

## Index

- Abdille, Sayyid Mahamad, 112  
Abkhazia, 16, 147, 149–51, 154, 250,  
252–53  
Afghanistan, 156  
Aidid, Mohamed Farah, 127  
Alliance coalition/Party  
concept, 54  
myth of equality, 55  
Almaty agreement, 154  
Anwar Ibrahim, 61  
Armenia, 147, 158–60, 213, 225–47, 252,  
287–88  
Armenian Pan-National Movement  
(ANM), 228  
Armstrong, John, 9  
Association pour la Promotion Sociale de  
la Masse, 84  
Azerbaijan, 17, 19, 28, 142, 145, 151–52,  
154–58, 179, 231, 238  
anti-Armenian pogroms in, 230  
Azerbaijani SSR, 147, 228  
and conflict with Armenia, 147–48,  
225, 231, 234, 242, 252, 287
- Bangsa Malaysia*, 45, 48  
Banyarwanda, 73  
“bargain,” the, 53–54  
Barisan Nasional, 58  
Barre, Muhammad Siad, 120–26  
Bazyliuk, Oleksandr, 195  
Belarus, 18, 28, 142, 146, 150, 152–54,  
158, 196, 197, 201, 202, 209, 210  
Russia-Belarus Union, 146, 155, 189,  
197  
Belarusians, 167, 209
- Bevin plan, 113  
Biru, 77  
“bourgeois nationalism,” 198  
Brazauskas, Algirdas, 171, 186, 286  
Britain, 49, 111, 113  
colonial rule, 52  
conservatives in Ukraine, 215  
“forward movement” in Malay States,  
47  
indirect rule in Malaysia, 47  
British Malaya, 52  
British Somaliland Protectorat, 112  
Buhake contract in Rwanda, 77  
Bumiputera (Malays and other indige-  
nous people), 58, 61
- Caspian Sea, 152, 157  
Catholic Church, 79, 81, 82, 90  
and Catholics in Lithuania, 181  
and Uniate Catholics in Ukraine, 145  
Chechen nationalism, 267  
Chechen rebels in Georgia, 149, 150  
Chernobyl, 145, 160  
Chernomyrdin, Viktor 146  
China, 48, 50, 65, 156, 157  
Chinese, 156  
“Baba Chinese,” 50  
in Malaya/Malaysia, 45, 47, 48, 52, 56,  
63  
Malayan Chinese Association (MCA),  
51, 53, 55  
Chinn, Jeff, 5  
Chornovil, V’iacheslav, 213  
civic nationalism/nation-building, 19–20,  
43, 188, 193, 199, 210, 212, 214

- Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF), 157
- colonial legacies, 35, 36, 200, 201
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 194, 198
- Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), 188
- “co-national protecting” nationalism, 21, 22, 41, 97, 173, 198, 266, 290
- Connor, Walker, 5, 38, 40, 43, 249
- constructivism/constructivist, 13, 14, 41, 42, 99, 109, 131, 281, 284, 292
- Council of Regions, 199
- Crimea, 145, 158, 195, 204–5, 214, 219
- Dagahtur, 113, 114
- Dallakian, Karlan, 226
- Demirchian, Karen, 226, 231–39, 241
- Democratic Action Party (DAP), 56
- Democratic Labor Party, 171, 173
- diasporic nationalism, 281, 291
- Djibouti
- French colony of, 113, 115, 118, 119
  - Republic of, 111, 115, 116, 124, 126, 127, 283, 284
- dual identity, 38–40
- dual nationalism, 38
- Edinstvo, 167
- elites, 13, 14, 15, 17, 37, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 63, 65, 75, 109, 112, 114, 121, 129, 130, 143, 149, 225, 257, 281, 293, 294
- Armenian, 148, 226, 239
  - civic, 41
  - educated/intellectual, 11, 165
  - ethnic, 34, 41, 53, 54
  - Georgian, 253, 254, 262, 264, 265, 267, 268
  - governing/political, 11, 33, 39, 41, 42, 43, 108, 109, 116, 119, 142, 148, 155, 182, 183, 194, 215, 226, 239
  - Hutu, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85
  - Lithuanian, 144
  - Malay, 48, 49, 50–52, 63, 64
  - nationalist, 6, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 35, 41, 42, 46, 116, 128, 129, 131, 141, 179, 198, 201, 228, 266, 282, 288
  - Russian, 151
  - social, 33
  - Somali, 117, 125–26, 127, 128, 131, 132, 133, 283–84
  - traditional, 47, 48
  - Tutsi, 77, 79, 83, 86
  - Ukrainian, 146, 199, 206, 211
- Estonia, 21, 143–44, 158, 213, 260, 291
- ethnic conflict, 8, 9, 11, 20, 46, 109, 131, 133, 156, 179, 225, 249, 251, 265, 269
- avoidance of in Ukraine, 204, 213
- ethnic nation-protecting nationalism, 20–21
- ethnic nation. *See* nation, ethnic
- ethnic nationalism. *See* nationalism, ethnic
- ethnonationalism, 154, 156, 269, 287, 288
- ethnopluralism, 268
- European Union (EU), 143, 144, 154, 155, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 183
- attitude on membership in Lithuania, 175, 178
  - and rejoining Europe, 176
- external-territory claiming nationalism, 16–17, 22, 41, 64, 265, 290
- Fatherland Party, 204–5
- Fatherland Union (Conservatives), 171
- Fergana Valley, 149, 156
- Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR), 95–97
- Gamsakhurdia, Zviad, 149, 256–59, 261, 265, 271
- Gazprom, 146, 157–58
- Gellner, Ernest, 9, 252
- Georgia, 145, 147, 148–50, 151, 152, 154, 158, 227, 248–76, 286, 288, 289
- Ghalib, Jama Mohamed, 126, 130
- Gitera, Joseph, 85
- globalization, 60, 176, 177, 183, 267
- and integration with Europe, 176
  - and nationalist fears (Lithuania), 178
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 142, 191, 192, 228, 230, 231
- Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 163
- Gulwadhayal, 122
- Gurey, Ahmed, 112
- GUUAM, 145, 154

- Habyarmana, Juvenal, 89–93  
Harray, Jean Paul, 81, 87  
Hizbia Dighil Mirifle (HDM), 114  
Hobsbawm, Eric, 5, 267  
Holocaust, Lithuanian involvement, 181–82  
homeland, 3, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 35, 52, 64, 72, 89, 91, 141, 195, 214, 279, 291  
    external, 17–18  
    internal, 17, 18  
    mixed, 17, 18, 19  
    overlapping, 16, 262  
  
Ignalina, 167  
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 207, 208, 210, 267  
independence of Malaya Party, 51, 53  
India, 16, 22, 36, 50, 52, 65, 76  
Indians (in Malaysia), 45, 47, 52, 65  
Indonesia, 47, 49, 56, 68, 70, 299  
institutional nationalism, 264  
instrumentalism/instrumentalist, 11, 13, 14, 34, 37, 39, 41, 42, 75, 99, 109, 114, 120, 132, 284, 288  
    capacity, 41–42  
insurrection of 1863, 164  
internal nationalism, 33  
international capital, 207, 208  
Inter Parliamentary Assembly (IPA), 187  
Inyenzi, 88  
Iqaal, Mahammad Ibrahim, 118–20  
Iran, 151, 157  
Islam, 47–48, 53, 54, 62, 65, 110  
    fundamentalist, 151, 156  
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), 156  
Italian Somaliland, 112  
  
Jaalle, 121  
Japanese occupation of Malaya, 48  
Jaunoji Lietuva, 173–74  
Javakheti, 147–48, 227, 268  
*jus soli*, 53  
  
Kagame, Paul, 95, 96, 99  
Kaiser, Robert, 5, 15  
Kayibarda, Gregoire, 82, 86–90  
  
Kazakhstan, 18, 28–29, 142, 157, 158, 248  
Khrushchev, Nikita, 255  
Kiga, 79, 82  
Kigali, 88, 92, 96, 97, 99  
Kimanyateka, 82  
kinship, 10, 131  
    -based networks, 110, 130  
Kocharian, Robert, 238, 242  
*Konfrontasi*, 56  
Kravchuk, Leonid, 145, 191  
Kuchina, Leonid, 145–47, 189  
“Kuchmagate,” 191, 210, 213  
Kyrgyzstan, 156–57  
  
Landsbergis, Vytautas, 170, 178  
language, 8, 283, 290  
    in Georgia, 255, 256, 259, 260, 289  
    laws and policies, 9, 21, 144, 149, 206, 259, 260, 291, 293  
    in Lithuania, 144, 163–65, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 176, 180, 181, 183  
    Malay, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55–56, 57, 61, 65, 285  
    in Moldova, 154, 155  
    role or in national identity, 6, 7, 13, 46, 141, 279  
    in Rwanda, 74, 82  
    Somali, 110, 111, 122  
    in Ukraine, 188, 196, 198, 201–3, 204, 206, 211, 212, 213, 214, 285  
Latvia, 21, 143–44, 158, 213, 260, 291  
liberalism, 250–51  
Lithuania, 143–44, 162–86, 213, 248, 255, 286, 287, 289  
Logiest, Bem, 87  
*loi cadre*, 115  
Lukashenka, Aleksandr, 153, 154, 196, 209  
LUKoil, 151  
  
Mahathir, Mohamed, 60, 62, 63  
Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), 51, 53, 55  
Malayan Communist Party (MCP), 48  
Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), 51, 53  
Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army, 48–49  
Malayan Union, 49, 50, 52

- Malay elites  
  and construction of ethnic fears, 52, 63  
  and political expediency, 53–55, 63
- Malay nationalism  
  and Bangsa Melayu, 54  
  and decline of Malay language as social marker, 56  
  Islamic inspiration for, 47  
  and Malay preferential policies, 58  
  and Malay special rights, 65  
  and membership boundaries, 50  
  from primordial to instrumental concerns, 55  
  and social markers or pillars, 53  
  and territorial boundaries, 52
- Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), 51
- Mamukian, Vazgen, 227, 232, 235, 240
- May 13, 1969, riots, 57
- Milton, Obote, 94
- Mingrelians, 256
- Mississippdaleulni*, 264
- Moldova, 145, 152, 154, 155, 159, 197
- Moroz, Oleksandr, 189, 192, 208, 210–12
- Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpment, 90
- Museveni, Yoweri, 94, 95
- Musinga, Yuhi, 79
- Mwami, 75, 77, 79, 84, 89
- Nagorno-Karabakh, 17, 147, 148–49, 151, 152, 225, 227, 228, 230–43, 250, 256, 287
- nation  
  civic, 190, 193, 199, 293  
  definition of, 4–7, 249, 279–81  
  ethnic, 9, 11, 12, 21, 227, 232, 286  
  vs ethnic group, 4–5, 7, 39  
  and homeland, 10, 11, 15, 16  
  vs state, 4  
  territorial and membership boundaries of, 10–11, 15, 17, 19, 23, 46, 48, 50–52
- National Development Policy (NDP), 60, 61, 62
- national identity  
  subjective versus objective ideas of, 5–6
- National Operations Council, 57
- National Resistance Movement (NRM), 94
- National Security Court, 122
- National Security Service, 122
- National Self-Determination Union (NDU), 232
- nationalism  
  civic, 12, 20, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 60, 61, 63, 65, 97, 143, 145, 158, 187, 188, 198, 199, 205, 206, 207, 208, 211, 214, 216, 224, 251, 259, 284, 285, 286, 287  
  civic versus ethnic, 11–12  
  definition of, 8–11, 249, 289  
  ethnic, 4, 11, 12, 37, 38, 43, 63, 142, 143, 144, 148, 149, 150, 188, 193, 194, 196, 203, 204, 207, 213, 214, 251, 252, 284, 285, 286  
  vs ethnic conflict, 9  
  vs ethnic politics, 8  
  and international politics, 3  
  vs patriotism, 8  
  theories about, 13–14  
  variants of after independence, 14–22
- nation-building, 11, 12, 19, 20, 22, 40, 65, 107, 232, 282, 290, 291  
  in Armenia, 232  
  in Georgia, 260, 264, 266, 268  
  in Lithuania, 171, 173, 177  
  in Malaysia, 45, 60, 61  
  in Rwanda, 91, 97  
  in Somalia, 40, 108, 112, 116, 117, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129  
  in Ukraine, 188, 199–203, 212
- nation-destroying effects, 129
- nation-state, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 107, 109, 112, 114, 116, 123–24, 128, 129, 131, 141, 164, 214, 282, 289, 292, 293
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 143, 144, 145, 151, 153, 155, 174–76, 178, 179, 207, 208, 209–11, 268
- New Economic Policy, 58, 65
- New Malay, the, 60–62
- neoprimordialism, 14
- Niyazov, Saparmurad, 157–58
- Northern Frontier District (NFD), 112, 115, 116, 118

- Ogaadon War, 108–9, 123–25  
Onn bin Ja'afar, Dato, 51  
Operation Turquoise, 96  
Organization of African Unity (OAU), 118  
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 144, 149, 150, 154, 260  
orientalism, 251  
Orthodox Church, 200, 201  
Ossetia, 149–50
- Paksas, Rolandas, 177  
Pankisi Gorge, 150  
Partai Islam (PAS), 51  
Parti du Mouvement et de l'Emancipation Hutu, 84  
Partnership for Peace, 145  
Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine (PDRU), 191  
Party of Power, 191, 205, 207  
People's Action Party (PAP), 55, 56  
People's Party, 240  
Poland, 197  
    and Lithuania, 163–64, 166, 168, 169, 170, 178  
    and "Vilnius question," 169  
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 163–65  
populist, 176, 267  
postnationalist politics, 41, 147, 148, 225, 232–38, 243, 289  
primordialism/primordialist, 13, 14, 43, 75, 99, 109, 110, 131, 250, 280, 284, 287, 293  
privatization in Lithuania, 176  
Putin, Vladimir, 146, 151, 159
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57  
Razak, Tun, 57, 58  
Red Army, 142  
Renan, Ernest, 5, 292  
Romania, 152, 154, 204  
Russia, 18–19, 21, 143–50, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 177, 178, 188, 189, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201, 206, 209–10, 227, 252, 254, 258, 263, 282, 285, 287, 288, 293, 294
- Russian-Belarus Union, 146, 155  
Russians outside Russia, 18, 19, 21, 142, 144, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 167, 168, 169, 170, 174, 175, 179, 180, 183, 190, 195, 196, 198, 201, 258, 260, 285  
Russo-Japanese War, 164  
Russophiles, 194, 195, 200  
Rwanda, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 71–106, 283, 294  
Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), 95–97  
Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99  
Rwandese Democratic Union (RADER), 85, 86, 88, 94  
Rwigyema, Fred, 92, 95
- Saakashvili, Mikheil, 158  
Sab, 110, 114  
Sajūdis, 165–66, 167, 168–71, 182  
Samaale, 110, 114  
Sargsian, Serge, 239  
Sargsian, Vazgen, 239, 240–42, 243  
scientific socialism, 121  
Seimas, 171, 177  
September 11 attacks, 151, 156  
Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 157  
Shcherbytsky, Volodymyr, 190, 192  
Shermaarke, Abdirashiid Ali, 117, 118, 119  
Shevardnadze, Eduard, 149, 249, 259–62, 263, 264, 266, 268, 269, 288  
Slavic Party, 195  
Social Democratic Party, 173, 182  
Social Democratic United Party (SDPU), 205  
social structures, dense, 39  
socialism, 211, 253–55, 293  
    scientific socialism in Somalia, 121  
Somali National Movement (SNM), 124–27, 130  
Somali National Society (SNS), 114  
Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), 124  
Somali Salvation Front (SSF), 124  
Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party (SSRP), 121  
Somali Youth Club (SYC), 114

- Somali Youth League (SYL), 114, 115, 116  
sovereignty-protecting nationalism, 17–19, 64, 89, 173, 176, 198, 258, 260, 266, 267, 290  
Soviet Union, 3, 121, 123, 142, 154, 157, 165, 166, 169, 176, 232, 282, 286, 293  
  former, 16, 18, 149, 162, 252, 262, 281, 291  
Stalin, Joseph, 6, 25, 155, 208, 226, 255  
Supreme Council, 165, 166, 168  
Suqui, 63  
Symonenko, Petro, 189, 194, 208
- Tajikistan, 156, 157  
Talbot, Strobe, 250, 251, 252  
Ter-Petrosian, Levon, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 235–40  
TRAFIPRO, 82  
Transdnestr, 152, 154  
Turkey, 147, 148, 151, 157, 207, 227, 234, 268, 288  
Turkmenistan, 151, 156, 157–58  
Tymoshenko, Yulia, 192, 204, 210
- Ubwiru, 77  
Ukraine, 18, 142, 145–47, 151, 154, 155, 158, 187–24, 248, 255, 285, 286  
Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA), 187, 195, 197  
Ukrainian Popular Movement for Restructuring (Rukh), 187–88, 190, 191, 192, 193, 203, 204, 205, 212, 213, 214, 215  
Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR), 85, 86, 87, 88, 94
- Union of Lithuanian Nationalists, 169, 173, 176  
Union of Poles, 168  
Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees, 169, 173  
United Arab Emirates (UAE), 157  
United Malays National Organization (UMNO), 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63  
  UMNO ultras, 56  
  UMNO youth, 56  
United Somali Congress (USC), 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132  
United Somali Party (USP), 114  
Usmaan, Aadan Abdullaha, 117  
Uzbekistan, 142, 145, 154, 156, 157
- Vilnius region  
  “Vilnius question,” 169  
Vision 2020, 60–61, 63, 66  
  and Bangsa Malaysia, 60–61, 63, 66  
  and nation-building, 60  
  and “Vision Schools,” 63  
Voronin, Vladimir, 155  
Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), 118, 122  
Williams International, 176
- xenophobia, 181, 204
- Yeltsin, Boris, 146, 151, 190, 208, 259,  
  Yeltsin era, 159, 264  
Young, Crawford, 14  
Yugoslavia, 3, 142, 281  
  former, 190  
zero option, 162, 286