

ISSN 0090-5992

Volume 40 Number 4  
July 2012

# Nationalities *Papers*

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

*ASN*

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group

**40th Anniversary**

# Nationalities Papers

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

**Florian Bieber,**

*Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria*

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

**Roland Spickermann,** *University of Texas of the Permian Basin*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Zsuzsa Csergo,** *Queen's University, Canada*

**Marlene Laruelle,** *French Centre for Russian, Caucasian, and East-European Studies, France*

**Harris Mylonas,** *George Washington University, USA*

**Srdja Pavlovic,** *University of Alberta, Canada*

**Aviel Roshwald,** *Georgetown University, USA*

**Peter Rutland,** *Wesleyan 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*; **Gordon N. Bardos,** *Harriman Institute, Columbia University, USA*; **Stefano Bianchini,** *University of Bologna, Italy*; **Fotini Christia,** *MIT, USA*; **Karl Cordell,** *University of Plymouth, UK*; **David Crowe,** *Elon University, USA*; **Ineta Dabašinskiė,** *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 Holyoke College, USA*; **Andrew Ludanyi,** *Ohio Northern University, USA*; **David Marples,** *University of Alberta, Canada*; **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*

**Editorial correspondence,** including submissions to the journal, should be sent to Florian Bieber, *Nationalities Papers*, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Universitätsstrasse 15/K3, 8010 Graz, Austria, Email: [florian.bieber@uni-graz.at](mailto:florian.bieber@uni-graz.at)

The editors accept no responsibility for the statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

**Business correspondence,** including orders and remittances relating to subscriptions, back numbers and sample copies, should be addressed to the publisher: Routledge Journals, Taylor & Francis, Customer Services Department, Rankine Road, Basingstoke, Hants RG24 8PR, UK. Tel: +44 (0)1256 813002; Fax: +44 (0)1256 330245.

## Back issues

Taylor & Francis retains a three-year back issue stock of journals. Older volumes are held by our official stockists: Periodicals Service Company <http://www.periodicals.com/tandf.html>, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526, USA, to whom all orders and enquiries should be addressed. Telephone: +1 518 537 4700; Fax: +1 518 537 5899; Email: [psc@periodicals.com](mailto:psc@periodicals.com)

## 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

© 2012 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)*

**CONTENTS**

**Articles**

- The birth of modern Circassian nationalism  
*Sufian Zhemukhov* 503
- Orthodoxy and nation-building: Nichifor Crainic and religious nationalism  
in 1920s Romania  
*Roland Clark* 525
- The language that unites and the language that divides us: Why was Arabic  
kept and Serbo-Croatian abolished?  
*Dareg A. Zabarah* 545
- History, conflicting collective memories, and national identities: how Latvia's  
Russian-speakers are learning to remember  
*Ammon Cheskin* 561
- To reject or not to reject nationalism: debating Marx and Engels' struggles  
with nationalism, 1840s–1880s  
*Michal Kasprzak* 585
- Not in *our* name: collective identity of the Serbian *Women in Black*  
*Bojan Bilić* 607

**Book Symposium**

- Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the  
Twentieth-Century World*  
*Emil Kerenji, Anton Weiss-Wendt and Christian Gerlach* 625

**Book Reviews**

- Sarah D. Shields, *Fezzes in the river: identity politics and European diplomacy  
in the Middle East on the eve of World War II*  
*Esra Demirci Akyol* 637
- Anne E. Gorsuch, *All this is your world: Soviet tourism at home and abroad  
after Stalin*  
*Marko Dumančić* 638
- Laura Henry, *Red to green: environmental activism in Post-Soviet Russia*  
*Jessica Graybill* 640
- Olga Maiorova, *From the shadow of empire: defining the Russian nation  
through cultural mythology, 1855–1870*  
*Brigid O'Keeffe* 643
- Vera Tolz, *Russia's own Orient: the politics of identity and Oriental studies in  
the late imperial and early Soviet periods*  
*Brigid O'Keeffe* 645

Rodric Braithwaite, <i>Afgantsy: the Russians in Afghanistan, 1979–1989</i> <i>Peter Sinnott</i>	648
Nathaniel Deutsch, <i>The Jewish dark continent: life and death in the Russian Pale of Settlement</i> <i>Regan Naomi Treewater-Lipes</i>	650
Janet Klein, <i>The margins of empire: Kurdish militias in the Ottoman tribal zone</i> <i>Fuat Dundar</i>	651
<b>Corrigendum</b>	655

# 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 40, 2012

Institutional	£751	€996	\$1245
Online	£676	€896	\$1120
Personal	£174	€228	\$287

(Plus tax where applicable)

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.

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 the Politics, International Relations & Area Studies Collection or the SSH Library. For more information on our sales packages please visit <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/librarians>

Dollar rates apply to subscribers in all countries except the UK and the Republic of Ireland where the pound sterling price 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, international money order, National Giro, or credit card (Amex, Visa, Mastercard).

For a complete and up-to-date guide to Taylor & Francis journals and books publishing programmes, and details of advertising in our journals, visit our website: <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals>

*Nationalities Papers* (USPS permit number 013 138) is published 6 times a year in January, March, May, July, September and November. The 2012 institutional subscription price is \$1245. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica, NY, by US Mail Agent Air Business Ltd, C/O Worldnet Shipping USA Inc., 155-11 146<sup>th</sup> Street, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434.

**US Postmaster:** Please send address changes to cNAP, c/o Air Business Ltd, 155-11 146<sup>th</sup> Street, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434. Subscription records are maintained at Taylor & Francis Group, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, UK.

### Ordering information:

**USA/Canada:** Routledge Journals, Taylor & Francis Inc., Journals Department, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. **UK/Europe/Rest of World:** Routledge Journals, T&F Customer Services, T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, UK.

### Advertising enquiries to:

**USA/Canada:** The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis Inc., 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. Tel: +1 (800) 354 1420. Fax: +1 (215) 625 2940. **UK/Europe/RoW:** The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN, UK. Tel: +44 (0)207 017 6000. Fax: +44 (0)207 017 6336.

The print edition of this journal is typeset by Techset Composition Ltd, Wiltshire, and printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Henry Ling Limited, at the Dorset Press, Dorchester.

**Copyright © 2012 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 Taylor & Francis make every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in their publications. However, the Association for the Study of Nationalities and Taylor & Francis and its agents and licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness or suitability for any purpose of the Content and disclaim all such representations and warranties whether express or implied to the maximum extent permitted by law. Any views expressed in this publication are the views of the authors and are not necessarily the views of the Editor, the Association for the Study of Nationalities or Taylor & Francis.

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 £23/€27/\$36 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 Brussels, Belgium; e-mail: [IFRRO@skynet.be](mailto:IFRRO@skynet.be); Copyright Clearance Center Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers MA 01923, USA; e-mail: [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com); Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP, UK; e-mail: [cla@cla.co.uk](mailto: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.