanism, 40, 47, 51–52, 56, 63, 81, 86, 204, 207, 210, 211, 217, 222

- Papandreou, Andreas, 137
- Policy relevance, 2–6
- Political competition, assessment of, 209; coding, 33–34; implications of, 216–217
- Polity dataset, 172; role in theory of ethnic politics and foreign policy, 26, 224*n*31, 228*n*69, 228*n*72;
- Pope Paul VI, 233*n*8
- Portugal, role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 80, 83–84, 98, 204, 207
- Power, indicator for, 169–171
- Precedents, 1, 3, 9, 74, 154, 158, 160, 229*n*88, 240*n*66
- Realism, 6, 7, 12, 224*n*34, 226*n*32, 226*n*34; and the Congo Crisis, 61–64; defensive realism, 18; expansion and elaboration of, 18–22; offensive realism 18, 20–21; implications of cases studies for, 206–208; and the Nigerian Civil War, 94–97; statistical summary of case studies, 155–158; and trends in the international relations of ethnic conflict, 163; and why groups receive support, 167–168, 182–183, 212; and why states give support, 184–185, 196–197, 198, 212; and the Yugoslav conflicts, 143–146
- Refugees, 3–4, 213
- Regan, Patrick, 172
- Regime type, impact on why groups receive support, 183
- Research design, 10, 29–35; case selection, 29–32; coding rules in the case studies, 33–35; quantitative analyses, 35; selecting observations, 32–33; see also Chapter 6
- Rhodesia, role in Nigerian Civil War, 83–85, 97, 98, 101, 207
- Roma, 219
- Romania, costs of sanctions, 3, 4, 120; role in Yugoslavia conflict, 116, 119–122, 133, 144, 146, 151, 152, 209, 240*n*66
- Russia, 32, 160, 196, 207, 212, 245*n*21; assessment of ethnic conflict, 4; role in Kosovo conflict, 213–214, 247*n*14, 247*n*15; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 1, 6, 111, 116, 123, 134–135, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151–151, 198, 204, 206, 210, 217; see also Soviet Union
- Rwanda, 3, 30, 219, 229*n*3
- Safe areas, 108
- Sanwi, 81–82
- Sarbanes, Paul, 140
- Sardinia, 9
- Saudi Arabia, 141, 197, 244*n*8
- Schweller, Randall, 20–21
- Scotland, 146
- Selassie I, Haile, see Ethiopia
- Self-determination, 126–127
- Senegal, role in Nigerian Civil War, 91–92, 94, 99, 101, 209
- Senghor, Leopold, see Senegal
- Serbia, 222; history of conflict, 4; irredentism, 4, 104; Kosovo conflict, 1, 213–215; nationalism, 110–111; relations with Macedonia, 114; sanctions against, 4; see also Yugoslavia
- Sierra Leone, 244*n*9; role in Nigerian Civil War, 92–94, 237*n*123
- Slovakia, 158
- Slovenia, 111, 123, 158, 163; see also Yugoslavia
- Somalia, 196; impact of intervention in,-

- 139, irredentism, 13, 14, 85; role in Nigerian Civil War, 90–91, 96
- Somaliland, 32,
- South Africa, 245n23, 245n24; role in Congo Crisis, 40, 50, 63, 69; role in Nigerian Civil War, 74, 83–85, 97, 98, 101, 204, 207
- South Korea, 197, 245n21
- Soviet Union, 171, 243n159; role in the Congo Crisis, 297; role in Nigerian Civil War, 85, 96, 208, 229n85; role in Yugoslav conflicts, 107, 118, 146, see also Russia
- Spaak, Paul Henri, 42, 44, 68
- Specific reciprocity, 14–15, 17, 205–206
- Srebrenica, 108
- Sri Lanka, 3, 232n86
- Stedman, Stephen, 5
- Sudan, 185, 196; border disputes with Ethiopia, 85; role in Nigerian Civil War, 90, 96
- Suhrke, Astri and Lela Garner Noble, 13–14
- Syria, 244n8
- Taiwan, role in Congo Crisis, 38
- Tamils, 245n23
- Tanzania, role in Nigerian Civil War, 74–78, 92, 96, 97, 99, 101, 206, 207, 209
- Tatar Republic, 244n8
- Territorial Integrity, 218–219; role in vulnerability argument, 2, 9, 13
- Toure, Sekou, 49, 86, 232n85; see also Guinea
- Touval, Saadia, 13
- Trends in the international relations of ethnic conflict, 158–166
- Tshombe, Moise, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 58, 64, 68, 209–210, 230n37
- Tudjman, Franjo, see Croatia
- Tunisia, role in Congo Crisis, 38, 55–56, 63, 232n91; role in Nigerian Civil War, 91
- Turkey, 197; conflict with Greece, 3, 140–141, 215; role in Yugoslav conflict, 116, 137–138, 144
- Tutsis, 245n21
- Tyrol, 9
- Uganda, 187, 229n3; role in Nigerian Civil War, 94, 237n123, 237n124
- Ukraine, role in Kosovo conflict, 214
- United Nations, 4, 30, 31, 70, 205; and the Congo Crisis, 36, 38, 41, 44, 45, 46, 48, 53, 57, 65–66, 69, 218; and the Nigerian Civil War, 92; and Yugoslav conflicts, 103, 107, 107–109, 116, 117, 118, 125, 136, 137, 139–140, 141, 146–148, 217
- United States, 207, 212, 245n21; role in the Congo Crisis, 37, 44, 50–51, 56–60, 63, 68, 208, 209, 217, 232n93; role in Kosovo conflict, 214–215; role in Yugoslav conflict, 123, 134, 138–141, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 196, 197, 198, 206, 208, 209, 217, 242n144
- Violence, impact on why groups receive support, 183
- Vojvodina, 132–133, 240n119; see also Serbia, Yugoslavia
- Vulnerability, and case selection, 30; coding, 34; and the Congo Crisis, 64–66; elaboration, 13–17; implications of cases studies for, 204–206; and the Nigerian Civil War, 97–99; statistical summary of case studies, 158; summary, 2, 8–9,

- Vulnerability (*continued*)
 12; testing claims about trends,
 158–166, 212; and why groups
 receive support, 166–167, 181–182,
 211–212; and why states give
 support, 184, 187, 196, 198, 211;
 and to the Yugoslav conflicts,
 146–149
- Wachuku, Jaja, 53–55
- Walt, Stephen, 9, 96; extension to
 ethnic conflicts, 18–20, 61, 206,
 226*n*36
- Walter, Barbara, 5
- Weiss, Thomas, 5
- Welensky, Roy, 46–47, 50
- Woodward, Susan, 111
- World Council of Churches, role in
 Nigerian Civil War, 73–74
- World War I, implications for present
 day, 4
- Yeltsin, Boris, 6, 134, 135, 213–214
- Yoruba, see Nigerian Civil War
- Youlou, Fulbert, role in Congo Crisis,
 48–50, 66
- Yugoslavia, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 203, 205, 207,
 210, 221, 222; case selection of,
 31–32, 103–104; contact group, 5;
 intervention by international
 organizations, 106–109, 238*n*9; key
 external actors, 116–142; origins of
 the conflict, 105–106; separatists
 within, 109–115
- Zambia, role in Nigerian Civil War,
 75, 78–80, 86, 92, 96, 97, 206, 207,
 211