Nationalities Papers

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity



ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES



Nationalities Papers

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF **Peter Rutland**Weslevan University, USA

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Roland Spickermann, University of Texas of the Permian Basin

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Şener Aktürk, Koç University, Turkey Monika Baar, University of Groningen, The Netherlands Stephen Deets, Babson College, USA V.P. ("Chip") Gagnon, Ithaca College, USA Marlene Laruelle, George Washington University, USA David Marples, University of Alberta, Canada Harris Mylonas, George Washington University, USA Srdja Pavlovic, University of Alberta, Canada Aviel Roshwald, Georgetown University, USA Peter Vermeersch, University of Leuven, Belgium

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Ana Djordjevic, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dominique Arel, University of Ottawa, Canada; Stefano Bianchini, University of Bologna, Italy; Florian Bieber, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria; Fotini Christia, MIT, USA; Karl Cordell, University of Plymouth, UK: David Crowe, Elon University, USA; Ineta Dabašinskienė, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania; Dejan Djokic, Goldsmiths. University of London, UK; Alexandra Goujon, University of Dijon, France; John Hall, McGill University, Canada; Jeremy King, Mount Hollyoke College, USA; Andrew Ludanyi, Ohio Northern University, USA; Aleksandra Milicevic, University of North Florida, USA; Brendan O'Leary, University of Pennsylvania, USA; Margaret Paxson, Kennan Institute, USA; Sébastien Peyrouse, Johns Hopkins University, USA; Michael Rywkin, City College, USA; Gwendolyn Sasse, University of Oxford, UK; Edward Schatz, University of Toronto, Canada; Alfred C. Stepan, Columbia University, USA; Gearóid Ó Tuathail, Virginia Tech, USA; Timothy Waters, Indiana University, USA; Theodore R. Weeks, Southern Illinois University, USA; Stefan Wolff, University of Nottingham, UK; Susan Woodward, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA; Demet Yalçın Mousseau, Koç University, Turkey

Abstracting and indexing services

Nationalities Papers is currently noted in Geographical Abstracts: Human Geography, Geobase, Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), International Political Science Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Zeller Verlag (IBZ/IBR) and America: History and Life.

ISSN 0090-5992

© 2014 Association for the Study of Nationalities

PAST EDITORS

Stephen Horak, Eastern Illinois University, USA (1972–1984)
Orest Subtelny, York University, Canada (1985–1986)
Henry Huttenbach, The City College of the City University of New York, USA (1987–1998)
Nancy Wingfield, Northern Illinois University, USA (1999–2002)
Steve Sabol, University of North Carolina, USA (2002–2009)
Florian Bieber, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria

NATIONALITIES PAPERS

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity Volume 42 Number 5 September 2014

CONTENTS

	rtic	
/1	rric	46

Articles	
Regime-building, identity-making and foreign policy: neo-Eurasianist rhetoric in post-Soviet Kazakhstan Luca Anceschi	733
Bandera: memorialization and commemoration Andre Liebich and Oksana Myshlovska	750
Reconsidering "Piłsudskiite nationalism" Paul Brykczynski	771
Hungary's "anti-capitalist" far-right: Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard Mihai Varga	791
Political aspects of repatriation: Germany, Russia, Kazakhstan. A comparative analysis Olga Zeveleva	808
"Zdravljica" – toast to a cosmopolitan nation anthem quality in the Slovenian context Christopher Kelen and Aleksandar Pavković	828
Process and practice: groupness, ethnicity, and habitus in Carpathian Rus' <i>Kristina M. Cantin</i>	848
Ending the impasse in Kosovo: partition, decentralization, or consociationalism? <i>Michael Rossi</i>	867
Book Symposium	
Şener Aktürk, Regimes of ethnicity and nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey Dmitry Gorenburg, Sherrill Stroschein, Güneş Murat Tezcür and Şener Aktürk	890
Book Reviews	
Harris Mylonas, The politics of nation-building. Making co-nationals, refugees, and minorities Jan Jakub Muś	905
Nadia Diuk, The next generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan: youth, politics, identity, and change Doug Blum	
Howard Adelman and Elazar Barkan, No return, no refuge: rites and rights in minority repatriation	906
Olga Zeveleva	908

Ina Merdjanova, Rediscovering the Umma: Muslims in the Balkans between nationalism and transnationalism Sabrina P. Ramet	010
Emily Greble, Sarajevo, 1941–1945: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Hitler's Europe	910
Francine Friedman	912
Ohannes Geukjian, Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in the South Caucasus: Nagorno-Karabakh and the legacy of Soviet nationalities policy	
Sebastian Muth	913
Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, Shatterzone of empires: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands	
Jordan T. Kuck	915
Matthew Evangelista, Gender, nationalism, and war: conflict on the movie screen Hilary Radner	918
Ingrid Kleespies, A nation astray: nomadism and national identity in Russian literature	,
Myroslav Shkandrij	919

Nationalities Papers

Subscription Information:

Nationalities Papers is a peer-reviewed journal, published on behalf of the Association for the Study of Nationalities by Routledge Journals, an imprint of Taylor & Francis, an Informa business, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN, UK.

Annual Subscription, Volume 42, 2014

 Inst. Print and online:
 £838/€1,111/\$1,389

 Inst. Online only:
 £733/€972/\$1,215

 Personal:
 £194/€257/\$319

(Plus tax where applicable)

Taylor & Francis has a flexible approach to subscriptions, enabling us to match individual libraries' requirements. This journal is available via a traditional institutional subscription (either print with online access, or online only at a discount) or as part of a Subject or Collection Library. For more information on our sales packages please visit http://www.tandfonline.com/page/librarians.

All current institutional subscriptions include online access for any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the currently available backfile and articles posted online ahead of publication.

Subscriptions purchased at the personal rate are strictly for personal, non-commercial use only. The reselling of personal subscriptions is prohibited. Personal subscriptions must be purchased with a personal cheque or credit card. Proof of personal status may be requested.

Back issues: Taylor & Francis retains a three year back issue stock of journals. Older volumes are held by our official stockists to whom all orders and enquiries should be addressed: Periodicals Service Company, 351 Fairview Ave., Suite 300, Hudson, New York, 12534, USA. Tel: +1 518 537 4700; fax: +1 518 537 5899; email: psc@periodicals.com.

Ordering information: Please contact your local Customer Service Department to take out a subscription to the Journal: **USA, Canada:** Taylor & Francis, Inc., 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. Tel: +18003541420; Fax: +12156252940. **UK/Europe/Rest of World:** T&F Customer Services, Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO33LP, United Kingdom. Tel: +44 (0) 2070175544; Fax: +44 (0) 2070175198; Email: subscriptions@tandf.co.uk.

Dollar rates apply to all subscribers outside Europe. Euro rates apply to all subscribers in Europe, except the UK and the Republic of Ireland where the pound sterling rate applies. If you are unsure which rate applies to you please contact Customer Services in the UK. All subscriptions are payable in advance and all rates include postage. Journals are sent by air to the USA, Canada, Mexico, India, Japan and Australasia. Subscriptions are entered on an annual basis, i.e. January to December. Payment may be made by sterling cheque, dollar cheque, euro cheque, international money order, National Giro or credit cards (Amex, Visa and Mastercard).

Copyright © 2014 Association for the Study of Nationalities. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated, in any form, or by any means, without prior written permission from Taylor & Francis, to whom all requests to reproduce copyright material should be directed, in writing.

Disclaimer:

The Association for the Study of Nationalities and our publisher Taylor & Francis make every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in our publications. However, The Association for the Study of Nationalities and our publisher Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by the Association for the Study of Nationalities and our publisher Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. The Association for the Study of Nationalities and our publisher Taylor & Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions

Taylor & Francis grants authorization for individuals to photocopy material for private research use, on the sole basis that requests for such use are referred directly to the requestor's local Reproduction Rights Organization (RRO). The copyright fee is £24.00/€29.00/\$37.00 exclusive of any charge or fee levied. In order to contact your local RRO, please contact International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organizations (IFRRO), rue du Prince Royal, 87, B-1050 Bussels, Belgium; e-mail: IFRRO@skynet.be; Copyright Clearance Center Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers MA 01923, USA; e-mail: info@copyright.com; Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London WIP 0LP, UK; e-mail: cla@cla.co.uk. This authorization does not extend to any other kind of copying, by any means, in any form, and for any purpose other than private research use.

The 2014 US annual subscription price is \$1,389. Airfreight and mailing in the USA by Agent named Air Business, C/O Worldnet Shipping USA Inc., 156-15 146th Avenue, Jamaica, New York, NY11434, USA. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica NY 11434, USA.

US Postmaster: Send address changes to Nationalities Papers (CNAP), Air Business Ltd, C/O Worldnet Shipping Inc., 156-15, 146th Avenue, 2nd Floor, Jamaica, NY 11434, USA.

Subscription records are maintained at Taylor & Francis Group, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, United Kingdom.

For more information on Taylor & Francis' journal publishing program, please visit our website: www.tandfonline.com.