Contents

	List of figures	7
	List of tables	X
	Preface: field experience and social theory	xii
1	Introduction: western concepts and non-western realities	1
	The structure of Third World nationalism	1
	A critique of the Eurocentric theory of nationalism	5
	Methodology for voluntaristic theory	13
	Some correlates of the Third World concept	18
2	Towards a new definition of Third World nationalism	22
	An examination of existing concepts	22
	A sociological definition of nationalism	25
3	The stages of proto-nationalism: tribalism, ethnicity	
	and patriotism	31
	Integration, involvement and consciousness	31
	Political evolution and concomitant types of social consciousness	33
	Patriotism and nationalism differentiated	37
	Political feudalism and state formation in the Third World	42
4	Social structure of the nation: the ordering principle of	
	national attributes	47
	Cohesive properties of nationhood	47
	Race and language as means of cultural differentiation	49
	Society and nation	52
	The pattern of nation formation in the Third World	58
5	The evolution of religious sects and the emergence of	
	national identities	64
	Religion's potential for complex culture formation	64
	National identity in the context of multiple identities	71

viii Contents

	The domestication of world religions and the origins of	
	national identities	76
	The sacralization of race and territory: clues to emotionalism	
	in nationalism	81
6	Modern nationalism and egalitarian ideology	88
U	National consciousness	88
	Traditional and modern nationalisms differentiated	91
	Intellectual mobilization and the diffusion of political	
	consciousness in society	99
	Imperialism and the objectification of social self-hood	102
7	The politics of nationalism: mass mobilization, linguistic	
	transformation and nationalist movements	108
	Mass politics	108
	Social carriers of nationalist ideas	111
	Linguistic transformation and social communication	115
	The state and national economy	117
	Nationalist and social movements differentiated	126
8	The mechanism of mass mobilization: symbol manipulation	
	and identity assertion	130
	Brahminic symbols and Hindu nationalism	131
	'The true Muslim' myth and Jihad in Arab nationalism	135
	Uncertain counterracialism in African nationalism	140
	Territoriality and power in Han nationalism	145
	Peasant culture and mass nationalism	152
9	Nationalism as social power: restructuring	
	egalitarian systems	157
	Social origins of political power	157
	Fascist tendency in the structure of nationalism: race	161
	Nationalism's normative legacy: freedom and equality	163
	State nationalism and regional organization	174
10		101
	the rise of ethnic nationalism	181
	Ethnic groups and nationalism	181
	Ethnic identity and the monoethnic state	187
	National integration and the rise of ethnic nationalism The 'modernization' of ethnicity	196
	Social prerequisites of ethnic nationalism	200
	social prerequisites of ethnic nationalism	205

	Contents ix
Conclusion: cultural differentiation and political	
rationalization	210
Dual tendencies in nationalism	210
The paradigm and prediction	221
Epilogue: the rise of Slavic nationalisms and the	
collapse of transnational ideocracy	228
The collapse of transnational ideocracy	228
The Nature of Slavic nationalism	231
Tradition in the family	235
Russofication and non-Russian identities	236
References	240
Index	248
	Dual tendencies in nationalism The paradigm and prediction Epilogue: the rise of Slavic nationalisms and the collapse of transnational ideocracy The collapse of transnational ideocracy The Nature of Slavic nationalism Tradition in the family Russofication and non-Russian identities References