

Editorial Foreword

Routes of Nationalism. The conclusions that Stephen Velychenko reaches might well have seemed truisms a few generations ago. They gain renewed power in this essay, in part because we are now accustomed to ask different questions and look in other directions and in part because the surprise here lies in the comparison that Velychenko pursues. Far more than geography placed Great Britain and Russia at the antipodes of European history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Studying their relations with, respectively, Scotland and Ukraine sets forth some stunning parallels, in the taming of Highlanders and Cossacks, in the loyalty to the imperial power of Scottish and Ukrainian elites in times of war, and in the contrast between that sentiment and the sullen resentment of foreign rule in Ireland and Poland. There is another contrast to explain as well. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ukraine and Scotland were poor, sparsely settled, agrarian societies with only rudimentary political organization. In the following two centuries, Ukraine changed little despite rising national consciousness and increased restiveness at rule from Moscow; Scotland became a modern, relatively prosperous nation in which considerable autonomy seemed consonant with its position as part of Great Britain. The argument is about the importance of law and institutions; and this is a study, then, of state making (in *CSSH* note Braddick, 38:1), of regional nationalisms (compare Gourevitch, 21:3; Fenwick, 23:2; Horowitz, 23:2; and Henley, 37:2), of Russian development and nationalism (see Smith, 4:3; Greenfeld, 32:3; Poe, 38:4; and Dunning, below), of Scottish political culture (compare Hechter, 21:1; Camic, 25:1; Howe, 31:3). Afsaneh Najmabadi also writes about nationalism, its symbols, and its adaptation to modernizing changes. Her focus, however, is the poetics rather than the politics of nationalism, the importance of erotic images in Iranian evocations of the homeland. This highly gendered language, which eventually influenced debates on such specific issues as women's education, was fundamental; for it facilitated shifts in meaning (compare Hatem, 29:4; Ramaswamy and Lelyveld, both in 35:4) that made patriotism a matter of masculine honor and traditional language a way into modernity, a troubling prospect in Iranian history (see Keddie, 4:3 and Akhavi, 25:2).

Structures of Resistance. The capacity of poor and isolated peoples to resist the domination of powerful and wealthy outsiders remains a vibrant theme intertwined with moral resonance, moving description, and hardy theory (for a sample of notable contributions to these discussions, see Fox *et al.*, 8:1; Taussig, 19:2; Traugott, 21:3; Adas, 23:2; Scott, 29:3; Cole, 31:1; Daniel, 35:3; Ortner, 37:1; Donovan, 38:4). Necessarily preoccupied with the nature of power and with the ways in which power is exercised, this literature has benefited from the writings of Gramsci and Foucault and the body of work that has developed since. Studies of resistance have also always been comparative, with a long tradition of raising questions about the conditions under which resistance can be mobilized and made effective, questions of great

theoretical importance that are also crucial to practical programs for change, both radical and moderate. The juxtaposition here of three essays studying very different forms of resistance becomes striking because of this common intellectual background. The societies in question are about as diverse as the modern world affords, as are the issues in conflict; yet these three authors agree in rejecting any dichotomy between dominance and resistance, between the externally imposed and locally generated negotiation of power.

Peter Brosius works through a remarkable comparison of two groups of Penan, hunter gatherers in Borneo. Both have connections to a larger world through trade with neighbors, encounters with colonialism and the contemporary state, and the logging of the forests (compare Sivaramakrishnan, 37:1; Peluso, 38:3) in which they live. One group of Penan cooperates with the loggers, works for pay, and aspires to purchase Toyota Landcruisers for their villages. The other group has built barricades against the loggers and become heroes of the international environmental movement. The factors that first come to mind as reasons for resistance—the impact of global trade, international capitalism, colonial practice, government policy, and worldwide social movements—apply to both groups (for other views of labor and government in Malaysia, Kratoska, 24:2; Peletz, 35:1). Their contrasting responses, Brosius suggests, must be sought in subtle differences in social structure, kinship patterns, experience with outsiders, and their memory of that experience, their history. The leap from rain forest to the student movement in Mexico in 1968, could hardly be greater; but Herbert Braun's sensitive reading finds those students surprisingly attached to Mexican political culture and patriarchy. Even the vulgar language that seemed to make dialogue impossible rose more from filial middle-class attitudes than revolutionary aims (compare Finkler, 25:2 on lower-class, radical language and Felstiner, 25:1, on the familiar metaphors of the earlier Latin American revolutions). In that they were part of Mexico's notable history of contestation in terms of shared values (see Van Young, 28:3; Becker, 29:3; Martin, 32:2; Foley, 32:3; Davis and Marquez, 39:1). Jane Adams turns to the problem of mobilization (compare Tilly-Shorter, 13:1; Waterbury, 17:4) or, more precisely, the reasons for its absence among farm workers in southern Illinois (see Wells, 23:4; Adams, 30:3). Using comparison enables her to distinguish the experiences and social conditions that sustained multiple and even conflicting structures of domination as well as escape while fostering ideologies of difference (gendered as well as urban and rural) that cut across immediate economic interest. Each of these case studies thoughtfully reflects on theories of resistance, and it is precisely their careful specificity that leads to a call for some rethinking about how those theories should be applied.

CSSH Discussion. Chester Dunning brings us back to early modern Russia, systematically testing how well or usefully Goldstone's explanation (30:1) for the worldwide crises of that period applies to Russia. The result is a contribution to a growing literature that in its analysis of Russian history contributes to European and Asian history as well.