

ISSN 0090-5992

Volume 41 Number 1  
January 2013

# Nationalities *Papers*

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

ASN

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES

 Routledge  
Taylor & Francis Group

# 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

**Sener Akturk,** *Koç University, Turkey*

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

**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 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*; **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.

## 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

© 2013 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**

**Analysis of current events**

- Identity mobilization in hybrid regimes: Language in Ukrainian politics  
*Volha Charnysh* 1

**Special Section: Belgrade and Beyond: Reading the Nation through Serbian Cityscapes**

**Guest Editor: Tanja D. Conley**

- Unfinished capital – unfinished state: how the modernization of  
Belgrade was prevented, 1890–1914  
*Dubravka Stojanović* 15

- National, supranational, international: New Belgrade and the symbolic  
construction of a socialist capital  
*Vladimir Kulić* 35

- The backdrop of Serbian statehoods: morphing faces of the National  
Assembly in Belgrade  
*Tanja Damljanović Conley* 64

- National, un-national  
*Srdjan Jovanović Weiss* 90

**Articles**

- Coping strategies: public avoidance, migration, and marriage in the  
aftermath of the Osh conflict, Fergana Valley  
*Aksana Ismailbekova* 109

- Nationalism and political competition in Central Europe: the case of Poland  
*Peter Vermeersch* 128

- The Soviet myth of the Great Fatherland War and the limits of inclusionary  
politics under Brezhnev: the case of Chalmavist literature  
*Jonathan Brunstedt* 146

**Discussion**

- “Republika Srpska will have a referendum”: the rhetorical politics  
of Milorad Dodik  
*Gerard Toal (Gearóid Ó Tuathail)* 166

## Comments

Comments on Gerard Toal's "'Republika Srpska will have a referendum':  
the rhetorical politics of Milorad Dodik"  
*Vedran Dzihic* 205

Comments on Gerard Toal's "'Republika Srpska will have a referendum':  
the rhetorical politics of Milorad Dodik"  
*Danijela Majstorović* 209

## Book Reviews

Lothar Brock, Hans-Henrik Holm, Georg Sorensen, and Michael Stohl,  
*Fragile states: war and conflict in the modern world*  
*Elham Atashi* 214

Serhiy Bilenky, *Romantic nationalism in Eastern Europe: Russian, Polish,  
and Ukrainian political imaginations*  
*Patrice M. Dabrowski* 216

Nándor Báárdi, Csilla Fedinec, and László Szarka, *Minority Hungarian  
communities in the twentieth century*  
*Andrew Ludanyi* 217

Graeme B. Robertson, *The politics of protest in hybrid regimes: managing  
dissent in post-communist Russia*  
*Richard Sakwa* 220

Josip Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe: Western Powers and the Breakup  
of Yugoslavia*  
*Richard Caplan* 222

# 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 41, 2013

Inst. Print and online: £800/€1,061/\$1,327

Inst. Online only: £700/€928/\$1,161

Personal: £185/€245/\$305

(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, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526, USA. Tel: +1 518 537 4700; fax: +1 518 537 5899; email: [psc@periodicals.com](mailto: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: +1 800 354 1420; Fax: +1 215 625 2940. **UK/Europe/Rest of World:** T&F Customer Services, Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, United Kingdom. Tel: +44 (0) 20 7017 5544; Fax: +44 (0) 20 7017 5198; Email: [subscriptions@tandf.co.uk](mailto: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 © 2013 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 < Name of the Society > 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 £23.50/€28/\$37 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.

The 2013 US annual subscription price is \$1,327. Airfreight and mailing in the USA by Agent named Air Business, C/O Worldnet Shipping USA Inc., 156-15 146th Avenue, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434, 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](http://www.tandfonline.com).