

model or "consociationalism" in this context is clear: state power in multi-ethnic contexts should be aggregated from the bottom up, with the concurrence of the various groups involved. If any of the several Soviet republics wanted to secede from the union, they should have been free to go.

However, when Karklins comes to present-day Latvia, she is less convinced that aggregating power from the bottom up should be attempted. Rather, she accepts the legitimacy of using state power to protect Latvian interests, and by methods found appropriate by Latvians but not necessarily by local Russians. The point here is not to debate the merit or the need for using Latvia's state power to preserve Latvian culture. Rather, it is to note that the author uses an elastic ruler when she measures the proper role of the state in attempting to bring about political and social harmony in multi-ethnic settings.

Third, Karklins tries to be both scholar and Latvian apologist, despite the sometimes mutually conflicting imperatives those roles impose. Although she certainly makes a serious effort at objectivity, her bias is apparent. One looks in vain throughout the volume for any hint of criticism of dominant Latvian views or of the ways those views have been incorporated into the new political order in the years since 1991. Rather, one finds a spirited defense of official Latvian policy on ethnic issues against criticism from any quarter.

In at least one instance, the author is even misleading as she reports on independent Latvia's record: In 1992 a special U.N. commission went there to investigate charges of human rights violations. The report submitted by this commission, Karklins notes, found no evidence of systematic violation. She fails to mention, however, that the commission also found a "genuine issue of concern" in the form of "discriminatory practices" by some of Latvia's bureaucrats in their treatment of individual Russians as the latter were being registered and assigned their legal status. Whatever the merits of the commission's concern, it simply is not true that its report was entirely exculpatory.

Despite the points just made, my overall evaluation of the book is positive. Karklins' explication of the place of ethnicity in the struggle for Latvia's independence is particularly sensitive and convincing, and that alone would make the work worth reading. Beyond that, the analysis is generally solid. In fact, the irritation is only that, but for a few correctable defects, it could be a truly excellent book.

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Janusz Bugajski. *Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe: A Guide to Nationality Policies, Organizations, and Parties*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994. xxvi, 493 pp. \$75.00.

Under the auspices of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and various U.S. government agencies, Janusz Bugajski traveled throughout Eastern Europe in the early 1990s to assess the threat posed by ethnic nationalism to political stability in the region. His first book based on the experience, *Nations in Turmoil* (1993), focused on the most troublesome disputes. With the massive amount of data he has collected, Bugajski has now put together a full-fledged reference work, a comprehensive guide to major ethnic organizations and political parties in Eastern Europe.

The purpose of the book is to provide a reference guide and not to prove or disprove prevailing theories about nationalism. Nevertheless, the book does reflect a broad current in theory. The study of nationalism has been divided between the primordialist viewpoint (Walker Connor, John Armstrong) which stresses the emotional well-springs of nationalism, its myths and symbols, and treats it as a cultural given; and the functionalist/instrumentalist viewpoint (Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm) which treats nationalism as a fairly new phenomenon constructed by elites in response to oppression or modernization. More recently, rational or collective choice theory has been applied to the study of nationalism, where participation in ethnic movements is attributed to choices made about material or psychological goods (David Laitin, Alexander Motyl, Hudson Meadwell). Anthony D. Smith has merged the primordial and functionalist/ instrumentalist approaches: elites (usually intelligentsia, professionals or bureaucrats deprived of full rights in the existing system) emerge to revive a primordial heritage (sometimes dimly remembered, especially in the case of "new" nations) to some political end. This approach has the advantage of focusing attention on language, culture, myths and symbols as well as the activities of elites and the particular situation in which the elites and their groups find themselves. Bugajski uses this broad approach and treats language, culture, myths and symbols as givens; and as a political scientist, he proceeds to focus attention on the actions of elites and organized political groups.

Bugajski holds that the Communist experience endowed East European ethnic nationalism with certain unique characteristics. Communism not only froze previous ethnic tensions, but created additional grievances: 1) borders were redrawn to serve Soviet geopolitical interests; 2) ethnic demands were portrayed as ideologically dangerous "bourgeois relics" and were often forcibly suppressed; and 3) Leninism distorted political debate by "depicting stark black and white contrasts between correct and incorrect policies." At the same time, the party/state used nationalism as a mobilizing force, especially in Albania and Romania. During the Communist era, then, ethnic nationalism was "dormant" or "disguised," existing not to meet the needs of the particular ethnic community but the needs of the party/state. While bargaining on the basis of ethnicity did take place, it was clearly delineated and usually relegated to the realm of cultural activities and folklore. Repression, however, forced ethnic nationalism to become a powerful vehicle of protest, particularly as the Communist system began to disintegrate.

Upon the collapse of Communism, greater political freedom and fewer state controls gave birth to ethnically-based political groups demanding varying degrees of autonomy, input into decision-making, and control over economic resources. Ethnically-based political parties with extremely nationalist leaders pose serious problems for the growth of democracy in multi-national states because permanent majorities and minorities are created, such parties focus on single issues, chances for compromise diminish, and it is easy for the majority ethnic party to degenerate into an ethnically-centered authoritarian regime, and, by extension, into armed conflict. However, not all nationalists are the same. The types of ethnically-based parties and organizations are quite diverse, and fall into five variants: 1) cultural revivalism, 2) political autonomism, 3) territorial self-determination; 4) separatism; and 5) irredentism. Bugajski focuses his attention on two groups: militant majority nationalist parties whose prime focus is on "national interests" rather than economic or social problems; and militant minority parties which have an overt political focus and are geared toward asserting their group's rights in one way or another.

Following the brief introduction is an exhaustive overview of ethnic politics in each East European country. Each chapter focuses on a particular country and gives population statistics,