

# Index

Page numbers in italics refer to figures and tables.

AAGSP (All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad), 90–91

AASU (All Assam Students Union), 88, 90–91, 96, 98

Abdullah, Farooq, 111, 112, 121, 248n328

Abdullah, Shaikh, 111

Abohar-Fazilka, 100

ABSU (All Bodo Students Union), 93

accommodation. *See* negotiations and concessions

Adams, Charles, 208, 210

Adapazarı, 158

administrative boundaries argument, 7

Advani, L. K., 105

Afghanistan: anti-Soviet conflict, 115–16; support for Baloch nationalists, 11, 44, 63, 67, 69, 73, 75–76, 79, 82, 218, 239n266; U.S. military aid to, 37

AGP (Asom Gana Parishad), 24, 85, 92–94, 123

Ahsan, S. M., 231n42

AISSF, 103–5

Akali Dal (“United”), 104, 105

Akali Dal (L) Party, 85, 99–106

Akal Takht, 106

Albanians, 138, 139

Aleppo, 153, 159

Ali, Nadir, 55

alliance politics, 223

Amir, Yigal, 181

Anandpur Sahib resolution, 100, 103

Anatolia, 139, 148, 157, 158, 160

Andranik, 147

anticolonial nationalism, 7, 11, 34, 225n15, 226n39

Arab identity, 9, 163, 167, 172, 255n8

Arafat, Yasser, 171, 176, 181, 257n69

Arif, K. M., 58

Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Ordinance, 113

Armenian community, accommodation of, 130–37

Armenian genocide, 1, 9, 13–14, 21, 24, 41, 125–30, 143–60, 253n146; deportations, 127–28, 144–45, 148–49, 151, 153–60, 249n7, 254n192; interpretations of, 127–28, 145, 161; massacres, 148–49, 152, 155–57, 160; Ottoman supply lines and Allied incursions, 154–60; provocation thesis, 252n108; and Russia, 38, 125, 127–28, 137, 143–60, 162; timing of, 151–54

Armenian identity, 29, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135–43, 161–62

Armenian National Assembly, 141

Armenian nationalists, 125, 133–34, 140, 143–44, 162, 252n100

Armenian provinces, 126

Armenian Revolutionary Federation, 250n35

Armenians, Russian, 140–41, 252n100

Arpiarian, Arpiar, 133

## INDEX

Assam conflict, 1, 13, 83, 85–98; Bajrang and Rhino (military operations), 88, 94–95, 97; and Bengali immigrants, 89–92, 96; limited external dimension, 96–98; state government, 24, 123; support from Myanmar, 86, 88, 97–98

Assam Jatiata Badi Dal, 92

Assam Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chatro Parishad (AJYCP), 93

Assam Protection Association, 89

Aurora, Jagjit Singh, 62, 102

Austria-Hungary, 138

authoritarian states, 20, 221, 263n9

autonomy, 3–4, 19, 27, 218–19

Awami League, 24, 47–53, 56, 69, 97, 220, 231n34, 235n150

Azerbaijan, 9

Azeris, 144

Bajrang (military operation), 88, 94–95, 97

balance of power: international community's role in, 10–11, 216; regional rivals and, 4, 17–18, 20–21, 25–26; relative power, 177–78; shifts in, and secession, 21–26, 215

Balfour Declaration, 168

Balkans, 13, 132

Balkan wars (1912), 21, 28, 137–40, 142, 159, 251n71, 251n95

Baloch conflict, 13, 40, 42–45, 63–82, 217, 236n184; geographic spread of nationalists, 69, 78; leftist support, 237n217; military strength, 80–81; support from Afghanistan, 11, 44, 63, 67, 69, 73, 75–76, 79, 82, 218, 239n266; support from Soviet Union, 75–76, 218, 239n255

Balochistan People's Liberation Front, 67

Baloch League, 64

Baloch National Worker Party, 64

Bangladesh, 13; emigration to Assam, 90–92; independence, 1, 44, 62, 235n151; international recognition of, 74; political instability, 24; support for ULFA, 88, 97

Bangla language, 46, 53

Barak, Ehud, 177, 181, 256n68

Barnala, S. S., 106

Barua, Paresh, 95

Bashar-al-Assad, 221

Bates, Edward, 211

“before-after research design,” 12, 127

Beilin, Yossi, 176

Bengali conflict, 1, 10, 13, 34–35, 41, 44, 46–63, 80–82, 216; as betrayal, 34, 54; demographics, 78–79; genocidal violence, 1, 10, 41, 50–51, 54–56, 81; support from India, 35, 44, 51–57, 59–63, 81–82.

*See also* Bangladesh; East Pakistan

Bengali Hindus, 51–57; in Assam, 90–92

Bengali Muslims, 90–91

Bengali secessionists, 42–63, 79–82

Bennett, Naftali, 180–81

Berner, Carl, 197

betrayal, 2, 34–35, 41, 54, 118, 150, 222

Bey, Jevdet, 152, 156

Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh, 101–2, 123

Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, 80, 82, 231n33; on autonomy, 43; Baloch movement and, 35, 63, 65–74, 77–78, 82, 236n173, 236n180, 236n184; Bengali movement and, 47–50, 52, 58, 231n36; civilian status, 239n285

binational states, 5–6, 14, 163, 166, 181, 213

Bizenjo, Ghaus Bakhsh, 64, 66, 72, 73

Bizenjo tribe, 65, 67

BJP, 104, 105, 119

BLA, 218

Black Thunder (military operation), 106

Bloeria, Sudhir, 117, 118

Blood, Archer, 54, 56, 61, 233n108

Bluestar (military operation), 100–103, 105, 123

Bodos, 93

Bohemia and Moravia, 30, 186, 193

Bordoloi, Gopinath, 89

Bosnia, 138

Boström, E. G., 198

Boyadjian, M., 133

Brasstacks crisis, 107

Brexit, 222

Britain: and Ottoman Empire, 140–42, 144, 146, 152–54, 156–58; and Scottish secessionism, 184, 216; support for Sweden, 196; and U.S. Civil War, 164–65, 201, 205–13, 262n291, 262n300

British India, 64, 85, 89; terms of withdrawal, 110

Browning, Orville, 211

BSF (Border Security Force), 33, 37, 59–60, 114, 118

Bugti, Brahmandagh, 218

Bugti, Nawab Akbar, 66–67, 70, 77, 236n173

Bugti tribe, 65

Bulgaria, 131, 137–38

Bull Run, 164, 201, 206, 211, 212

Burma. *See* Myanmar

Bútorá, Martin, 194

Camp David accords, 177, 181, 256n68

Canada, 6, 31, 184, 206

Çanakkale, 152

case-study research, 11–15

Catalan independence, 220

Caucasus, 13, 152, 154–56, 158, 159

centralism, 136

Chamalang, Battle of, 68, 75

Chandigarh, 100–103  
 China: nuclear weapons, 85; rivalry with India, 84–85; support for Assam nationalists, 88, 97–98; support for Naga insurgents, 124; and Taiwan, 214  
 Cilicia, 157  
 civil wars, 2–11, 220–24; ideological, 3, 220–22, 225n9, 263n10; separatist, 3, 222, 225n5, 225n9, 263n10  
 Clinton, Bill, 177, 181  
 Clinton, Hillary, 222  
 coercion, 1–2, 4, 39–41, 219, 228n48; and third-party support, 18, 32–41 (*see also* third-party support); types of, 8, 32, 215. *See also* collective repression; genocide; militarization; policing; violence  
 Cold War, end of, 164, 185, 190  
 collective punishment, 61  
 collective repression, 8, 18, 41; Armenian conflict, 127, 129, 144, 154; Bengali conflict, 42, 50–51, 54, 58–59, 69; Kashmir conflict, 41, 86, 109–10, 112–14, 120–24  
 colonialism, 7. *See also* anticolonial nationalism; British India  
 commitment problem, 26–27  
 communal violence, 224  
 concessions. *See* negotiations and concessions  
 Confederacy, 201–12  
 Constantinople, 153  
 constructivist identity theory, 27  
 context-specific arguments: Armenian genocide, 130, 161; separatist conflict in India, 87, 122–24; separatist conflict in Pakistan, 80–82  
 Correlates of War project, 23  
 CPRF, 114  
 crackdowns, 113  
 Croats, 30, 192  
 CUP (Committee of Union and Progress), 132–43, 148, 153, 156, 159–61, 252n109  
 Czechoslovakia, Velvet Divorce, 1, 6, 14, 30, 164, 184–95, 212–13  
 Czech Republic, 164, 185, 191–92  
 Damdami Taksal, 101  
 Dardanelles, 152–53, 158, 159  
 Dashnaks, 133–35, 250n35  
 data sources, 16  
 decentralization, 136  
 decision-making, theory of, 12  
 decolonization. *See* anticolonial nationalism  
 Deir Yasin massacre, 169  
 demilitarization: Norwegian, 30, 164, 185, 199–200; Palestinian, 30, 177  
 democratic states, 20, 221, 222, 263n9  
 demographics, 23–24, 69; Baloch nationalists, 78; Bengali nationalists, 78–79; India, 83–84; loss of population, 25–26; Ottoman Empire, 126, 130–31, 249n9; Punjab conflict, 99; size of population, 23–24  
 Deng Xiaoping, 97  
 Denmark, 195–96  
 DGFI, 97  
 diaspora, 24  
 Dienstbier, Jiří, 190  
 Dilman, 147, 155  
 diplomatic support, 36, 44, 75, 143–44, 208–10, 212, 217. *See also* verbal support  
 Disturbed Areas Act, 113  
 domestic factors, 5–7  
 Dortyol, 155  
 Dulat, A. S., 117  
 East Bengal Regiment, 81  
 East Pakistan, 1, 10, 13, 34–35, 41, 44, 46–63, 80–82, 216. *See also* Bangladesh; Bengali conflict; Pakistan  
 East Pakistan Rifles, 50, 81  
 economic policy, domestic and foreign, 22–23  
 economic sanctions, 228n31  
 Egypt, 169, 170, 217  
 emotional effects of third-party support, 2, 8, 18–19, 33–35, 215, 222; Armenian genocide, 127, 144, 150; Assam conflict, 98; Baloch conflict, 69; Bengali conflict, 44, 51, 54, 56, 58–59, 81; Kashmir conflict, 114, 118–19. *See also* betrayal  
 encirclement, 11, 216  
 Enver Pasha, 24, 128, 134, 136, 140, 143–44, 146, 148–53, 155, 158, 159, 253n150  
 Eritrean rebels, 228n10  
 Eshkol, Levi, 170  
 essentialized identity, 35, 222; Bengali, 44, 59; Palestinian, 9, 163, 167, 172, 174–75; Sikh, 99  
 Ethiopia–Eritrea war, 8, 9, 20, 28  
 Ethnic Armed Conflict dataset, 225n15  
 ethnic cleansing, 8. *See also* genocide  
 ethnic minorities, 222; in diaspora, 24  
 ethno-nationalist groups: demands for independence or autonomy, 3–4, 19, 27, 218–19; secession and balance of power, 21–26. *See also* Armenian nationalists; Assam conflict; Baloch conflict; Bengali conflict; Kashmir conflict; Palestinian nationalists; Punjab conflict; Sikh nationalists  
 ethno-nationalist identity, 18, 28–31. *See also* essentialized identity; identity divisions  
 European institutions, 190–91, 193, 258n151, 259n178, 259n180  
 expansionism, 29

## INDEX

external security theory, 2, 7–10, 17–41, 214–15; assumptions, 19–20; commitment problem and conflict escalation, 26–27; extensions of, 220–22; fifth columns, 33–36, 40; flaws of, 218–20; future war probability, 28–33; policy implications, 216–18; secession and balance of power, 21–26; state strategy against separatists, 38–41; third-party support, 2, 8, 18, 32–41, 215

factionalization, 6–7; in Assam, 95; Palestinians, 183; Sikhs, 99, 108

Farland (U.S. ambassador), 58

Farooq, Maulvi Mirwaiz, 114

federalism, 27

Feiglin, Moshe, 174

fifth columns, 33–36, 40; Armenians, 128, 137, 146; Bengali conflict, 51–54; Kashmir conflict, 122

Finland, 195–96

Fort Sumter, 204, 205

France: colonies, 7; and Ottoman Empire, 141–42, 146, 152–54, 156–58; and U.S. Civil War, 164, 210, 212, 262n291, 262n300

future war, 20; and coercion against separatists, 2, 21, 27, 214–15, 219; commitment problem, 26–27; identity divisions and, 28–31 (*see also* identity divisions); probability of, 17–18, 28–33, 32, 38; regional war proneness, 31–32

Gallipoli, 153, 156, 157

Gandhi, Indira, 35, 62, 85, 90, 92, 100, 102, 104, 111

Gandhi, Rajiv, 88, 91–92, 96, 99, 102–6, 240n46, 244n168

Gandhi, Sanjay, 101

Gawakdal Bridge massacre, 113–14

Gaza Strip, 169–72, 177, 179–81, 257n86

genocide, 35, 41; Bengali conflict, 1, 10, 41, 50–51, 54–56. *See also* Armenian genocide

geopolitical context, 4, 7–10. *See also* regional security environment

Georgians, 144

Germany, 148; Nazi era, 168, 186, 191; and Ottoman Empire, 140–42; unification, 164, 185, 190

Gibraltar (military operation), 115

Gilgit-Baltistan, 116

Gill, K. P. S., 99, 102, 106–7

Gökalp, Ziya, 138

Golan Heights, 170

Golden Temple, 99, 101–2, 105, 106, 123

Greece, 137–38

“greedy” states, 29

Green Revolution, 100

Guatemala, 69, 78

guerrilla fighters, 55, 60, 64–65, 68, 78–79, 116

Gurmani, M. A., 115

Gustav, Crown Prince, 198

Habsburg Empire, 186

Hamas, 174, 182

Hammond, James H., 207

Hamood-ur-Rhaman Commission, 54

Hanchaks, 133–34

Handwara, 114

Hasina, Sheikh, 97

Havel, Václav, 187, 190, 194, 259n183

Hay, John, 211

Hezbollah, 178, 182

Hindus, 51–57; anti-Hindu attitudes, 233n108; in Assam, 90–92, 98; Bengali, 51–57, 90–92; fundamentalist, 119; violence between Sikhs and, 101

Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), 116

Hoff, Nicolai, 146

human rights abuses, 41; Assam conflict, 94; Kashmir conflict, 113; Punjab conflict, 107. *See also* collective repression; genocide; massacres; torture

Hungary, 190, 223

Hussain, Hamid, 75

Hyderabad Tribunal, 70–71, 73

Ibsen, Sigurd, 198

identity divisions, 2, 28–30, 215, 219; between Armenians and Ottoman Empire, 29, 125, 127, 129, 133, 135–43, 161–62; between Czechs and Slovaks, 164, 192–93; indifferent, defined, 29; lack of, 184, 192–93; opposed, defined, 28; between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews, 9, 163, 167, 172, 174–75, 255n8; probability of future war and, 28–31. *See also* essentialized identity

ideological civil wars, 3, 220–22, 225n9, 263n10

IDF (Israel Defense Forces), 175–76, 179, 181, 182

India, 1, 9, 11, 25, 83–124, 263n9; colonial history (*see* British India); conflicts with Pakistan, 28, 42–43, 51, 86, 110; demographics, 83–84; ethnic and religious diversity, 83, 90, 96, 114, 115; strategic environment, 84–85; support for Bengali movement, 33, 35, 38, 44, 59–63 (*see also* Bengali conflict); variation in responses to secessionism, 83–87, 86, 122–24. *See also* Assam conflict; Hindus; Kashmir conflict; Punjab conflict

Indonesia, 240n1

insurgents, scholarship on, 5. *See also* individual separatist groups

international community: organizational memberships, 23 (*see also* European institutions); role in separatist conflicts, 10–11, 215–18

international environment, 4, 7–10.  
*See also* regional security environment

interstate violence, 3, 37–38, 224.  
*See also* future war

Iran, 10, 182; support for Pakistan, 44, 69, 73–75, 79, 238n229, 238n239

Iraq, 10, 77, 152, 178; arms incident at Iraqi Embassy in Pakistan, 67, 70, 74, 236n184

Ireland, 262n2

irredentism, 33

Islam. *See* Muslims

Islami Jamiat-e-Taliba (IJT), 55

Israel, 6, 10, 217, 257n86, 263n9; as binational state, 163, 166, 181; establishment of, 168–69; Law of Return, 24; occupation and settlement in West Bank and Gaza, 171, 177, 179–81, 257n86; regional conflicts with Arab states, 31, 169–70, 176–78, 217; right-wing nationalism, 167, 174, 180

Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 9, 10, 30, 163–84, 213, 214, 256n68; Camp David accords, 177, 181, 256n68; first intifada, 14, 163, 166, 170–73, 179, 183; Madrid accords, 175; one-state solution, 181, 184; Oslo accords, 163, 172–73, 175–77, 179; and Palestinian demilitarization, 30, 177; second intifada, 167, 181–84

Jagmohan, Governor, 94, 111, 114, 117, 120, 121, 124, 247n301

Jaish-e-Muhammad, 218

Jamaat-e-Islami, 55, 111

Jamal Pasha, 140, 146, 150

Jammu and Kashmir. *See* Kashmir conflict

Jat Sikhs, 99–101, 243n126

Jevdet, Abdullah, 139

Jewish nationalism. *See* Zionism

Jinnah, Mohammad Ali, 46, 52

JKLF (Jammu and Kashmir conflict Liberation Front), 112, 116, 118

Jordan, 169–70

Jordan Valley, 176–77

Judea and Samaria, 167, 176, 180.  
*See also* West Bank

Kalat State, 64

Kashmir conflict, 1, 11, 42, 85, 123, 217–18, 235n151, 235n158; 1965 war, 47; elections, 110–12; Muslim majority in, 83, 110–12, 115, 119

Kashmir 1989–94 conflict, 9–10, 13, 27, 83, 86, 94, 97–98, 109–23; high levels of Pakistani third-party support, 86, 110, 114–22; Line of Control, 116–18, 121; Muslim nationalism, 83; president's rule, 122

Kerry, John, 257n86

Kevork V, 147

Khalistani separatists, 35, 102, 108

Khan, Abdul Qayyum, 66

Khan, Ayub, 42, 47, 53, 232n73

Khan, Aziz Ahmad, 54

Khan, Liaquat Ali, 2, 46

Khan, Monem, 53

Khan, Nauroz, 235n166

Khan, Sardar Daoud, 63, 76

Khan, Tikka, 51, 59, 67

Khan, Wali, 69, 71, 73

Khan, Yahya, 47–50, 53–54, 56, 58, 61, 68, 231n39

Klaus, Václav, 185, 188, 189, 191, 193, 194, 258n151, 259n183

Konow, Wollert, 197

Kosovo, 20, 28, 131, 139

Kurds, 10, 130, 141–42

Labor Party (Israel), 174, 175, 177

Lasbela crisis, 66–67, 72, 236n180

Laskhar-e-Taiba, 218

Lebanon, 170

Likud Party, 174–76, 180–82

Lincoln, Abraham, 164, 201–7, 210–12, 261n236, 262n300

London Group, 71, 237n217

Lone, Abdul Ghani, 112

Longowal, Sand Harchand Singh, 101, 103–5

Lyons (British minister), 211

Maastricht Treaty, 190

Madrid accords, 175

Mahanta, Prafulla, 91, 92

Malaysia, 214

Malik, Abdullah, 55

Malik, Yasin, 112, 118

Mandatory Palestine, 168–69. *See also* Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Mandelstam Plan, 21, 137, 140–43, 146, 159

Mangaldai election, 90

Mano Blanco, 78

Marri, Khair Bakhsh, 77

Marri tribe, 65–68, 71, 78, 238n225

“martial races” theory, 108–9

Masaryk, Thomas Garrigue, 186

Mascarenhas, Anthony, 57

massacres, 113–14; during Armenian genocide, 148–49, 152, 155–57, 160; of Armenians, 137, 144–45; of Bengalis, 91; in Kashmir conflict, 113–14; of Palestinians, 169

## INDEX

materialist effects of third-party support, 2, 18, 33–34, 41, 127, 221; Armenian genocide, 144; Baloch conflict, 69, 82; Bengali conflict, 44, 51, 59; Kashmir conflict, 110

Mazhabi Sikhs, 243n126

Mečiar, Vladimír, 185, 187–89, 191, 193, 194, 259n178, 259n183

Meir, Golda, 174

Mengal, Sardar Ataullah, 66, 73, 236n180

Mengal tribe, 65–68, 78

methodology, 11–12

Mexico, 206, 210

Michelsen, Christian, 198

Middle East, 10; regional conflicts, 31, 169–70, 176–78, 217. *See also* Israeli-Palestinian conflict

militarization, 8, 18, 40; Assam conflict, 85, 88, 94–96, 98, 124; Baloch conflict, 42, 63, 65–69; Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 167, 181–84; Punjab conflict, 86–87, 99, 106–9, 124; U.S. Civil War, 164, 201, 205

military capabilities, 21–22; Czech, 30, 98, 191–93; Norwegian, 198, 200. *See also* demilitarization

Mir, Javed, 112

Mizo National Front, 97

Modi, Narendra, 218

monsoon (1971), 60, 80

Montenegro, 137

Morgenthau, 150, 156, 158, 252n107, 253n118, 253n146

“most-similar” method, 12

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, 188

MUF (Muslim United Front), 111, 112

Mukti Bahini, 33, 38, 44, 51, 59–63

Musharraf, Pervez, 73, 238n225

Muslims: American, 222; in Assam, 90; Bengali, 90–91; in Kashmir, 83, 110–12, 115, 119 (*see also* Kashmir conflict); in Pakistan, 52–55

Myanmar, 86, 88, 97–98, 240n1

Nagaland, 124

Naga National Council, 97

Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, 9

NAP (National Awami Party), 65–66, 69–73, 77, 235n167, 236n173

Napoleonic wars, 195–96

Napoleon III, 210, 262n291

National Conference Party, 111

national identity, 18, 28–31. *See also* essentialized identity; identity divisions

nationalism, 83, 136, 196. *See also* ethno-nationalist groups; religious nationalism

National Material Capabilities Dataset, 23

NATO, 191

Nazim, 133

Negi, Daulat Singh, 93

negotiations and concessions, 6–7, 27, 38–39, 226n39, 226n41; Armenians in Ottoman Empire, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132–37, 160–61; and balance of power, 17; Czechoslovakia, 189; Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 163, 172–73, 177, 179, 256n68; Norway-Sweden, 195–99; U.S. Civil War, 204

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 84, 85, 89, 100, 110, 115

Nellie massacre, 91

Netanyahu, Benjamin, 174, 176, 181, 257n86

Niazi, A. A. K., 54, 58–59, 62

Niazi, Kausar, 72

Nicholas II, 146

Nigeria-Biafra conflict, 9

Nirankaris, 101

Nixon, Richard, 61

Norway-Sweden dissolution, 1, 14, 30, 185, 195–200, 212–14

NSCN (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland), 97

Nubar, 147, 157

nuclear weapons, 63, 72, 85

NWFP, 65, 70

Obama, Barack, 221

Oscar, King of Sweden, 195, 197

Oslo accords, 163, 172–73, 175–77, 179

Osmani (Colonel), 60

Ottoman Empire, 1, 9, 125–62; accommodation of Armenian community, 130–37; Armenian legal status, 130; Armenian massacres, 137, 144–45 (*see also* Armenian genocide); and Balkan wars (1912), 21, 28, 137–40, 142, 159, 251n71, 251n95; Christian communities, 130–31, 134, 162; conflicts with Russia, 28, 130–32, 142, 145–62; constitutionalism, 132, 133, 135; demographics, 126, 130–31, 249n9; Mandelstam Plan, 21, 137, 140–43, 146, 159; Ministry of War, 148; national identity, 29, 125, 127, 129, 133, 135–43, 161–62; postwar mandates, 167–68; relations with Europe, 250n48; Revolution of 1908, 132–33, 135, 143; Secret Organization, 148; sovereignty, 142, 146, 251n87; Special Organization, 153; variation in treatment of Armenians, 125–29, 129; and World War I, 125, 127–29, 137, 143–62, 251n78, 252n100, 252n109, 252n111

Ottoman Union, 132

Pakistan, 9, 11, 42–82, 239n290; Baloch conflict, 42–45, 63–82 (*see also* Baloch conflict); Bengali conflict, 42–63, 79–82 (*see also* Bengali conflict); conflicts with

India, 28, 42–43, 51, 86, 110; elections of 1970, 47–48, 230n26; Iranian support, 63, 69; ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence), 97, 116–17; National Assembly, 48–49; nationalism, 232n73; national language, 46; nuclear weapons, 63, 72, 85; One Unit scheme, 46, 65; population, loss of, 25; provinces, 46, 65; racism, 45; security environment, 42–43, 62–63; support for Assam nationalists, 88, 97–98; support for Kashmir militants, 86, 110, 114–22; support for Punjab militants, 86, 99, 107–9; two-nation theory, 51–54, 59, 115; variation in responses to secessionism, 42–46, 45, 82. *See also* Kashmir conflict

Pakistan National Party, 235n167

Palestinian Authority, 172, 183

Palestinian identity, 9, 163, 167, 172, 174–75

Palestinian nationalists, 30, 166, 170–84; third-party support, 181–84. *See also* Israeli–Palestinian conflict

Palestinian refugees, 169

Palmerston, Prime Minister, 206, 207, 212

Pashtuns, 81

pathological violence, 2, 35, 38, 41, 54, 81, 98

Patowari, Hiralal, 90

Pattan, 114

Paul, Surrendra, 93

peace building, 10–11, 215–18

peaceful responses to secessionism, 14, 164, 184–200

Persia, 152, 159

Phazipora, 114

Phukan, Bhrigu K., 91

Pirzada (General), 48

Pithart, Petr, 187

Pittsburgh Agreement, 186

PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization), 169–73, 176

policing, 8, 18, 27, 39; Assam conflict, 85, 88, 94–96, 98, 124; Israeli–Palestinian conflict, 163, 166, 170–73, 183; Punjab conflict, 85–86, 99, 103–6

policymakers, 10–11, 215–18

population. *See* demographics

power. *See* balance of power; coercion; state power

PPP (Pakistan People's Party), 47–49, 63, 66, 70, 72–73, 231n31, 231n34

Pradhan, R. D., 91

Prague Spring of 1968, 186

princely states, 64, 84, 110, 235n158

PRIO Armed Conflict dataset, 10

process tracing, 12

propaganda: Armenian genocide, 157; Baloch conflict, 77–78; Bengali conflict, 57–59; Kashmir conflict, 118;

Punjab conflict, 104–5; on third-party support, 35–36

Punjab, Pakistan, 48, 56, 65, 72, 231n34

Punjab conflict (India), 1, 9, 13, 40, 98–109; Pakistani support, 86, 99, 107–9

Purbanchalia Loka Parishad, 92

Quebec, 184

Rabin, Yitzhak, 166, 172–75, 181

racism, 222

Rahman, Mujibur, 24, 47–52, 55, 58, 90, 230n25, 231n32, 231n36

Raja, Khadim Hussain, 50

Rajkhowa, Arabinda, 95

Rakshak (military operation), 106

Rao, Narasimha, 95, 107

Rasheed, Rao, 72

Raza, Rafi, 72

rebels, scholarship on, 5. *See also* ethno-nationalist groups

regional security environment, 31–32; benign, 183–84, 191–93; Middle East, 31, 169–70, 176–78, 217; rough neighborhoods, 84, 163, 167, 219; South Asia, 31, 84; stabilizing, 262n3. *See also* balance of power

relative power, 177–78; secession and changes in, 21–26

religious nationalism: in Israel, 164, 166, 179–80, 183; in Pakistan, 52–53

repression, 27. *See also* collective repression

reputation argument, 5–6, 27, 226n30; Armenian genocide, 129–30, 160; Baloch conflict, 80; Bengali conflict, 80; Czechoslovakia, 213; India, 83–85, 87; Israeli–Palestinian conflict, 163, 166, 173; Kashmir conflict, 122; Norway–Sweden dissolution, 213; Pakistan, 44, 80

research design, 11–16

Rhino (military operation), 88, 94–95, 97

Ribeiro, Julio, 102, 106, 108

Riza, Ahmed, 132, 133

Russell (British foreign secretary), 210

Russia: conflicts with Ottoman Empire, 28, 130–32, 142, 145–62; and Scandinavia, 195–96; support for Armenian nationalists, 38, 125, 127–28, 137, 143–60, 162; Ukraine conflict, 20; war with Georgia, 8, 20, 28. *See also* Soviet Union

Russian Armenians, 140–41, 252n100

Rwandan genocide, 216

Sabahaddin, Prince, 133

Sabha, Rajya, 114

Saikia, Hiteshwar, 91, 95

sanctions, 228n31

## INDEX

sanctuary, 36–37, 214; Assam nationalists, 88, 97, 98; Baloch rebels, 63, 76, 82; Kashmir insurgents, 115, 121; Mukti Bahini, 60; Sikh militants, 99

Sapah-Gulian, Stepan, 133, 134

Sarikamish, Battle of, 152, 155, 159

Sarkaria Commission on Center-State Relations, 103

Saxena, Girish Chander, 114, 117, 118, 124

Sayeed, Mutfi Mohammad, 120–21

Sayeed, Rubaya, 117

Scandinavia. *See* Norway-Sweden dissolution

Scotland, 184, 216

Scott, General, 211

Searchlight (military operation), 1, 50–51, 58–59

secessionism: as external threat, 20–38 (*see also* external security theory); theories of, 2–11

secessionism, state responses to, 1–2, 9, 40, 214, 226n32; India, variation in, 83–87, 86, 122–24; Middle East, Europe, and North America, variation in, 165; Ottoman Empire, variation in, 125–29, 129; Pakistan, variation in, 42–46, 45, 82; strategies, overview of, 38–41 (*see also* coercion; collective repression; militarization; negotiations and concessions; peaceful responses; policing) secessionist moments, 3–4, 18–21, 29–30, 35; Assam conflict, 91; Baloch conflict, 63, 67; Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 163, 170–71, 173; Kashmir conflict, 112, 115; Norway, 198–99; Punjab conflict, 99–100, 102, 123, 124; Slovak nationalists, 188; U.S. Civil War, 203

“security-seeking” states, 29

Sen, Kalipada, 93

separatist civil wars, 3, 222, 225n5, 225n9, 263n10. *See also* civil wars

separatist movements, scholarship on, 5. *See also* ethno-nationalist groups

Serbia, 20, 28, 30, 131, 137, 139, 192

Seward, William, 30, 205, 206, 208–12

SGPC, 106

Shah, G. M., 111

Shah, Shabir, 112

Shah of Iran, 73–75, 238n239

Shamir, Yitzhak, 175

Sharon, Ariel, 181, 182, 257n104

Shastri, Lal Bahadar, 100

Shekhar, Chandra, 94, 120

Sikh nationalists, 83, 98–109; Pakistani support, 86–87, 99, 104–5, 107–9

Sinai, 170

Sindh, 48, 65, 72, 231n34

Singh, Arjun, 103

Singh, Giani Zail, 101

Singh, Khushwant, 102

Singh, Maharaja Hari, 110

Singh, V. P., 94, 120

Sino-Indo-Pak triangle, 84–85

Six-Day War, 169–70

Six Points plan, 48, 52, 231n36

Slovak nationalism, 30, 164, 184–95

Slovak Republic, 1, 14, 164, 185, 223

South Asia, 9–10, 13, 217; map of, 43; regional security environment, 31, 84. *See also* Assam conflict; Baloch conflict; Bengali conflict; India; Kashmir conflict; Pakistan; Punjab conflict

South Sudan, 20, 25

Soviet Union, 44, 63; and Afghanistan, 115–16; collapse of, 164, 185, 190, 262n2; control of Czechoslovakia, 186–87; support for Baloch nationalists, 75–76, 218, 239n255. *See also* Russia

Spain, 220

Sri Lanka, 1, 6, 10, 13

Stang, Emil, 197

state-building nationalism, 53

statehood, establishment of, 3; balance of power and, 21–26; international recognition, 9

state power, 19, 21. *See also* balance of power

Steen, Johannes, 197

Sudan, 9

Sudan-South Sudan war, 9, 28

Suleyman I, 251n87

S-ULFA, 95

Sumner, Charles, 202, 209

Sweden. *See* Norway-Sweden dissolution

Syria, 170, 178, 182, 222

Tagore, Rabindranath, 53

Taiwan, 214

Talaat Pasha, 128, 134, 140, 148, 149–51, 153–55, 158, 159, 251n71

Tamil areas, 1, 89

terrorism: in India, 101–2, 104, 106–9, 112–14, 117–19, 121–22, 218, 243n116; in Israel, 170, 174, 178; in U.S., 222

Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 106, 113

Thailand, 214

third-party support, 2, 8, 18, 32–41, 215; for Armenian nationalists, 38, 125, 127–28, 137, 143–60, 162; for Assam nationalists, 86, 88, 97–98; for Baloch nationalists, 11, 44, 63, 67, 69–79, 82, 218, 237n217, 239n255, 239n266; for Bengali nationalists, 33, 35, 38, 44, 51–57, 59–63, 81–82; and coercion, 18, 32–41; for Confederacy, 164–65, 201, 205–13,

262n291, 262n300; financial aid, 36; high level of, 37–38, 41, 58, 82; in Kashmir conflict, 11, 86, 110, 114–22; limited level of, 36–37, 39; military aid, 37, 39–40; miscalculations of, 35; moderate level of, 37, 39–40, 82; for Naga insurgents, 124; for Pakistan, 44, 63, 69, 73–75, 79, 238n229, 238n239; for Palestinians, 181–84; for Sikh nationalists, 86–87, 99, 104–5, 107–9, 116; for Sweden, 196; verbal or diplomatic, 33, 36, 44, 75, 143–44, 208–10, 212, 217. *See also* emotional effects of third-party support; materialist effects of third-party support

Tiso, Jozef, 186, 192

torture, 32, 40, 78, 107, 113–14, 119, 172

trade, foreign, 23

Transjordan, 169

Treaty of Kiel, 196

Treaty of Moss, 196

Trump, Donald, 194, 222

Turkey, 10, 125, 141. *See also* Ottoman Empire

Turks (ethnic group), 130, 138

Ukraine, 214

ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam), 85, 88, 92–98, 123

unitary-actor assumption, 19–20, 221

United States: and Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 10, 178; military aid to Afghanistan, 37; and Pakistan, 10, 54, 77, 216; and Sikh militants, 104

UNLU (United National Leadership of the Uprising), 171

UN Resolution 181, 168–69

Urdu language, 46

Urmia, 155

U.S. Civil War, 15, 30, 164–65, 200–212; and balance of power, 206–7; British involvement, preemption of, 164–65, 201, 205–13, 262n291, 262n300; emancipation, 262n300; French interference, 164, 210, 212, 262n291, 262n300; slavery, 202–4, 207, 262n300; Southern nationalism, 202–3

Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 104

Van, Armenian rebellion at, 150, 153, 155–57, 159

Velvet Divorce, 1, 14, 30, 164, 184–87, 189, 195

Velvet Revolution, 187–89, 194–95

Venstre Party, 197

verbal support, 33, 36, 212. *See also* diplomatic support

veto points argument, 6–7, 226n39, 226n41; Armenian genocide, 130, 160–61; Baloch conflict, 80; Bengali conflict, 80; Czechoslovakia, 193, 213; India, 87; Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 166, 173, 213; Kashmir conflict, 122; Pakistan, 45, 80

violence: ethno-nationalist, 223–24; pathological, 2, 35, 38, 41, 54, 81, 98; against secessionists, 1–11. *See also* coercion; genocide; militarization; policing; torture

Wangenheim (German ambassador), 142, 148, 157, 253n146

Wani, Burhan, 217

wars: interstate, 3, 37–38, 224; regional, 20–21, 31–32 (*see also* regional security environment); study of, 3. *See also* civil wars; future war

Warsaw Pact, 190

West Bank, 167, 169–72, 174, 175, 177–82, 257n86

Westenenk, L. C., 146

Western Europe, 184, 191; regional conflicts, 31. *See also* European institutions

West Pakistan, 35, 46–49, 54, 56, 58–59, 231n36, 235n151, 235n167; provinces in, 46, 65. *See also* Pakistan

Wigfall, Louis T., 208

Wolff-Metternich (German ambassador), 159

World War I, 3, 125, 127–29, 137, 143–62, 251n78, 252n100, 252n109, 252n111

World War II, 3, 168, 192

Yahya. *See* Khan, Yahya

Yom Kippur War, 170

Young Turks, 13, 29, 125, 127–30, 132–62; and racism, 252n107; as refugees, 251n71. *See also* Armenian genocide; Ottoman Empire

Yudenich (Russian general), 152

Yugoslavia, 30, 214

Zambia, 29

Zarakzai tribe, 65

Zehri tribe, 65

Zeytun, 157

Zia, Khaleda, 97

Zia-ul-Haq, 43, 68

Zionism, 168, 170. *See also* Israel