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Book Reviews

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Abroad” ended a decade ago. Chauvinistic sentiments notwithstanding, the country has to rely on immigrants from less fortunate CIS countries who are still preferable to potential migrants from the Far East and Southeast Asia. Kazakhstan, with its booming economy, is in the same situation. At the other extreme, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, affected by unemployment and low wages, remain key suppliers of migrant labor.

This World Bank volume has its strengths and weaknesses: it offers a large amount of data and numerous economic analyses, but the data tend to be contradictory. To trace the exact number of illegal migrants and of remittances by both legal and illegal migrants is an impossible task. We can see this by taking one republic as an example, namely Kazakhstan: on page 104 the number of “irregular” migrants in Kazakhstan in the year 2000 is said to be 200,000. The tables on pages 45 and 153 give an estimate of between 220,000 and 300,000 for 2002 out of a total number of over 3 millions. Do 90% of migrants work legally in Kazakhstan? On page 123, the number of migrant workers having moved from other Central Asian republics to Kazakhstan between 1991 and 2000 is said to be 80,000. During my recent trip to Astana, the estimate given by the Kazakh authorities in connection with the planned amnesty for illegal migrants was 1.5 million! All this proves the difficulty of providing correct numbers.

Moreover, the book avoids addressing the problem of the use of migrant workers for political purpose, such as Moscow’s threats to expel migrant workers from specific “Southern Belt” countries either to cater to domestic xenophobia or to extract specific political concessions from the migrants’ home countries. It is worth noting that some recent restrictive measures enacted by Moscow against migrant workers have been duplicated by other Central CIS countries, including those that supply labor to Russia. Thus Russian measures restricting Central Asian nationals from selling goods in local bazaars have been duplicated in Kyrgyzstan, this time against Chinese and Uyghur sellers.

Despite the shortcomings of this publication, caused by the unreliability of the available data and by restrictions governing international organizations, I would recommend this book to anyone in the field of migration and remittances. The editors and contributors of this volume have managed to put together a very solid and useful resource.

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Nationalism in a Global Era: The Persistence of Nations, M. Young, E. Zuelow, and Andreas Sturm, eds. (London and New York, Routledge, 2007), xi, 247 pp. + illustrations, index.

This volume arises from a 2004 conference entitled “When is the Nation” organized by the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN), based at the London School of Economics (LSE). In other words, it represents the publication of collected conference proceedings. Such ventures can be tricky, but the editors are to be congratulated for producing a volume that is of even and high quality throughout. Given the auspices under which the conference was organized, this collection represents something of a *Festschrift* in honour of Professor Anthony D. Smith, who as all but the most casual of readers will recognize as being one of the most prominent scholars in the field. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the contributors are all followers of Smith’s ethno-symbolist approach, and eschew both modernist and primordial understandings of the origins of modern nations. Although the extent to which they engage in debate concerning the merits of the various schools varies from author to author. The volume is divided into three parts. The first concerns itself with theoretical approaches, and it is here that the authors quite rightly do engage in comparative assessment of the aforementioned schools, particularly with regard to the merits of ethno-symbolism versus modernism. The second section is titled “Memory and the Persistence of Nations” and the third “Threat, Response, Re-emergence.” The case studies are drawn primarily but not exclusively from Europe. The latter case studies are complemented by analysis of nation building in Thailand (Andreas Sturm), national identity in Jordan (Stefanie Nanes), an analysis of Sikh diaspora nationalism (William Safran), and Turkish nationalism (Christopher S. Wilson).

Rather than attempt to cover each of the 12 chapters in turn, in general I will now confine myself to making some observations about two of them. Given the prescience of the contemporary debate occurring in and around Turkey over the nature of Turkish identity and Turkey’s relationship with/role in Europe, Christopher S. Wilson’s observations perhaps merit closer examination. Wilson points to the central importance of Kemal Atatürk to the wider modern Turkish community. As befits an ethno-symbolist or one broadly sympathetic to Smith’s oeuvre, Wilson pays close attention to the role of myth and symbol in the construction of modern Turkish national identity. With regard the latter, Wilson provides us with some erudite analysis of the importance of Atatürk’s mausoleum to the Turkish national project and shows how its dimensions and motifs are of central importance. His scholarly contribution demonstrates the central importance of Atatürk to the “secular” nationalists of modern Turkey and how the mausoleum itself symbolizes the nature of the nation-building enterprise. In so doing, Wilson also demonstrates the difficulty faced by the rising governing elite in Turkey as represented by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) as they attempt to dismantle elements of Atatürk’s legacy. Wilson’s contribution helps illuminate the fierce devotion on the part of Turkish “secularists” to Atatürk’s memory and the nation-state he forged. For readers who are wondering why I have placed inverted commas around the word “secularist” it is because in my view the secularism espoused by the supporters of Atatürk is not necessarily identical with that articulated in Western Europe.

Indeed, Poland is a country where secularism has, in recent years, been a hotly contested topic. The debate revolves around a number of dimensions. It concerns the extent to which the state should be separate from the Roman Catholic Church, the overall role of religion in society, and not least the (historical) relationship between Roman Catholic Poles and Polish Jews. In her contribution on the Auschwitz “war of the crosses” that took place between the mid- and late 1990s, Geneviève Zubrzycki deals with all of these themes and more besides. As is well known, contemporary Poland is a country that is overwhelmingly notionally Roman Catholic. Since the late 1980s, Poland has, according to one interpretation, “returned to Europe.” This “return” has had a clear and obvious impact upon Polish society, not least because significant sections of Polish society understood “Europe” by means of a series of symbols which it was discovered have no resonance among a majority of secular (according to West European understandings of the term) society. The result was that in recent years many Polish Catholics have evinced either hostility or ambivalence toward the Europe they “re-joined.” This is evidenced by the support of around one-third of the electorate for parties that present political programmes that in Western Europe would be regarded as marginal at best, and at worse deranged. So it is with the “war of the crosses.”

Put briefly, as Zubrzycki explains, the row was about the extent to which Auschwitz should be remembered as a place of Jewish suffering, or whether and to what extent Roman Catholic Poles had a right to commemorate the tens of thousands of Polish Catholics who were murdered there alongside approximately 1 million Polish and other Jews and the thousands of other faiths or none who also perished in Auschwitz. Zubrzycki correctly identifies the importance of Auschwitz to both Catholic Poles and the wider Jewish community. However, she could have perhaps done a little more to contextualize the attitudes of some Polish Roman Catholics within the context of the symbolism of the “return to Europe,” and also emphasized more strongly that for the large majority of Polish society the actions undertaken at this time on the part of Radio Maryja, Kazimierz Świtoń and their cohorts were both distasteful and odd.

By way of closure I would like to add that this book is well worth reading. It is of general interest to scholars of nationhood, nationalism and all related themes. It is well crafted and, as stated above, avoids the pitfalls sometime apparent in collected works.

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Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe, Cas Mudde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xiv, 304 pp. + appendices, bibliography.

Mudde’s work represents the cumulative insight of his long research into the Radical Right and the most comprehensive accumulation and evaluation of past scholarship on