BOOK REVIEWS

Joan DeBardeleben (ed.), *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement – Finding a Place for Neighbours*, **Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008; ISBN: 978-0-230-52124-7; 272 pages, index: 273-283**

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Written in the context of an enlarged and unquestionably rickety European Union and uncertainty about any further enlargement, *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement* essentially deals with issues regarding the remaining neighbours, aiming to explore current EU-neighbour arrangements, their strengths, shortcomings and challenges. On the one hand, the book is an account and multi-faceted critique of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). On the other hand, and less explicitly so, it brings into discussion the possibility, even necessity of a partial revision of what the EU should, or can, be, both internally and externally. It is a rich and enjoyable read for anyone with an interest in these issues.

As part of a genuinely questioning introduction, Joan DeBardeleben introduces some of the basic issues. One is the inherent dilemma of the ENP, a value-based policy that rests on the same principles of conditionality as the process towards full membership, but without the reward of actual membership. Another is the fact that the EU is tired and desperately needs something like the ENP as the next best thing to letting everyone in. The chapters themselves further discuss and illustrate issues relating to the questionable nature of specific neighbourhood relations. The conclusion, also written by DeBardeleben, is equally inquisitive and open-minded as the introduction, suggests fundamental weaknesses in the EU's approach to its neighbours, and comfortingly implies that a massive experiment like the EU takes time to perfect.

The first two chapters expand on the critique of the ENP, though in different ways. The author of the first chapter, using constructivist theory, builds his argument around the so-called

"logic of appropriateness" that underlies the force of enlargement, implying that, once a non-member has become "good enough" for membership in theory, it would be illogical and contradictory to the very meaning of the EU to refuse it entry. The author of chapter 2 implicitly criticises the ENP by comparing it to the region-specific policy NDI (Northern Dimension Initiative), which navigates the relationship between northern Europe and Russia and is built on an interest-based rationalist approach rather than a value-based one. Though it remains unclear if the author would suggest that the ENP be more like the NDI, this rationalist approach both puts the ENP and the very meaning, scope and uniformity of European integration into question.

The remaining chapters are divided into region-specific sections, dealing with Russia, Ukraine and Moldova, and the Balkans, all of which are thorough and informative in regards to relations with the EU. The focus of the different sections is notably different and perfectly appropriate given that the relationship the EU is has with each neighbour is thoroughly unique. The different sections also seem to, perhaps inadvertently, embody different arguments of the discussion. Theoretically, the section on Russia denounces the ENP from a rationalist and realist angle, whereas the chapters on Ukraine seem to do so from an opposite viewpoint. The section on Russia defends Russia's preference to be a so-called 'strategic partner' to the EU, rather than falling under the ENP, and advocates a flexible EU approach in attempting to plant its values in Russian soil: "while it seems unlikely that European leaders and institutions will forego comment on Russia's 'value' choices, if these judgments do not lead to concrete sanctions or disincentives, they may be only minimal obstacles to continued EU-Russia engagement, while still gradually and subtly affecting the Russian political environment" (p. 87).

On the other hand, the first chapter on Ukraine thoroughly accounts for what can only be seen as a Ukrainian failure to live up to the standards of potential membership, but still conclu the chapter by pointing out the inadequacies of the ENP. This way, the chapter seems to suggest that the failure is actually the EU's, in that it has not managed to find a way to appropriately reward a neighbour that, after all, is trying and desperately wants to join.

The chapter on Moldova is, again, altogether different and suggests the possibility of an interest-based relationship: "the EU should view developments in Moldova and the Baltic Sea Region with a strong dash of realism, cognizant of the fact that Moldova, which is still an illiberal democracy, continues to pursue a policy of balance of power politics on astute calculations as to where its national interest lie between Europe and Russia". (195)

The level of inquisitiveness, as well as the degree of overall inconclusiveness of the book is in a way appropriate, given that the EU's approach to its neighbours and potential further enlargement is anything but clear. There is, however, something frustrating about the level of detachment between the different sections, the general introduction and conclusion included. There are numerous arguments, suggestions and conclusions throughout the book, and of course they can not all be wrapped up or pitted against each other. However, the book does fundamentally put into question the nature of EU-neighbour relations, but without any overall arguments. It is somehow unclear whether the book realises that it contains solid material for a comparative and more conclusive discussion on neighbourhood relations in the very real and very different examples of Russia, Ukraine and Moldova.
For the same reasons, the chapters on the Balkans, which, after all, are on a path towards membership, seem slightly out of place. Focusing almost entirely on factual accounts of the EU's security achievements in the region, they add little to a debate about EU-neighbour relations. Read in this light, a section on Turkey would perhaps have been more relevant.

However, there are many ways of a reading a book and it may be unfair to suggest that this one misses a point it was not even trying to make. Quite in line with what the aim of the book seems to be, it manages to present a debate-provoking and intelligent account of the current state of the EU and its neighbours as part of broader questions regarding the very role, character, depth and scope of the Union. The critique that contains unrealised potential is an almost flattering criticism and may provide incentive for readers to embark on further study.

Howard J. Wiarda (with the assistance of Dale R. Herspring and Esther M. Skelley), 2006, *Development on the Periphery: Democratic Transitions in Southern and Eastern Europe*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 269 pp. ISBN: 0742530345 pbk.

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The comparative research of democratization in Southern and Eastern Europe has preoccupied scholars of transitology and consolidology since the collapse of communism in 1989. "Development on the periphery" is a part of the series of books edited and written by Howard J. Wiarda on Latin American, South and East European, and comparative politics. The volume is a monograph, based on a number of the author's previous publications and articles (in *East European Political and Society* and *Mediterranean Quarterly*), except for the chapter on East European political culture, contributed by Dale R. Herspring. It can be recommended to students of regime change in Southern and/or Eastern Europe. The informationally rich narration and profound analysis of political history of both regions (in the case of Eastern Europe, with focus on the twentieth century) are especially valuable for the students of history and politics of the regions.

The focus of the book is on political-cultural aspects of regime change in two traditionally undemocratic and underdeveloped regions of Europe, Southern and Eastern, and their prospects for consolidation of democracy and European integration. This topic is especially relevant in light of the democratic backsliding in new EU member states, faltering democratization in Moldova and Ukraine and reversion towards authoritarianism in Belarus and the Russian Federation. The theoretical argument of the book (developed in Chapter 3 *Transitology and the Need for New Theory*) is that transitology and consolidology, theories initially developed for analysis of Southern European and Latin American regime change, are "fundamentally flawed" and incomplete (p. 80), as well as non-applicable to East and Central Europe. The latter is due to the region's principally different historical

experience of political regimes and to the significance of political culture, although varying greatly from country to country. The book recedes from either a purely rationalist or institutionalist approach. Instead, historical approach is applied to provide a structural explanation of prospects of democratization, with political culture as one of the main explanatory variables. The book provides in-depth case studies of two South European countries (Spain and Portugal) and an overview of the East European region as a whole, rather than a coherent comparative study.

On the basis of voluminous historic evidence, it is successfully explained why Southern Europe had better conditions for a successful transition from authoritarianism than East European countries from communism. In line with structural theory of democratization (societal modernization and comparative historical approach), the level of transformation within the previous regime (e.g., prior to the death of Franco in Spain and a military *coup d'etat* in Portugal; or "reform communism" in Hungary) is considered as determinative for the outcome of transition from authoritarianism. In contrast to Southern Europe, where the comprehensive bottom-up changes had begun long before the end of authoritarian regimes, not only did top-down changes in political culture start with the collapse of the regime in Eastern Europe, they were also rather shallow. The lack of the "civic" political culture necessary for a democracy and basic societal attitudes internalized under communism have dominated transition and obscured prospects for democratization in Eastern Europe, despite the implemented institutional changes. The argument that membership in the Soviet Union complicates transition towards democracy in comparison to post-communist East European states belongs here as well. Although criteria for complete transition are not fully defined except for general reference to "continuity with a previous regime" (p. 97), implying that transitions are never over, transitions in both Eastern and Southern Europe are classified as incomplete.

Undoubtedly, bringing back political culture along with historical and geographic factors definitely contributes to the understanding of democratization in both regions. However, it largely ignores elite contestation and institutional configuration, a subject of

contextual theories of democratization, and other variables of regime change, e.g. mode of transition, studied by transitology, which are particularly important for analysis of post-communist transitions. Moreover, where complementary structural explanatory factors influencing transition, such as a level of economic development and institutionalization (for study of the East European case) are introduced, the causal relations between all main explanatory factors seem rather intricate.

Furthermore, the conceptualization of notions such as political culture (including religion, previous experience of polity/regime, and psychological attitudes) in Central and Eastern Europe, important precisely because of the book's focus on historical legacies and cultural divisions, should be addressed. Political culture is defined rather broadly,[44] up to merging with a general notion of culture, and is interchangeably referred to as "participatory" or "civic", indicating a problem of conceptual stretching and vagueness. Given the complex nature and broad definition of the concept, the political culture, although considered the main explanatory factor for prospects of regime change, sometimes is analyzed as conditioned by economic, institutional, societal changes or the nature of the regime (authoritarian versus totalitarian).

Likewise, the presentation of some constituents of political culture is disputable. For instance, a substantial constituent of the complex notion of political culture is the factor of religion. In the book the overarching concept (Christianity as a whole) is identified with its Western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) branches, whereas the Eastern (Orthodox) branch is seen rather as an alternative to Christianity than apart of it. Although religious division is one of the most fundamental identifiers of political culture and geopolitical orientation of the state (e.g., Samuel Huntigton's "clash of civilizations"), it however stands for either Western or Eastern Christianity but not Europeanness per se. The next dimension for distinguishability between West and East of Europe, namely belonging to an empire, is even more blurred. All monarchies to which Eastern European countries (Belarus, Moldova, Western Ukraine) belonged, such as Polish-

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44 "...the values, ideas, norms, belief systems (including religious beliefs), behavioural patterns, and standards ways by which people operate" (Wiarda 2006: 9).

Lithuanian and Austro-Hungarian, monarchy, identified themselves with the West and Western Christendom.

Finally, although the importance of differences between countries is stressed, their understanding is blurred by analysis of Eastern Europe as a whole (contrary to country-specific studies of Southern Europe) and by the Russian Federation-centered view. Besides, Eastern Europe and FSU, CIS, and the Russian Federation are often interpreted as three different entities. This leads to the second crucial and problematic concept - that of Europe (and its borders). It has turned out difficult to define primarily because of its multiversion essence allowing for plurality of criteria, e.g. "geography, religion, culture, politics, economics, sociology, or ethnicity" (p. 182) according to which it can be defined. As observed with regard to the religious factor, the notion of "Europeanness" seems problematic to define. Occasionally, it is either substituted for with level of development or equated to Western Europe. The delimitation of belonging to Europe is not consistent and occasionally excludes either Easterners (Belarussians, Georgians, Russians, and Ukrainians) and Southern nations (the Balkans).

Regarding the overall structure of the book, the presentation of information on Southern and Eastern Europe is asymmetric. In the former case, the very detailed political history of each country is outlined back to pre-nation state times; by this, two case-studies of Spain and Portugal niche foreign policies towards their colonies, undertaken in Chapter 6, although informative and analytical, seem to be not coherent with the main argumentation of the book. In contrast, for Eastern Europe rather little attention is paid to the pre-communist period.

The general aim of the book is largely achieved since it reveals the significance of political culture for studies of regime change. Yet inclusion of other factors, e.g. institutions and modes of transition, could provide a more overall analysis.

Andreas Menn, *Konstruktion von Nation und Staat in Osteuropa: Transnistrien und die Republik Moldau [Construction of nation and state in Eastern Europe: Transnistria and the Republic of Moldova]*, **Saarbrücken, Vdm Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008, ISBN 3836459221 (pbk), 112 pp**

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The recent events in Georgia and the repercussions thereof in world politics have shifted attention to Russia and its near abroad where several cases of unstable states and separatist conflicts were created by the break-up of the Soviet Union. Right at the border of the recently enlarged European Union is the case of Moldova and the self-declared Transnistrian Moldavian Republic that lies within Moldova's internationally recognised boundaries. Both the internationally recognised state and the *de facto* independent Transnistria are rather new constructs in terms of nation-building and state-building and their mere existence continues to surprise many analysts and decision makers.

Andreas Menn's *Konstruktion von Nation und Staat in Osteuropa: Transnistrien und die Republik Moldau* sets out to trace the construction of the two entities of Moldova and Transnistria throughout history and it does just that. After justifying the need for his research and clearing up the most important terminology, he summarises both Western and Eastern European approaches to explaining nation-building and nationalism. He then opts to employ a synergy of them, or rather to use different theories to explain different aspects of the nation- and state-building in Moldova and Transnistria. Through combining other author's insights into one thorough historical study, critically analysed through various theoretical lenses, Menn sheds some light on the complex cases of Moldova and Transnistria:

Both Moldova proper and Transnistria are ethnically heterogeneous and with a history of foreign rule by diverse empires and states. The question of a Moldovan nation has only seriously been posed in the last hundred years and the concept of a Transnistrian nation is an invention of the early 1990s. Both,

therefore, missed the earlier waves of nationalism which created nation-states such as Germany, France or Poland. As Menn correctly notes, this was due to a late completion of the prerequisites for national identity formation – communication and social mobility – set out in the modernisation-based school of thought (p.91).

All of Moldova and Transnistria were part of the Russian empire. Western Moldova (Bessarabia) declared independence in 1918, but then allowed itself to be absorbed by Romania (p. 36). Transnistria had never been part of historic Moldova, but rather belonged to Ukraine. Mere political calculation by Moscow brought the two together under Soviet rule when Moscow decided to carve out a separate Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR) from Ukrainian territory, including present-day Transnistria in order to reclaim "the rest" of Moldova from Romania. When Romania lost Bessarabia in the Second World War, Moscow integrated it with the Transnistrian portion of the MASSR to form the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR).

In both the MASSR and the MSSR the Soviet Union chose to artificially exaggerate the differences between Moldovans and Romanians in terms of language, culture and history in order to prevent future Romanian claims of the territory. This ran contrary to Soviet nationality policies elsewhere, as local identities were usually suppressed rather than encouraged. However, Moscow was never fully committed to the project of the Moldovan nation which was thus encouraged and suppressed at different times or even simultaneously. Adding the parallel creation of the supranational *homo sovieticus* and the *de facto* preference of Russian elites to this equation, it is no wonder that many Moldovans until today wonder where they belong and who they are.

During *perestroika* and the break-up of the Soviet Union the Moldovan Popular front, assisted by modern communications and media and a now much better educated public, managed to reach a temporary consensus, mostly in Bessarabia, that lead to the declaration of independence. Transnistria, fearing the loss of its traditional dominance and a reunification of Moldova with Romania, also declared independence, heavily relying on Russian

support for its cause in the resulting conflict with Moldova proper. The expected reunification, however, never came despite Romanian efforts in that direction and the debate between "Moldovanists" and "Romanianists" continues ever since.

In both Moldova and Transnistria the processes of state-building and nation-building are running in parallel (p. 90), though there are specific peculiarities to each case. Menn correctly identifies present-day Moldova as a polyethnic state where both ethnicity and citizenship count rather than a traditional nation-state. In Transnistria, however, a separate identity based mainly on citizenship of a constructed common regional homeland has come into being and the leadership has arguably been somewhat more successful at nation-building (p. 81).

At the end of his book, Menn concludes that everything is still possible in Moldova and Transnistria, as the identities that are forming there are not yet fixed. A key factor will of course be Russia, who can either escalate the Transnistria conflict like in the Georgian case or allow for a reintegration of Transnistria into Moldova which would then lead to another phase of joint nation- and state-building.

The reviewer shares Menn's opinion that there is much scope for further research into Moldovan and Transnistrian statehood and the Transnistria conflict. A fuller understanding of the realities in Russia's near abroad can only help Western decision makers to make well informed decisions and avoid another Cold War. Menn's book, however, already represents an excellent starting point for those wishing to understand the history of the creation of present Moldova and Transnistria.

Unfortunate is the relatively high price of this publication, which might limit its reach to those most devoted to the subject who tend to already have a relatively good understanding of the issues covered by Menn. Hopefully, however, the book will be read widely enough in decision-making circles which are often dominated by generalisations and false assumptions about Moldova and Transnistria.

Joerg Forbig and Pavol Demes (eds.), *Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe,* **The German Marshall Fund of the United States and Individual Authors, 2007, ISBN 978-80-969639-0-4, 254 pp.**

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Forbig and Demes' detailed ethnographic analysis of the political transformation of post--communist Central and Eastern Europe is presented in their 2007 work, *'Reclaiming Democracy- Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe.'* The authors dedicate themselves to providing a detailed account and analysis of civil society's role in bringing about democratic change in Georgia, Serbia the Ukraine and Slovakia since the early 1990's. Taking examples from the particular experience of civil society groups within these countries, Forbig and Demes provide the reader a variety of debates and perspectives which have often been over looked in other more general studies on the Central and Eastern European (CEE) and the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, which, as the authors indicate, is still ongoing. The book is presented in two parts, the first is a case study series and the second a comparative exploration of the key themes outlined in the preface and introductory sections.

In part one, the authors provide a panoramic case-orientated study series to the reader which, from key activists, provides a unique and intimate view of civil society activities and efforts, pre-election campaigns and civic movements, which emerged in the analyzed countries in this collaborative work. Through the use of case studies based on actual experience rather than second-party narrative the authors achieve what they purport to achieve, producing work with an emphasis on authenticity rather than relying exclusively on scholarly analysis. The authors introduce a wide variety of case studies which facilitate their debate in Part two's comparative analysis, which contends with the misconception that a 'universal recipe exists for civil society efforts to assert democracy' (p.14). Concentrating on moving away from explicitly narrating the colour and velvet revolutions of the time, the case studies focus on tenants of democratic change

influenced by the civil society, such as free and fair elections, preparation 'on the ground'(p.40), and particular nuances of the Rose revolution in Georgia and the Orange revolution in the Ukraine. As stated by the authors, the particular nuances highlighted, often remain hidden behind broader categories that have been applied to recent democratic change in CEE (p. 17).

Part two's comparative approach places the observations made in part one into a broader political perspective. A broader perspective enables the reader to analyze the situation during this time of political transformation and place it in a wider international context. Furthermore it re-emphasizes that the introduction of democratic electoral reform at no point guarantees a model which can be used as a universally applicable standard for all post-communist countries. Part two's international perspective goes beyond the confines of CEE and considers 'different authoritarianisms' from China, Belarus, Russia and Eurasia and highlights that civil society movements without credible leadership in opposition to the status-quo are essentially powerless (p.160). Challenging the views that have become popular during the revolutions, the chapters analyzing patterns of electoral change, strategy, resources, youth culture involvement, the economy and direction, the authors reflect on the real effect of color and velvet revolutions and the difficultly in determining causal links between and the prime motivators of a transition to democracy (p. 18). The main emphasis in each chapter is that electoral revolution is not the only possible mode of regime change and that pluralism both socially and politically are the main supporting components conducive to electoral change. Fundamentally, the reader is shown, as a result of Forbig and Demes' thorough analysis that civil society or evolution in cultural norms cannot be understood so rigidly as to expect them to bring about electoral change and 'reclaim' democracy.

Forbig and Demes put forth a well structured and thematically sound piece of work. The reader is guided through debates which are clear, concise and original. Furthermore, the work provides a wider choice of examples than is typically found in texts dealing with transitional democracy in CEE. Methodologically, the use of both case study and comparative technique is a classical approach which champions the merits of ethnographic

scholarship. Stylistically the book is well written and where definition and further explanation is required the reader is provided with such in a clear, concise and informative manner. The language used is stimulating and the reader is not overwhelmed by the use of jargon or long convoluted sentences, quotations are choice and thematic. Critically however, it should be mentioned that in order to fully appreciate part two's comparative analysis, the reader should be equipped with a prior knowledge of the political and social cleavages in the cases used as models such as China, Russia and Eurasia. While these case studies are well researched, presented, and debated, the merits of their inclusion may be overlooked and under-appreciated by students who are unfamiliar with these cases.

R*eclaiming Democracy* is an insightful and original approach to the consideration of civil society and its relationship with electoral change in CEE. This book would be of particular relevance to scholars and students of CEE history and politics as it looks beyond the traditional headings and assumptions about the actual contributory force of civil society.

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds the Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, Cornell University Press, United States of America, 2001, 262 pp. ISBN: 0-8014-8736-6

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In the last century, ethnic conflicts have escalated in number and intensity all around the globe. Hence, understanding the violent fragmentation of peaceful coexistence in multi-ethnic states has become of paramount importance to addressing some of the crucial international security issues of our time. Outlining the preconditions of ethno-nationalist clashes, argues Stuart J. Kaufman in his book "Modern Hatred", is nowadays one of the best means to explain the organized expulsions, massive rape, torture, fratricidal murder and horrifying massacres that have characterized contemporary ethnic wars. What makes such ethno-national warring schemes possible? Can it simply be the

perpetrating nations' method of re-asserting their "rightful" place within nationhood? (Kaufman 2001, 2).

Aiming to develop a theory to decipher "why ethnic wars occur and how they might be prevented" (p.2), Kaufman analyzes the motives national leaders possess to instigate ethno-nationalist impulses on their population. What is more, he seeks to explain why supporters of national causes might be willing to perpetrate some of the most savage methods of ethnic confrontation and even to die for such cause.

Literature on ethnic wars is quite extensive. Therefore, efforts to understand and explain why ethnic wars have only occurred in certain territories and among particular groups of peoples are not new. Early attempts, however, mainly assumed primordialist axioms which interpreted ethnic conflicts as the consequence of innate mutual hostility amongst ethnic groups. This approach is mainly based upon "assign-at-birth" ancient hatreds credentials.

Conversely, scholars who refute the essentialist thesis focus their studies on a rather instrumental or rational basis. In the past few decades, nevertheless, constructivist approaches have been gaining greater momentum and have been able to provide innovative answers to old ethnic questions. Kaufman's integrative approach provides thus an excellent understanding of modern ethnic wars as it combines the arguments of psychological and rational choice mainstreams of though (pp. 17-47).

Kaufman's book cleverly reveals how ethnic myths and fears, as well as the opportunity to act on them, politically become the interlinked preconditions that set the context for ethnic wars (pp.10-12). The author uses the theory of symbolic politics in a case study that mainly draws its examples from the Caucasus region and Southeast Europe. To understand the symbolic politics theory one must assume that "*people choose by responding to the most emotionally potent symbols evoked… symbols get their meaning from emotionally laden myths. Myths* [...] *have the role of giving events and actions a particular meaning – typically by defining enemies and heroes and tying ideas of right and wrong to people's identity. Facts, from this point of view, do not matter*

– either they are redundant confirming the myth; or else they contradict it and are rejected (pg.28).

In this vein of thought, to predict whether people will engage or not in ethnic violence one must first examine the myths and prejudices which determine the particular symbols that are likely to move a given nation for they evoke their greatest collective fears (pg.30). For example, fear of national extinction.

The result of Kaufman's study is a historically detailed and vastly documented book which thoroughly analyzes ethnic disputes. Firstly, the Armenian-Azerbaijani clash in Karabagh which is, according to Kaufman, the outcome of clashes between an Armenian nation obsessed with its history of genocide, and the Azerbaijani people who were mobilized by emotive slogans in the sort of "Freedom for the heroes of Sumgait" (pp.80-83, 205). Secondly, the conflict in Abkhazia, which is explained as the byproduct of cleavages between Georgian chauvinist leaders (e.g. Gamsakhurdia) and the stubbornness of Abkhaz nationalists determined to renew a century-old statehood (pp. 124-127). Thirdly, the case of Moldova, which the study revels was a mass-led process that in the end was manipulated by elites until the outbreak of war (p.205). Lastly, the secession wars in Yugoslavia are approached as an elite-led process which was only possible due to the presence of long-lasting myths that revived the past and gave legitimacy to ethnic confrontation (p. 205).

The book's added value comes from its great variety of sources (including visits to the regions and dozens of personal interviews). The author is thus easily able to indicate why diplomacy and economic incentives are not powerful enough means to neither prevent nor end ethnic wars. According to Kaufman, the best conflict resolution strategy is peace-building, as it is the only means that focuses on vanishing hostile attitudes at both the elite and the grassroots levels (p.42).

The main findings of the book show that there was a pattern of pre-existing myths and fears of group extinction, ethnic hostilities and a drive for political dominance in all cases. Moreover, successful politicians were always the ones who were able to refer to myths and fear with the explicit purpose of triggering their

followers' emotions. Also, it seems that his integrative approach had to be introduced in the study of ethnic violence as essentialist, instrumentalist, and rational-choice views were by themselves failing to take into account the meanings of the people's actions.

There are two main pitfalls, nevertheless, to the symbolic politics theory. First, that it limits itself to interpret ethnicity as regards to symbolic complexes which drive groups to claim a group name, a set of common believes, a shared culture and a common historical memory and decent. The latter is based only on one interpretation of ethnicity. Authors such as Anthony Smith (Nationalism, 2001) debate several other interpretations like, for example, the modernist construction of ethnic identity.

The second limitation is that Kaufman's arguments fail to analyze the impact of ethnicity construction after regime change. The construction of ethnic identity is, according to scholars like Scholte (2005), a hybridized construction of self which in contemporary times is built upon new dynamics of supra-territorial interactions and trans-global connectivity. This means that modernist constructions of identity in the territories of political transition have also to be taken into account as they alter the values of myths and symbols.

In a nutshell, "Modern Hatreds" is an excellent piece of scholarship as it offers international relations and political science majors an integrative approach to understanding the pros and cons of the most common arguments that aim to explain ethnic wars. The author moreover presents a balanced blend of theory and case studies which provide the readers with the necessary examples to identify what triggers ethnic conflicts.

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