

to explain how does one achieve these conducive conditions or the degree they become effective in fostering modernization. This failure is significant in light of the suggestion that Greek political pluralism and market economy have not been sufficient to produce adequate industrialization and modernization in Greece.

The other two criticisms, which pertain to structural issues, are far less serious. There are no analyses of Albania or perhaps Turkey and there is no general conclusion to tie all the findings together. The reader must reread the introduction as a conclusion upon finishing the book. The editor would have done well to use the last three pages of his very good introduction as a general conclusion.

Nonetheless, *Diverse Paths to Modernity in Southeastern Europe*, is a timely contribution to the literature on post-communist Balkans. By examining the past, it sheds light upon possible future developments, and implicitly warns us that unless something is done to remedy the ethnic, political, and economic perpetuations in the Balkans, history may repeat itself. It is worth reading for this reason alone.

Norwich University

SYMEON A. GIANNAKOS

*The Odyssey of the Pontic Greeks, Journal of Refugee Studies*, special issue, vol. 4, no. 4, (1991), (Oxford University Press in association with the Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford).

The present volume, which includes a number of papers originally presented at a symposium convened by the RSP in Oxford in November 1990, reflects the growing interest displayed by social scientists — particularly historians, social anthropologists and, increasingly, specialists of international relations — in the position of non-dominant ethnic groups. These human communities, often carrying bitter memories of discrimination, constitute the most likely victims of the recent upsurge of militant nationalism following the collapse of the Soviet empire and the dismantling of the bipolar post-war system. In recent years, Greek Pontian communities in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia and Georgia, hardly pressed by local nationalisms, steadily dwindle as their members seek a better future in safer parts of the former Union or in Greece. The present *exodus*, the latest in a record of persecution and displacement over the past two centuries, threatens to bring to an end the millenia-old presence of this exceptionally enduring element in its ancestral settlements around the Black Sea (Pontos). The studies in this volume contribute to a new awareness of the issues involved, particularly with regard to the elements of Pontian identity (historical past and "myth", culture and language) and the problems of self-preservation and/or integration in "host" societies.

The historical background of the Pontian Diaspora, an indispensable guide to further analysis, is outlined in four studies. Anthony Bryer's paper is valuable both as a concise account of the course of Pontian Greeks from antiquity to the early 20th century, presenting data on the geography, demography and economy of Pontos, and as an attempt to construe central elements of Pontian identity under Ottoman rule and under the impact of 19th century Greek nationalism; in this latter respect, three small settlements in Pontos (Doubera, Phytiana and Tsite) are used in a quite illuminating way. In her contribution, Artemis Xan-

thopoulou-Kyriakou sums up the major turning points affecting the history of Greek Pontians in the 19th and early 20th centuries, as they were increasingly entangled into the web of Ottoman domination. Russian policies and Greek nationalism. The papers of Apostolos Karpozilos and Vlasios Agtzidis deal exclusively with the Pontian communities of the former Soviet Union, the first examining the flourishing of Pontian letters and culture in the late 1920s and early 1930s and its subsequent suppression by Stalin, which is also part of Agtzidis' paper.

The origins of the Pontian tongue out of the Greek *koine* and its historical development into a Greek dialect (and *not* a separate language) are examined in yet another paper by Peter Mackridge.

The social anthropological perspective is the common ground of three papers: Patricia Fann concentrates on the Pontic myth of "revival" of their Byzantine past (taken from a familiar folk song: "*I Romania ki an perasen anthei kai ferei ki allo*") as a crucial element of contemporary Pontian culture in an effort to substantiate a quest for preserving (or projecting) a particular quasi-ethnic identity. The problems of integration into the Modern Greek society facing the Pontians are examined in a comparative perspective by Maria Vergeti, taking into account the case of Pontian refugees, primarily from Asia Minor, in the 1920s and the latest wave of migration from the former Soviet Union since the mid-1960s. The contribution of Effie Voutyra on the identity and perceived status of Pontians presently arriving to Greece is based on substantial fieldwork and reflects a profound awareness of the methodological and substantive parameters of the debate concerning the "national phenomenon". In this study Voutyra unfolds a pattern of analysis based on key juxtapositions ("homeland-refugees", "we-they", "here-there") and appropriately differentiates between two main groups, those departing from Central Asia and those leaving their ancestral places in Eastern Georgia: in the first case, the Pontians deported there by Stalin and now anxious to "sever all ties" and come to Greece have long been pushed into "refugeeness", while those from Georgia fit more comfortably into the pattern of migrants. In this respect, the uniform labelling of the current Pontian *exodus* by the Greek State as "re-patriation" is quite misleading.

Finally, the immediate reaction of the Greek State to the rapidly increasing influx of newcomers is described by Dimitris Kokkinos, managing director of the Greek agency responsible for the reception and resettlement of "repatriated" Greeks. His two contributions are indicative of the official perception of an issue, whose complexities are vigorously tackled in parts of this most welcome publication.