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***Nationalist Movements*, edited by Anthony D. Smith**

Gerasimos Augustinos

University of South Carolina - Columbia, augustg@mailbox.sc.edu

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force Yiddish-speaking, socialist movement. In Levin's attempts to explain this situation, she goes far afield in discussing the spread of Jewish/Yiddish culture among American Jewish workers. The same conflict arose in Russia, where the Jewish Bund clashed with the leadership of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. The latter struggle, chronicled so often elsewhere, appears in this book (as in so many other books) as a battle of party leaders. It is often difficult to know just what the Bund meant beyond the infighting at the very top levels of the parties. What did it mean as a social movement?

The section on Palestine is the weakest, in large part because a real socialist movement did not emerge there until the 1920s. The author is forced to stick to a few ideologues and to the beginnings of the kibbutz movement. The topics concern the very interesting attempt by the early Zionists to form the "new Jewish human being" through a new relationship to physical labor.

The most disturbing intellectual failing lies in the periodization: the author uses 1917 as a terminal date without pondering its importance. Did the Russian Revolution create a caesura in the life of these Jewish socialist movements? It did for the Bund but certainly not for the others. In fact, one can probably not understand any of these groups, including the Bund, without looking at the 1920s and the 1930s. In this period the Bund in Poland for the first time (except for a brief flareup around 1905) became a true mass movement; the Palestinian labor movement was created and had to forge its identity; American Jewish socialism became even more closely identified with the labor movement and went through many years of social struggle. The year 1917 is an improper choice for this endeavor, although it is only fair to note that this fascination with the early stages of social movements is widespread among historians. In this case the story is too truncated to be completely satisfying intellectually.

LAWRENCE SCHOFFER
University of Pennsylvania

ANTHONY D. SMITH, editor. *Nationalist Movements*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1977. Pp. vi, 185. \$15.95.

Terms such as nationalism and nationality have exasperated a legion of writers who have tried to define and analyze the ideology represented by these words. Because nationalism is so wide-ranging and complex a phenomenon and has tended to invite strong value judgments, there has been little success in dealing with it in its entirety.

Anthony D. Smith, who already has established

a reputation as a discerning analyst of what he aptly describes as "a central feature of the processes of modern social change," has brought together a small group of scholars to attempt a comparative and interdisciplinary examination of nationalism. This undertaking is characterized by individual contributions rather than a team effort or an attempt at any collective view. As such, the essays in this work vary both in their scope of inquiry and value. Whatever thematic unity there is derives from the laudable efforts of the various authors to examine nationalist movements through the combined perspective of a time (historical) and space (sociological) framework.

Smith's introductory essay is the most inclusive in this regard. In some respects it is a summary of what he has already written in an earlier work, *Theories of Nationalism*. Yet it seems to me that Smith has sharpened and clarified his ideas and avoided some of the difficulties in terminology and classification that appeared in the earlier book. His essay here is lucid and compelling, and deserves a wide readership.

The spread of the national idea throughout the non-Western world has led to extensive research by social scientists into this phenomenon. Their theories have often yielded encouraging results when applied to the first independence movements in Europe. Such is not the case, however, with W. J. Argyle's piece on "Size and Scale as Factors" in nationalist movements. His use of anthropological terms—"proposing the category, elaborating the category, making subsidiary corporations, mustering the people"—in a study of nineteenth-century East European nationalism based exclusively on English sources reveals only the inadequacy of the theoretical framework. A chapter by Peter Calvert on what becomes of nationalist movements after the attainment of independence is more rewarding, drawn as it is from the non-European experience and directed primarily toward non-Western movements.

All societies have had to face the problem of maintaining group loyalty and cohesion. Two of the essays deal with this issue from widely divergent perspectives. T. R. Warburton's consideration of language as a factor for unity or disunity in the cases of Switzerland and Canada points up the importance of a society's unique historical experience in nation-building. Using the triptych of "patriotism, legitimacy and nationalism," K. R. Minogue surveys the European past from the city-state (patriotism) to absolutist monarchy (legitimism) and then leaves the triadic image incomplete with nothing more than a sketch (p. 70) of the role of nationalism in modern communities.

Most studies of nationalist movements have tended to place emphasis on the role and ideas of

intellectuals. The relationship of class and economics to nationalism has concerned primarily Marxist writers. In a sweeping historical essay covering the world over a period of two centuries V. G. Kiernan explores this formidable and fundamental issue. His concise and sustained account raises perhaps the most basic question regarding nationalism: despite the violence and upheaval associated with it, has it proved to be a constructive force in the modern world? Kiernan answers in the affirmative for Asia but in the negative for the European continent. Recent events in Africa and Asia, however, would tend to cast doubt on this opinion. Overall, nationalism might be seen as a means by which individuals have tried to meet the demands made on them by the other ideologies with which it has been coupled.

Nationalist Movements is a commendable effort to increase our understanding of the most pervasive force in the world today.

GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS
University of South Carolina

GIORGIO BORSA. *La nascita del mondo moderno in Asia Orientale: La penetrazione europea e la crisi delle società tradizionali in India, Cina e Giappone*. (Collana Storica Rizzoli.) Milan: Rizzoli Editore. 1977. Pp. 603. L. 10,000.

Until the Industrial Revolution contacts between Europe and Asia had more impact on the former than on the latter. Giorgio Borsa demonstrates this in his first hundred pages by surveying Europeans' cultural and intellectual responses to Indian and Chinese civilization up to the eighteenth century. Europe's impact on Asia became powerful after 1757 and the birth of modern Asia began. Borsa studies this process until the defeat of the last considerable resistance, i.e., until the Satsuma and Boxer rebellions and the events in India which he is Eurocentric enough to refer to as the Mutiny.

According to Croce, all true history is contemporary, directed toward understanding the present. Borsa believes that because of Eurocentric bias historians who wrote before 1939 throw little light on the origins of the "new Asia" of today. He therefore looks at their work with a fresh eye and surveys for the benefit of Italian readers the best postwar work available in English and French. In order to make such an account readable and coherent, imagination as well as scholarship is needed, and he sometimes ventures beyond his evidence. How does he know that Warren Hastings' revenue-farmers systematically falsified the records in order to secure their local influence? He suggests that Cornwallis adopted the Permanent Settlement in 1793 partly because he hoped that it

would increase Indian purchasing power to the advantage of British manufacturers, and cites pamphlets of the 1820s in support. This seems like historical determinism. A decision is to be explained not by the statesman's subjective understanding of the facts that faced him, but by the objective significance of his role, as shown not by the consequences of his acts but by the opinions of a later generation. In this way, indeed, all history becomes contemporary.

Borsa is a true historian, however, and knows that the light which history can throw on the present must be a by-product of the attempt to understand the past. His work is much more traditional than his introductory remarks make one expect. It is, after all, not true that writers such as Firminger, Baden-Powell, Morse, or Murdoch in the age of imperialism lacked interest in the spontaneous stirrings of Asian society, and the best recent work on the period has still had to be Eurocentric to some extent, since the dynamic forces to which Asia responded were European. The alternative so far has been speculation about the applicability to Asia of stage theories which were designed for Europe and assertions about the stage Asia might have reached by now if there had been no Western imperialism, and Borsa rightly ignores such literature. Since some of his research was done in India, Japan, and Hong Kong, it is surprising that he ignores journals such as the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, which give the best view of the contemporary work of Asian scholars.

H. R. C. WRIGHT
McGill University

W. DAVID MCINTYRE. *The Commonwealth of Nations: Origins and Impact, 1869-1971*. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, number 9.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1977. Pp. xvii, 596. \$25.00.

History is rewritten by each successive generation; and this has proved especially necessary for what has been called "The Changing Commonwealth." Earlier histories of the British Empire stressed its expansion of territory and its beneficent dissemination of liberal institutions. In the 1930s, A. B. Keith wrote as if, with the Statute of Westminster, the ultimate possible development of the British Commonwealth had been reached in the shape of a voluntary association of white dominions under the crown. But the world moved on and the British Commonwealth with it. Post-World War II anti-colonialism transformed it into the Commonwealth of Nations, a voluntary association of most of the former British dependencies, now all independent and many of them republics. These had