

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES



# EDITOR-IN-CHIEF Steven Sabol.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Clay Crawley, University of North Carolina,
Charlotte, USA

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
Betty Morgan,
Elon University

WEST EUROPEAN EDITOR
Frank Golczewski, Universität Hamburg,
Germany

ASSOCIATE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR FOR
EASTERN EUROPE
Nicolae Harsanyi,
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA

CANADIAN EDITOR **Orest Subtelny,** York University,
Canada

ASSOCIATE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR FOR FORMER SOVIET UNION **Sue Davis,** Denison College, USA

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Daniel Miller,** *University of West Florida, USA* **Theodore Weeks,** *Southern Illinois University, USA* 

#### EDITORIAL BOARD

Jasna Adler, University of Geneva, Switzerland; Edward Allworth, Columbia University, USA; Audrey L. Altstadt, University of Massachusetts, USA; Seymour Becker, Rutgers University, USA; Margaret Beissinger, University of Wisconsin, USA; Stefano Bianchini, University of Bologna. Italy; Melissa Bokovy, University of New Mexico, USA; Maria Bucur, Indiana University, USA; Daniele Conversi, University of Lincolnshire, UK; David Crowe, Elon University, USA; Robert J. Donia, University of Michigan, USA; William Fierman, Indiana University, USA; Tibor Frank, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary; Alice Freifeld, University of Florida, USA; Gregory Gleason, University of New Mexico; Geoffrey Hosking, University of London, UK; Mark Katz, George Mason University, USA; Mills Kelly, George Mason University, USA; Jeremy King, Mt Holyoke College, USA; Edward Lazzerini, University of New Orleans, USA; Andrew Ludanyi, Ohio Northern University, USA; Allen Lynch, University of Virginia, USA; David Marples, University of Alberta, Canada; Steve Marks, Clemson University, USA; Peter Mentzel, Utah State University, USA; Nick Miller, Boise State University, USA; Marcia Morris, Georgetown University, USA; Aviel Roshwald, Georgetown University, USA; Michael Rywkin, The City College of the City University of New York, USA; Edward Schatz, Southern Illinois University, USA; Nancy Wingfield, Northern Illinois University, USA; Christine Worobec, Northern Illinois University, USA; Edward Wynot, Florida State University, USA

**Editorial correspondence**, including submissions to the journal, should be sent to Steven Sabol, *Nationalities Papers*, Department of History, The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA.

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

Nationalities Papers receives support from the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, the College of Arts and Sciences of Baylor University, and from the Shevchenko Scientific Society in America.

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

### Abstracting and indexing services

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

ISSN 0090-5992

© 2004 Association for the Study of Nationalities

VOLUME 32 NUMBER 1 MARCH 2004

## **CONTENTS**

## **ARTICLES**

An Examination of Russian Imperialism: Russian Military and Intellectual Descriptions of the Caucasians during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 Keziban Acar	7
Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey  Ayhan Akman	23
One Ukraine or Many? Regionalism in Ukraine and Its Political Consequences  Lowell W. Barrington and Erik S. Herron	53
The "Pugachev Rebellion" in the Context of Post-Soviet Kazakh Nationalization  Michele E. Commercio	87
The Two Faces of Contemporary Eurasianism: An Imperial Version of Russian Nationalism  Marlène Laruelle	115
Azerbaijan after Heydar Aliev  Alec Rasizade	137
The Siberian Frontier between "White Mission" and "Yellow Peril," 1890s–1920s  Eva-Maria Stolberg	165
Institutional Power and the Rise of Milošević Nebojsa Vladisavljevic	183
Cross-Border Cooperation and Transformation of Regional Identities in the Ukrainian–Russian Borderlands: Towards a Euroregion "Slobozhan-shchyna"? Part 1  Tatiana Zhurzhenko	207
Legislation Elizari (1001000	207

## **REVIEW ESSAY**

A New Kazakstan: Four Books Reconceptualize the History of the Kazak Steppe Michael Rouland	233
Krystyna Iglicka, <i>Poland's Post-war Dynamic of Migration</i> (Roland Spickermann)	245
Karen Knop, Diversity and Self-Determination in International Law (Daniel C. Turack)	246
Peter Toma and Dušan Kováč, Slovakia: From Samo to Dzurinda (Steven Scherer)	248
Markus Krzoska, Für ein Polen an Oder und Ostsee: Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900–1955) als Historiker und Publizist (David M. Crowe)	249
Miklós Molnár, A Concise History of Hungary (Tibor Frank)	251
Sébastien Peyrouse, Des chrétiens entre athéisme et islam. Regards sur la question religieuse en Asie centrale soviétique et post-soviétique (Michael Rywkin)	253
Bożena Shallcross, Framing the Polish Home. Postwar Cultural Constructions of Hearth, Nation, and Self (Theodosia Robertson)	254
Timothy Snyder, The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999 (David R. Marples)	256
Dzemal Sokolovic and Florian Bieber, Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies:  The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina	
(Dovile Budryte)	258

#### **Subscription Information:**

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

#### Annual Subscription, Volume 32, 2004

Institution \$537 £324 Individual \$145 £89

A subscription to the institution print edition, ISSN 0090-5992, includes free access to any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the online edition, ISSN 1465-3923.

Dollar rates apply to subscribers in all countries except the UK and the Republic of Ireland where the pound sterling price applies. 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, on credit card (Amex, Visa, Mastercard).

For more information, visit our website: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals

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

Nationalities Papers (USPS permit number 013 138) is published quarterly in March, June, September and December. The 2004 institutional subscription price is \$537. Periodicals postage paid at Champlain, NY, by US Mail Agent IMS of New York, 100 Walnut Street, Champlain, NY.

US Postmaster: Please send address changes to cNAP, PO Box 1518, Champlain, NY 12919, USA.

#### Ordering information:

USA/Canada: Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Inc., Journals Department, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. UK/Europe/Rest of World: Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Ltd, Rankine Road, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG24 8PR, 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. EU/RoW: The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis Ltd, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4 RN, UK. Tel: + 4 (0) 1235 828600. Fax: + 44 (0) 1235 829000.

The print edition of this journal is typeset by Infotype Ltd, Eynsham, Oxfordshire, and printed by Henry Ling Ltd, Dorchester, UK. The online edition of this journal is hosted by Metapress.

Copyright © 2004 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 Limited, to whom all requests to reproduce copyright material should be directed, in writing.

Taylor & Francis Limited 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 \$16 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: IPPRO@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 W1P 0LP, UK; e-mail: 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.

# **Contributors**

Keziban Acar is at the Department of History, Celar Bayar University, Turkey

**Ayhan Akman** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Sabanci University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Turkey, ayhan@sabanciuniv.edu

Lowell W. Barrington is Associate Professor at Marquette University, Department of Political Science, USA, Lowell.Barrington@marquette.edu

Michele E. Commercio is at the Political Science Department, University of Pennsylvania, USA, commerci@sas.upenn.edu

Erik S. Herron is Assistant Professor at the University of Kansas, Department of Political Science, USA

Marlène Laruelle is Senior Research Associate at Centre d'Etudes Orientales, France, marlenelaruelle@yahoo.com

Alec Rasizade is a Senior Associate at the Historical Research Center in Washington, USA, rasizade@juno.com

Michael Rouland is at the Department of History, Georgetown University, USA

**Eva-Maria Stolberg** is at the Institute of Russian History, University of Bonn, Germany, EvaMaria.Stolberg@t-online.de

Nebojsa Vladisavljevic is at the Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK, N.Vladisavljevic@lse.ac.uk

Tatiana Zhurzhenko is Associate Professor at V.Karazin Kharkiv National University, School of Philosophy, Ukraine; and currently a Lise Meitner Fellow at the Institute for East European History, University of Vienna, Austria