

ISSN 0090-5992

Volume 28 Number 2  
June 2000

# Nationalities *Papers*

ASN

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES



**AVAILABLE ONLINE**

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S009059920001967X> Published online by Cambridge University Press

# Nationalities Papers

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

**Nancy M. Wingfield,**  
*Northern Illinois University, USA*

ASSISTANT EDITOR

**Pontus Hiort,** *Northern Illinois University, USA*

EAST EUROPEAN EDITOR

**Rein Ruutsoo,** *Academy of Sciences, Estonia*

WEST EUROPEAN EDITOR

**Frank Golczewski,** *Universität Hamburg, Germany*

CANADIAN EDITOR

**Orest Subtelny,** *York University, Canada*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Leonid Rudnytsky,** *Las Salle University, USA*

**Theodore Weeks,** *Southern Illinois University, USA*

**Edward Wynot,** *Florida State University, USA*

EMERITUS EDITOR

**Henry R. Huttenbach,** *The City College of the City University of New York, USA*

EDITORIAL BOARD

**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*; **Yaroslav Bilocerkowycz,** *University of Dayton, USA*; **Melissa Bokovy,** *University of New Mexico, USA*; **Maria Bucur,** *Indiana University, USA*; **Daniele Conversi,** *University of Lincolnshire, UK*; **David Crowe,** *Elon College, USA*; **Andrew Ezergailis,** *Ithaca College, USA*; **Tibor Frank,** *Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary*; **William Fierman,** *Indiana University, USA*; **Alice Freifeld,** *University of Florida, USA*; **Geoffrey Hoskings,** *University of London, UK*; **Mark Katz,** *George Mason University, USA*; **Mills Kelly,** *Texas Tech University, USA*; **Marcia Morris,** *Georgetown University, USA*; **Edward Lazzerini,** *University of New Orleans, USA*; **Andrew Ludanyi,** *Ohio Northern University, USA*; **Reneo Lukic,** *Laval University, Canada*; **Allen Lynch,** *University of Virginia, USA*; **David Marples,** *University of Alberta, Canada*; **Steve Marks,** *Clemson University, USA*; **Peter Mentzel,** *Utah State University, USA*; **Daniel Miller,** *University of West Florida, USA*; **Michael Rywkin,** *The City College of the City University of New York, USA*; **Gabriele Simoncini,** *Pace College, USA*; **Andris Skreija,** *University of Nebraska, Omaha, USA*; **Ralph Tuchtenhagen,** *Universität Heidelberg, Germany*

**Editorial correspondence,** including submissions to the journal, should be sent to Dr Nancy M. Wingfield, *Nationalities Papers*, Department of History, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115, USA.

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

*Nationalities Papers* receives support from the Simon H. Rifkind Center for the Humanities of the Division of Humanities of the City College of New York, 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.

## Advertising

USA/Canada: The Advertising Manager, PCG, 875 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 81, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA. Tel: +1 617 497 6514; Fax: +1 617 354 6875.

EU/Rest of World: The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis Ltd, PO Box 25, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 3UE, UK. Tel: +44 (0)1235 401 000; Fax: +44 (0)1235 401 550.

*Nationalities Papers* is a peer-reviewed journal published four times a year (March, June, September and December) by Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Ltd, PO Box 25, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 3UE, UK. Tel: +44 (0)1235 401 000; Fax: +44 (0)1235 401 550. These four issues constitute one volume. An annual volume contents and author index is bound in the last issue of each volume.

# Nationalities Papers

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

*Nationalities Papers*, Volume 28, 2000, 4 issues,  
ISSN 0090-5992

Institutional rate (includes free online access)

£228.00

US\$378.00

Personal rate (print only)

£62.00

US\$102.00

*Personal subscriptions are welcomed if prepaid by credit card or personal cheque.*

Subscription rates include postage/air speeded delivery

## ORDERING INFORMATION

Please complete in full the details on the Order Form and return to:

Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Ltd,  
Customer Services Department, Rankine Road, Basingstoke,  
Hants RG24 8PR, UK

## OR TO

Taylor & Francis Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor,  
Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA

## By Fax:

+44 (0)1256 330245 (UK)

+1 215 625 2940 (USA and Canada)

## By Telephone:

+44 (0)1256 813002 (UK)

+1 800 821 8312 (USA and Canada)

## By WWW:

<http://www.tandf.co.uk>

## By E-mail:

[enquiry@tandf.co.uk](mailto:enquiry@tandf.co.uk)

For further details on the journal, including Contents Pages please visit the Carfax Home Page at:

<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals>

*Nationalities Papers* (ISSN 0090-5992, UPS 103138) is published quarterly. Periodicals Postage Paid at Rahway, NJ. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Customer Services Department, Taylor & Francis Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA

Copyright © 2000 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 copyright 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)—\$14 exclusive of any service charge or fee levied. In order to contact your local RRO, please contact:

International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organisations\* (IFRRO), rue de Prince Royal, 87, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium; email: [ifrrro@skynet.be](mailto:ifrrro@skynet.be)

Copyright Clearance Center Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive Danvers, MA 01923, USA; email: [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com)  
Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London, W1P 0LP, UK; email: [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.

## ABSTRACTING AND INDEXING SERVICES

*Nationalities Papers* is currently noted in *Geographical Abstracts: Human Geography*, *Geobase*, *Historical Abstracts*, *International Political Science Abstracts*, *Sociological Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

*Nationalities Papers* is available online (ISSN 1465-3923).  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S00905992001867X> Published online by Cambridge University Press  
Please connect to <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals> for further information.

## ORDER FORM

Please enter my subscription to *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 28, 2000, 4 issues, ISSN 0090-5992.

### Institutional rate (includes free online access)

£228.00

US\$378.00

### Personal rate (print only)

£62.00

US\$102.00

*Personal subscriptions are welcomed if prepaid by credit card or personal cheque.*

## METHODS OF PAYMENT

Payment has been made to:

Girobank plc, Bootle, Merseyside GIR 0AA, UK  
Sort Code: 72-00-00. Account No: 551 3057.

Payment has been made by bank transfer to one of the following accounts (please indicate):

UK (Sort Code - 60 02 49)

National Westminster Bank plc, Old Market Square  
Branch, 3 London Street, Basingstoke, Hants RG21  
7NS, UK

£ Account No: 01 484400

US\$ Account No: 01 328735

USA

Fleet Bank N.A., 3rd Floor, 1185 Avenue of the  
Americas, New York, NY 10036, USA.

Account No: 9417201589

ABA No: 021200339

Swift Ref: NBNAUS33

Payment enclosed. Cheques or bank drafts should be made payable to *Taylor & Francis Ltd* and be drawn on a UK or US bank.

Please charge:  American Express  Eurocard  
 MasterCard  Visa

Card Number

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Expiry Date

--	--	--	--

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Our Value Added Tax Registration number is \_\_\_\_\_

We are not registered for Value Added Tax

## INSPECTION COPY

Please send me an inspection copy of *Nationalities Papers*.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

POST/ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_

COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_ FAX \_\_\_\_\_



**Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Ltd**  
Customer Services Department, Rankine Road,  
Basingstoke, Hants RG24 8PR, UK  
Customer Services Department, Taylor & Francis  
Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia,  
PA 19106, USA

# Nationalities Papers

VOLUME 28 NUMBER 2 JUNE 2000

## CONTENTS

### ARTICLES

- Ethnopluralism: Panacea for East Central Europe?  
*Rasma Karklins* 219
- A Geopolitics of Identity: Drawing the Line between Russia and Estonia  
*Martha Merritt* 243
- Post-communist Nationalism as a Power Resource: A Russia–Ukraine  
Comparison  
*Mikhail A. Molchanov* 263
- “You Take Your Oath Only Once:” Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet, and National  
Identity among Russian Officers  
*Sven Gunnar Simonsen* 289
- Squatting, Self-Immolation, and the Repatriation of Crimean Tatars  
*Greta Uehling* 317
- The Shifting Identities and Loyalties in Kyrgyzstan: The Evidence from the  
Field  
*Ainura Elebayeva, Nurbek Omuraliev and Rafis Abazov* 343

### REVIEW ARTICLE

- The New Bosniak History  
*Robert J. Donia* 351
- Filandra, Šačir, *Bošnjačka politika u XX. stoljeć*  
Imamovič, Mustafa, *Historija Bošnjaka*
- Aličić, Ahmed S., *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine*  
Zlatar, Behija, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*

### BOOK REVIEWS

- Ramet, Sabrina P., ed., *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society since  
1939*  
(Aviel Roshwald) 359

Tismăneanu, Vladimir, ed., <i>The Revolutions of 1989</i> (Charles Bukowski)	361
Bideleux, Robert and Jeffries, Ian, <i>A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change</i> (John C. Swanson)	362
Musgrave, Thomas D., <i>Self-Determination and National Minorities</i> (Daniel C. Turack)	364
Pelinka, Anton, <i>Politics of the Lesser Evil: Leadership, Democracy and Jaruzelski's Poland</i> (Padraic Kenney)	366
Smith, Michael G., <i>Language and Power in the Creation of the USSR, 1917–1953</i> (David R. Andrews)	368
Michelson, Paul E., <i>Romanian Politics, 1859–1871: From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol</i> (David M. Crowe)	370
Abramson, Henry, <i>A Prayer for the Government. Ukrainians and Jews in Revolutionary Times, 1917–1920</i> (Theodore R. Weeks)	372
Kotz, David and Weir, Fred, <i>Revolution from Above: The Demise of the Soviet System</i> (Paula Michael)	374
Smith, Graham, Law, Vivien, Wilson, Andrew, Bohr, Annette and Allworth, Edward, <i>Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands</i> (Cynthia Werner)	375
Viikberg, Jüri, ed., <i>Eesti Rahvaste Raamat: Rahvusvahemused—rühmad ja killud</i> (Anton Weiss-Wendt)	377
Boterbloem, Kees, <i>Life and Death under Stalin: Kalinin Province, 1945–1953</i> (Hiroaki Kuromiya)	379
Smith, Sebastian, <i>Allah's Mountains: Politics and War in the Russian Caucasus</i> (Nicholas B. Breyfogle)	381
Nazarbayev, Nursultan, <i>Evraziiskii Souz: idei, praktika, perspektivy, 1994–1997</i> (Rafis Abazov)	382

# Contributors

**Rafis Abazov** is a Research Associate at the Center for Social Research of Kyrgyz Academy of Science, Kyrgyzstan.

**Robert J. Donia** is a Research Associate at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, U.S.A.

**Ainura Elebayeva** is Professor of Sociology at the International University of Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyzstan.

**Rasma Karklins** is Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago, U.S.A.

**Martha Merritt** is Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame, U.S.A.

**Mikhail A. Molchanov** is a Researcher in the Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Canada.

**Nurbek Omuraliev** is Associate Professor of Sociology at Bishek Humanitarian University, Kyrgyzstan.

**Sven Gunnar Simonsen** is a Researcher at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway.

**Greta Uehling** is a Ph. D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, U.S.A.