

BOOK REVIEWS

Stuart Mitchell, *The Brief and Turbulent Life of Modernising Conservatism*, (Newcastle:Cambridge Publishing Scholars Press, 2006).

Author: Konstantin Kilibarda
York University

Stuart Mitchell's foray into the first decades of post-World War II British history is a welcome addition for those scholars who took an interest in the burgeoning historiography of this period. Mitchell's main focus is on the administrations of Harold Macmillan (1957-1963) and Sir Alec Douglas-Home (1963-1964), whose brand of 'modernizing Conservatism' antagonized both traditionalists and neoliberals within the Conservative Party. Mitchell thus seeks to painstakingly illuminate Macmillan's attempts to 'modernize' Britain during a period when its postwar consensus – dictated by the 1944 White Paper on Employment Policy – was beginning to unravel.

Mitchell's primary concern is to illuminate the trajectory of Macmillan's modernizing agenda within the Conservative Party, conceived as a form of "creative dirigisme" needed "to maintain state legitimacy and social harmony during a period in which such blessings were being assailed by considerable cultural and social change, and as a domestic statecraft strategy designed, foremost, to secure the perpetuation of the Conservative Party in power" (3).

The fact that Macmillan was able to steer the Conservative Party away from certain electoral defeat in the aftermath of Anthony Eden's failed attempt to impose imperial discipline on Egypt during the Suez Crisis (1956), speaks to his acumen as a politician according to Mitchell. Although a supporter of the brutal British, French and Israeli aggression on Egypt (claiming an estimated one-thousand Egyptian civilian lives in one week of fighting), Macmillan was nevertheless able to redirect the British public's attention to domestic issues and

the pressing need for both external and internal modernization.

In fact, under Macmillan the British outlook on the imperial rhetorics of 'kith and kin' and the attendant domestic anxieties over British 'decline' were radically redefined as Mitchell shows. It was in this period that a fateful turn to the European Common Market was attempted as means of adapting to Washington's newly acquired superpower status around the globe and to Britain's "loss" of Empire (represented by Suez and other successful anti-colonial struggles curtailing Britain's attempts to exert control over its alleged 'Commonwealth').

Though the discussions of Britain's attempts to recalibrate its international relations are illuminating, Mitchell's main concern is with the peculiarities of Macmillan's brand of Toryism – which drew on the traditions of 'One Nation' Toryism and Tory Socialism– when applied to the 'home-front.' Along these lines, he takes particular issue with later Tory historians who dismiss the legacy of this period by refracting it through the light of later Thatcherite austerity: "This brand of modernizing Conservatism was not the milky, dewy-eyed, spendthrift creed that some later commentators have been wont to portray... [Instead], the state was to be a tool to effect a transformation of Britain, not a cash cow for the pitiable and hopeless" (7).

Throughout his text Mitchell highlights the complex internal dynamics animating the turbulent relationship between Party-cadres and civil society actors faithful to Macmillan's modernizing agenda and those who opposed it. To this end, Mitchell weaves together a narrative that attempts to reconstruct the social, political and cultural environment within which Macmillan's agenda unfolded through the use of contemporaneous media accounts, leaflets, political cartoons, and social movements. As Mitchell contends, while "High politics may create a fascinating narrative...its power to illuminate the workings of government is limited: Other quarters must also be investigated" (8).

It is through such cues that Mitchell navigates us through the initial period of Macmillan's 'minimalist statecraft' (1957-1959) to the drama of the 'night of the long knives' (the mass-dismissal in July 1962 of key government Ministers), the 'Profumo affair' (one of Britain's most infamous Cold War sex and spy scandals), the politics of Britain's attempted turn to the European Common Market (in the end vetoed by French President Charles de Gaulle), and the pitched polemics that characterized debates over the abolition of resale price maintenance (leading to one of the largest back-bench rebellions in postwar British history).

Overall the book achieves what it sets out for itself: providing a detailed account of a critical period in Britain's postwar history that sheds light on a Conservative Party at odds with its later neoliberal and Euro-skeptic incarnations. The book is particularly captivating in its discussions of the cultural milieu in which Macmillan's modernization agenda was employed. Here, the influence of right-wing extra-Party movements – particularly on the Douglas-Home administration – over issues such as national and moral 'decline,' youth delinquency (compounded by the panic caused by the 'Mods-and-Rockers' riots during the spring of 1964 in places like Clacton, Margate, and Brighton), Mary Whitehouse's campaign to 'Clean Up TV' (CUTV), etc. are expertly recovered from the archives by Mitchell in an engaging way (see discussion in Chapter Six).

Along these lines, it is perhaps apropos to inject some mild criticism into this review. While Mitchell is not insensitive to the gendered aspects of postwar British electoral politics – interesting, in this regard, is Mitchell's discussion of the class character and profile of female Tory voters – he nonetheless fails to take into consideration important feminist typologies of the postwar welfare state. It is hoped that Mitchell can expand on such research in future works given the attention he does give to the particular role of 'housewives' and newly professionalized women in setting the tone of debate throughout postwar Britain. Here the pioneering work of feminist political scientists like Linda Gordon (1990) and Jane Lewis (1992) on the gendered dynamics of the welfare state

would have been useful in illuminating how the paternalism of Macmillan and Douglas-Homes' 'modernizing' vision may have contributed to the alienation of an increasingly empowered female electorate.

Similarly, although infused with references to Empire, Commonwealth and Macmillan's turn to 'Europe,' the text lacks a more detailed discussion of how Commonwealth and immigration policies were redefined during this period. Here the insights of postcolonial theory, British cultural studies and anti-racist historiography could have cast greater light on the racialized aspects of Macmillan and Douglas-Homes' modernizing agenda. Decolonization is thus merely portrayed as a top-down process coming from the Prime Minister and his inner circle at the Foreign Office and not the product of broader anti-colonial movements – primarily those in the colony, but also some within the British polity – that sought to terminate the violent legacy of such segregationist statecraft.

Nevertheless, Mitchell's text does provide us with hints concerning the internal dynamics of Conservative Party discussion on the shifting grounds of British identity and illuminates the sources of some of the more reactionary interests seeking to stall 'modernization.' In fact, Mitchell does a remarkable job at both illuminating the class profile of some of the more intransigent elements within the Party that opposed Macmillan's agenda and in questioning the ready assumption that this pressure was coming from the 'grassroots' of the Party.

Summing up, Mitchell's text draws an elaborate picture of a critical turning point in the British social-history through an examination of the complex internal political dynamics that animated policy discussions within the ruling Conservative Party in this period (1951-1964). In particular it lays an important background to understanding the later administrations of Edward Heath (1970-1974) and the constituents and pressure groups that would later consolidate around the policies of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s.

Nick Miller, *The Nonconformists: Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in a Serbian Intellectual Circle, 1944-1991*. (Budapest-New York: CEU Press, 2007).

Author: Harun Karcic
University of Bologna

The collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s has by now been thoroughly analyzed by journalists, social scientists and historians. An entire spectrum of theories about conspiracy theories have emerged, varying from interpreting the break up of Yugoslavia as a byproduct of 'ancient hatreds' all the way to looking at it as a mere power struggle between former-communists-turned-nationalists. It is impossible to understand the break up of Yugoslavia without having to go back at least to the Second World War. Once the 50 years between the formation and the collapse of Yugoslavia are analyzed, including the gradual rise of nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s, the picture becomes somewhat clearer.

Nick Miller's *The Nonconformists* is a book based on his 1999 article of the same name published in the *Slavic Review*. In his book, Miller looks at the works of some leading Serbian intellectuals, but pays most attention to Dobrica Cosic, Mica Popovic, and Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz and attempts to decipher the motives that led to the transformation of loyal communists into nationalists. He is clearly critical of the three main assumptions to the collapse of Yugoslavia; the power relations in the state; the historical analogy; and the assumption that Serbs have *always* been aggressive and xenophobic.

Miller starts by pointing out to a particular event in the 1960s – the failure of the League of Writers to break down barriers and reorganize along aesthetic criteria instead of being limited to regional associations – as having quite an impact on Cosic. After this failure, Cosic's faith in the Yugoslav communist supranational state began dwindling and he started feeling that further divisions in Yugoslavia would continue to the detriment of the *Serbian* nation.

Another example that Miller illustrates is a lecture delivered by Cosic titled 'How we view ourselves' (180) which pointed to a new direction in Cosic's line of thought: he increasingly started showing signs of abandoning Yugoslavism and drifting towards the reaffirmation of Serbian culture and national identity.

Miller's work shows that Cosic felt that the Serbian nation was being fragmented and was threatened under communist Yugoslavia and hence it further convinced him of the need to preserve the Serbian national identity and culture. In the 1970s along with increasing Croatian national demands, Cosic even began feeling that Serbs were the actual victims of Tito's regime.

Along similar lines Miller follows the works of Mica Popovic, a painter, who also roughly at the same time began to doubt the abilities of the communist Yugoslav regime to respond to the demands of its people and of its state of being. Popovic, as his work suggested, seemed to have been leaning towards three specific points: firstly, he explored explicitly Serbian topics; secondly, he began introducing a message of 'anti-totalitarianism,' and thirdly; his works suggested disappointment with what the communist regime failed to achieve by questioning the communists' promise for a better and more rational future (227).

A friend of Dobrica Cosic and Mica Popovic, Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz did not indulge in romanticizing the image of Serbs as did Cosic with his image of the Serb peasant. Rather, he associated bad behavior and negative traits to other Yugoslav people. As Miller shows, Mihiz - although no nationalist himself - was also something of a disappointed leftist and what disappointed him most was the authoritarianism of the Yugoslav regime and its impact on the Serbs.

Miller's aim throughout the book is to prove that Serbian nationalism was neither inherited nor ancient. He employs a critical literary analysis of an impressive number of books,

articles and speeches and arranges them in such a way that he almost proves his point.

Miller draws a number of conclusions on the three intellectuals he studied. Firstly, the negative responses of the Serbian intellectuals were a result of developments in Yugoslavia and were originally rational. Secondly, their focus was on culture and they did not attempt to gain power or at least it wasn't their primary goal. Thirdly, their work was introspective rather than aggressive. And fourthly, Miller claims that although Cosic, Popovic, and Mihiz argued for continuity with the Serbian past, they never did so as manipulators or propagandists.

However, some of Miller's conclusions are debatable. One such conclusion is when he compares Adam Michnik and Vaclav Havel to Dobrica Cosic. He rightly claims that all the three mentioned recognized, on time, the unpleasantness of the Stalinist regimes and they all sought truth. Yet, Michnik and Havel were considered humanists, while Cosic a bloodthirsty nationalist (350). This was perhaps an abrupt conclusion and there are a number of books by authors such as Milorad Tomanic (*Serbian church at war, and the war within it*), Norman Cigar (*Genocide in Bosnia*) and David Bruce Macdonald (*Balkan Holocausts*) which showed or at least mentioned otherwise the role played by the intellectuals in the Yugoslav breakup and the subsequent wars.

The other pitfall of the book is that Miller analyzes the works of Serbian intellectuals during a period of accelerated collapse of Yugoslavia and makes hardly any mention of the bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo, although it is a known fact that intellectuals played a significant role in spurring national emotions leading up to the war and some even played a crucial role in justifying killings.

The Non-Conformists is not a book for absolute beginners on Yugoslavia, it is based on an enormous amount of well researched literature and provides an in-depth analysis that no other book has done in the recent past. Unlike a number of

books on Balkan nationalism which are more often than not mere commentaries based on secondary and tertiary sources, this book is an originally styled and worthy piece of work based on less known and little researched primary sources. However, a significant amount of literature ought to be read before this book could be understood and rightfully comprehended. The author offers neither an introduction nor a conclusion; rather he gives the reader the freedom to individually conclude the evolution of nationalism in a Serbian intellectual circle.

David J. Galbreath, *Nation-Building and Minority Politics in Post-Socialist States, Interests, Influences and Identities in Estonia and Latvia*, (Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2005).

Author: Gabriella Borgovan
University of Trento (Italy), University of Ljubljana (Slovenia),
Corvinus University of Budapest (Hungary), and University of
Regensburg (Germany).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, former Soviet Republics were facing the challenge of building/rebuilding a nation. Authoritarianism, colonialism and command economy were dropped on behalf of democracy, de-colonization and market economy. This affected not only the newly nationalizing states, including the case studies presented in this book, Estonia and Latvia, but also the "25 million Russophones living outside Russia". The nation-building process was a result of historical grievances from the part of the titular communities, which lead to nationalist movements and to a growing importance of ethnicity in politics.

David J. Galbreath tests the conditions under which minority politics can best be understood by analyzing events in Estonia and Latvia in the period following the reestablishment of independence until the withdrawal of the permanent OSCE missions. His book, *Nation-Building and Minority Politics in Post-Socialist States – Interests, Influences and Identities in*

Estonia and Latvia, focuses on the process of minority politics in the two Baltic States by adding to Brubaker's "triadic nexus" - which contains the interplay of nationalizing states, national minorities and external national homeland - the regional and international organizations. Analyzing Estonia and Latvia because "the starting points of these states are the closest conditions political science can get to laboratory settings", questions like "How do we go about analyzing minority politics in the current European system?" and "What role have traditional actors, such as the Russian federation, and non-traditional actors, such as the EU, played in affecting policy changes?" are addressed. The structuralist theory of ethno-nationalism is supported, with the argument that "although culture, political elites and basic group dynamics play a part in the larger majority-minority relationship, the structure of the system is the key determinant of minority politics". While traditional IR theorists have concentrated on state-to-state relations this book aims to highlight the role of international organizations in internal state affairs, following the neo-liberalist theories of IR.

The book is structured in ten chapters out of which the first five provide a wide theoretical basis and a solid contextualization of the study. Without wanting to overstate the events in Estonia and Latvia, the author is testing the conditions of better understanding minority politics in democratizing states. The next four chapters represent the core empirical part of the study by focusing on politics and policies in Estonia and Latvia, especially minority policies, and on external influences on the policy-making process, from the Russian Federation and international institutions. In order to eliminate bias, the author analyzes Baltic, international and Russian sources. The last chapter offers not only conclusions, but also a brief comparison of the two case studies.

Besides offering a comprehensive view on the already existing theoretical approaches, the author also conducts a detailed analysis of the evolution of politics and minority policies in the two countries contributing with empirical findings. Regarding the democratic institutional design best fitted for Estonia and

Latvia, the author chooses democratic liberalism, where differences are negotiated through compromise. Complementary to ethno-nationalist movements, the increasing economic difficulties are listed among the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union. Along with independence came the goals of EU and NATO membership for the Baltic states. Nation-building and policy making were mostly based on nationalist movements (disfavoring minority communities who were excluded from this process by language and citizenship obstacles) but the Baltic states also had to cooperate with the OSCE, EU and CoE, playing a two-level game in order to satisfy the electorate and to keep international commitments.

The value of this book lies mostly in its detailed overview and analysis of the policy making process after independence. Language, Citizenship and Education policies (i.e. that mostly affected the minority communities) have experienced several amendments due to changes in government and to international pressures. The negotiations, difficulties and different viewpoints of the actors participating in the policy-making process offer a clear view not only on the internal situation of the two Baltic states but also on the international context since (among others) the EU and the OSCE (mostly through the HCNM) had a say in the evolution of the minority policies.

After independence, both states introduced similar naturalization requirements for non-citizens. Estonia introduced immigration quotas and applied the jus sanguinis principle in the citizenship law, while non-citizens had to pass through a naturalization process which implied a loyalty oath to the Estonian state, competence in Estonian language and permanent residence since the passing of the resolution on independence. Along with the 1993 Law on Aliens a one year period for residency applications was introduced, and, after international pressure, a one year extension was granted to the deadline. Only temporary five-year permits were to be issued. Permanent residents had the right to vote in local elections and military pensioners could obtain permanent

resident permits. Similarly, Citizenship Law in Latvia required a language test, a Latvian history and culture test and introduced the "naturalization windows", giving a specific time period for different segments of the population to register for citizenship. Regarding language, both states started to implement the official language not only into the public but to some degree also into the private sphere. Estonian became the sole language of the country while in Latvia bilingualism became an official policy, with a three-year transition period for Russian-speakers in the public sphere to learn Latvian. After several amendments to these and other policies, the OSCE permanent mission withdrew from the Baltic states with the acknowledgement of normalization of majority-minority relations.

Although the author denies intentional criticism towards Moscow, while reading the book a slight preference toward the Baltic states can be noticed. Although Russia, as the external national homeland, attempted to influence Baltic policy making either by linking issues such as borders and troop withdrawals to reforms (especially minority policies- the Russian Federation claimed that the Russophone community was being discriminated against) or by appealing to international organizations, it had little to no effect. The reason was not only because it was unclear whom exactly Moscow wanted to protect but also because of the impression of the Baltic governments (supported by the author) that the Russian Government was hiding behind the human rights issues in order to delay troop withdrawal rather than making a real effort to protect Baltic Russians from discrimination.

One issue that remains unclear is the level of uniqueness of the two analyzed countries and therefore the applicability of the measures regarding minority politics discussed in this book. Although finding similarities with the Serbian minority in the Yugoslavian successor states, Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries or Russian minorities in Moldova and Ukraine, a clear and exhaustive answer is not provided here; this is left for further research along with questions like "How much are international organizations a product of the

will of member-states rather than international actors unto themselves?" and others.

Although minority issues are very well described and analyzed, the view of the members of the minority communities on their situation is mostly absent. The relations between Russia, international organizations and the Baltic states, Russia's foreign policy regarding not only its Diaspora but also the will to maintain influence in the Baltic area and the evolution of minority policies in Estonia and Latvia are however, very broadly depicted. Overall, this book is well written, making it an excellent reading for IR, political science or minority studies scholars, for practitioners, and policy-makers dealing with minority issues.

Xavier Bougarel, Elissa Helms, and Gerlachus Duijzings.
The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-war Society. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2007).

Author: Christine Zubrinic
Royal Military College of Canada

Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the subsequent wars, Bosnia has become a symbol of emerging ethnic nationalism as well as a model for studies in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society* edited by Xavier Bougarel is a rich contribution to the study of post-conflict transition and reconstruction from an anthropological and ethnographic perspective that allows the reader to better understand the quandaries faced by Bosnia and those involved in post-Dayton reconstruction. *The New Bosnian Mosaic* is a collection of academic essays written by researchers in the fields of anthropology, ethnic studies and international relations between the most pivotal years of Bosnia's reconstruction between 1999 and 2003. The wealth of academic and field experience brought forth by the contributors gives the work a completeness often lacking in

other works of the same subject matter. By incorporating these experiences this work succeeds in answering the large and daunting questions which surround Bosnia's past, present and future without falling victim to the generalizations which often plague academic research on the problems facing Bosnia.

Explaining the complicated situation and challenges of post-Dayton Bosnia can at times seem like an intimidating undertaking, but Xavier Bougarel and his contributors have managed to tackle the subject in an effective manner. The impressive group of contributors which Bougarel has assembled bring with them a great deal of empirical knowledge based on both academic and field research. As a result of the breadth of knowledge of the contributors a wide array of aspects surrounding the Bosnian post-conflict reconstruction and transition are examined, including the work of individuals and organizations, in an attempt to better understand the challenges faced post-Dayton. The book's emphasis on the perspective of local and native Bosnians sheds some light on the problems that have plagued reconstruction and transition efforts thus far.

The complex nature of the subject matter as well as the ambitious amount of information loaded into this book necessitated a strong structural lay out. This was achieved through the divisions of the essays into three sections entitled, 'beyond ethnicity', 'beyond ancient hatred' and 'beyond protectorate'. This strengthened the overall readability of the book in part or as a whole making it a very useful resource for academic research. The first section, entitled 'beyond ethnicity', examines the role ethnicity has played in the post Dayton environment. Each essay examines a different aspect of ethnicity in Bosnia; however all have included the use of sources of information from 'locals'. This emphasis of inclusion of local sources enriches the arguments laid out and gives the theories a more plausible applicability than other works in this area.

The second section, 'beyond ancient hatreds', deals with the collective memory of victims of violence and its impact on the future of Bosnia. This topic is especially important to the reconstruction and transition of Bosnia specifically due to the blame often placed on 'ancient hatred' for its role in the violence of the war. This section is well done and a balance has been struck by examining the issue of 'ancient hatred' from a number of different perspectives. One criticism that can be levelled at this section is the lack of perspective from the Bosnian Serbs; this inclusion would have been an interesting and enriching addition. The third and final section, 'beyond protectorate', concentrates on the transition of the political systems of Bosnia following the Dayton Agreements. Of particular interest in this section is the examination of the economic issues facing Bosnia with emphasis on the emergence of a strong black market. This section is particularly important as it emphasizes the problems faced by the international community as well as the Bosnian leadership when attempting to rebuild a fully functional Bosnia. The chapters included in this work all possess one refreshing characteristic: the chapters concentrate on the rich and vast Bosnian situation rather than reaching to make comparisons or theories of applicability to other conflicts.

The most important contribution this work offers is its emphasis on the social understanding of Bosnians themselves and the social life within Bosnia. This work has successfully avoided the many pitfalls associated with writing on Bosnia and the Balkans as a whole. It has not fallen victim to the generalizations which often plague studies of Bosnia and this is in part due to the consistent objectivity present throughout the work from author to author. Despite the hundreds of works dedicated to the study of Bosnia, none have made as much effort to unearth the societal road blocks to progress in Bosnia; by doing so Bougarel and his contributors have made an exceptional contribution to the literature on Bosnia post Dayton.

Roni Stauber and Raphael Vago *The Roma – A Minority in Europe*. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007).

Author: Svetla Baeva
La Sapienza University

The Roma's history is one associated on the one hand with romanticized wanderings and on the other hand with centuries of persecution. Their historical documentation is often squeezed in with other memoirs and accounts. In recent years, researchers have tried to track their history but more often than not the research is fragmented and contradictory particularly on subjects such as Roma origins or population demographics. Even so, as the Roma situation has evolved into a human rights issue, it is taking a more important place on the agenda of European policy.

Who are the Roma? Are they an ethnic minority or not? What is their history? These are all questions that the present volume tries to address and plump up the somewhat underweight research on the many facets of the Roma. *The Roma: A Minority in Europe*, a compilation of ten essays, is the result of a conference held in the Tel-Aviv University by the Stephen Roth Institute in December 2002 to discuss the history and current situation of the Roma in Europe. The book is edited by two of its authors – Roni Stauber and Raphael Vago. The contributors are distinguished scholars in Roma studies or related fields from a multitude of countries: Israel, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Czech Republic and Romania.

Organized chronologically, the anthology begins with Shulamith Shahar's essay on the perceptions of Gypsies throughout the centuries, particularly in Early Modern Europe. It explores their origins and the differences within groups denoted as 'Gypsy' (10). A considerable chunk of the book is devoted to the persecution of the Roma and its culminating point during World War II. Peter Widmann discusses the rise of eugenics and criminal biology and the correlation with Roma treatment prior to World War II. Several essays discuss how Nazi Policy varied in Germany, Austria, Hungary and

Romania. The Margalit-Matras and Stauber-Vago essays focus on the complexity and interconnectedness of identity and commemoration. The authors discuss in detail the Sinti in Germany and Hungarian, Czech and Slovak Roma. In this way, the book does a brilliant job in shedding light on Romani groups and whether they consider themselves 'a diaspora' or transnational group (111).

Eva Sabotka and Pal Tamas' essays deal with the post-communist transition period and divulge the ways Roma policy has changed in Eastern Europe since 1989. The Roma situation improved from being a 'security issue' to a human rights-orientated issue (146). Pressures from the EU and other international organizations for democratic representation and formulation of a human rights framework have moved this positive change. In addition to the need for a formal channel for dialogue, much research is still needed to understand the Roma as a culture and community. The authors show that there is a large difference within these concepts from country to country or even region-to-region to indicate that Roma integration and social inclusion does not have a one-fit-all approach.

The historical, social and political issues arising from the friction between the Roma and European communities are laid out in this writing. The central theme recurring throughout the book is the persecution of the Roma throughout the centuries and in particular their genocide during World War II, a subject that has not yet been "properly and exhaustively researched." (ix) The book propagates the idea that their genocide needs to be acknowledged in order for commemoration and the creation of collective memory to take place and furthermore to act as a catalyst for future activism.

Moreover, the essays are historically significant as they mark an important meeting point between the Jewish and Romani communities. The book also broaches the issues of what constitutes ethnic identity and its boundaries, collective memory, myth-making and social constructivism. The authors draw parallels from the impact of the Jewish Holocaust,

Shoah, on the consolidation of ethnic identity and the process of nation building to better understand the role that *Porrajmos*, Roma Holocaust, has played in Roma identity creation and collective memory. By addressing these issues, the contributors hope to spur other institutions and countries to follow their example into further research.

The authors try to illustrate the Roma as an ethnic minority through methods of comparing and contrasting. The first approach compares treatment of victims such as Jews and Soviet POWs under the Nazi regime (44) and how that related to Romani treatment. The book draws on the Jewish experience to show through similarities that the Roma's persecution was on a racial basis and their fight to be recognized as a minority. The second approach utilizes case studies from different states such as Austria, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic and Slovakia. The authors compare the varying Romani groups and their treatment across these states. The research addresses scholars and historians as well as the general public in hope to raise greater awareness about the Roma's unique history, culture and identity.

One of the merits of the book is that it successfully contributes to bridging the apparent gap on Roma discourse. The research builds on our knowledge of the genocide of the Roma by Nazi Germany and its allies. For example, Viorel Achim's essay fills a lacuna in Romanian historiography of World War II on Roma deportation to Transnistria. The author is noted to be one of the few scholars researching the fate of the Roma during World War II in Romania. Katlin Katz's essay on the persecution of Hungarian Roma also offers new information on victims, who passed through Komarom camp (70). She also stresses that the Komarom camp, only vaguely mentioned in most texts, plays an important role in the collective memory of the Hungarian Roma. Nevertheless, one shortcoming is the lack of discussion about the treatment of Roma under communist regimes and how that experience has in any way reinforced or suppressed the feelings of ethnic belonging.

Overall, the essays are short and easy to read, filled with insightful information that could serve as a basis for further research. Essays are on average twenty pages complete with a full bibliography. Additionally the end of the book includes short descriptions about the contributors. Each author tries to reflect on the various existent perceptions but leaves readers to make their own conclusions. The anthology brings us closer to what lays behind statistical numbers often mentioned in the passing in historical texts; to illuminate individual stories and the fate of communities and families.

The book is a reflection of the need in today's society to address the growing tensions between the Roma and European communities. Rising xenophobia and discrimination in various forms from employment to legislation across the old continent shows that the situation requires careful attention. The authors express concern that the Roma situation may receive less attention as the CEE states enter the EU. The book in many ways hopes to push the Roma issue into public space to encourage discussions and dialogue on social integration and ease growing anxiety.

Stephen Velychenko. *Ukraine, the EU and Russia. History, Culture and International Relations.* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

Author: Stenia Paparella
University of Bologna

In the last five years the European Union (EU) has established increasingly close relations with Ukraine thanks to the Action Plan in 2005 and the pro-European policy adopted by Yushenko. However, the EU is reluctant to include Ukraine as a member due to its weak and instable democracy. Alternatively, the Russian Federation (Russia) exerts considerable influence on Ukraine through the Single Economic Space, use of Sebastopol harbour, and gas pipelines. Thus, Ukraine appears to be a country caught between two highly dissimilar realms. *Ukraine, the EU and*

Russia, edited by Stephen Velychenko, endeavours to shed some light this multifaceted state of affairs.

For its complex situation Ukraine has aroused the interest of many scholars, who try to individuate the forces which govern it. However, little research gives such an inclusive picture of the Ukrainian case as *Ukraine, the EU and Russia* does. Most of them do not focus on Russian and European influence on Ukraine and provide mostly only a descriptive political perspective. On the contrary, *Ukraine, the EU and Russia* gives a comprehensive overview of the current relations of Ukraine between the EU and Russia. Velychenko's book not only focuses on Ukrainian endeavours to improve relations with its Western neighbours, but also describes the political impact of the cultural inheritance left by two centuries of Russian domination. Ukraine has trouble escaping the Russian legacy and the EU cannot easily welcome a country which is still so strictly bound to its past. Thus the book tries to outline Ukrainian international performance of the past eighteen years and indicates major future trends in foreign policy.

In the first chapter Martin Beisswenger tries to find the answer to the cultural dependence on Russia in the Neo-Eurasianist movement, which justifies Ukrainian subordination to Russia and its exclusion from the EU with the geopolitical weakness of Ukraine. However, Mykola Riabchuk strongly believes in the *Europeanness* of Ukraine. From his point of view, after two centuries of Russian control Ukraine finally can 'return to Europe' (73). The results of this "counter-migration" are revealed not only by literature, in which the 'geographical rhetoric' (p.104) is nowadays directed to Ukraine and Europe, but also by politics, where in 2004 the majority of the population voted for the pro-European candidate Viktor Yushenko. Nevertheless, Roman Serbyn states that Russian culture has yet to lose ground in Ukraine. One example of this is the celebration of the Day of Liberation, a holiday introduced in Soviet Ukraine to commemorate the German-Soviet war of 1941-1945.

The following chapters move from a cultural to an economic and political overview of the position of contemporary Ukraine between the EU and the CES. According to Oleksiy Semeni, since 1991 Ukraine has been promoting a successful EU policy, although it will not become a member in the near future. As stated by Iryna Solonenko, EU cooperation also means a deep democratic transformation. The 2004 presidential elections have not been considered free and fair, even though Ukraine participated in several partnership and cooperation agreements for the promotion of democracy. However, Solonenko underlines that the EU has yet to provide adequate tools to Ukraine as it did to Poland and Hungary. Additionally, the improvements towards democratisation made by Ukraine have been slowed down lately by a stronger Russia and weaker EU. John R. Gillingham finds the solution to this problem in NATO-membership for Ukraine. In the conclusive chapter James Sherr delineates the 'key asymmetries' (165) of Ukrainian policy and proposes a series of solutions to reduce their consequences following Gillingham's final considerations.

Throughout the book the authors manifest a strong support for the pro-European policy adopted by Yushenko and patriotically denounce the view of Ukraine being part of Russia. They believe in the necessity of creating an autonomous entity, less connected to Russia and more oriented westwards. The bulk of the book harshly criticises Putin's 'imperialist' presidency and Yanukovich's strategies. Velychenko openly accuses Russia of promoting a policy of economic, political and cultural domination on Ukraine. The anti-Russian sentiments of the book continue steadily in the following chapters, where Riabchuk and Semeni argue in favour of Yushenko's policy and in strong opposition to Yanukovich and those who support him. Sometimes this perspective is professed too strong and subtly mingles personal sentiments with objective analysis. The general tone of the book nonetheless remains of high scholarly value thanks to its richness of data and examples, and its interdisciplinary character.

Also, the argumentations are presented rather fluently, so that the chapters fit in with one another and represent a coherent description of the cultural, social, political, and economic situation of contemporary Ukraine. In addition, the book provides a balance between cultural aspects, such as the language question and Ukrainian literature, and aspects concerned with politics. Different fields of study are weaved together harmoniously in an encyclopaedic sort of matter.

Nonetheless, *Ukraine, the EU and Russia* lacks a thorough description of the gas crisis between Russia and Ukraine, which has strongly influenced Ukrainian foreign policy since 2006. However, the book does provide a thorough description of the Ukrainian attitude towards the EU and the subsequent European reaction. In several chapters the idea of joining the EU and NATO is regarded as the only sensible option for transforming Ukraine democratically and for assuring regional stability (introduction, chapter 6). In this sense, they follow the previous trends in studies on EU-Ukraine relations, while the first chapters are more original because they provide an overview of the Ukrainian stand and combine cultural and political aspects. However, the book does not adequately contemplate the reasons why the EU lately has become unwilling to include Ukraine. The authors limit their analysis to a description of the achievements in EU-Ukraine relations and the reasons why Ukraine belongs in the EU. *Ukraine, the EU and Russia* is written in order to define what the Ukrainian points of view are and to describe flaws and slip-ups in Ukrainian foreign policy. This becomes evident from the seventh chapter onwards, where the authors, not foreseeing membership in the EU in the near future, suggest to concentrate on NATO. Thus, the book has apparently been conceived as a support for policy makers who want to conduct an effective pro-European programme. For this reason, the book fulfils its aims rather well.

Despite the clearness and fluency of the language the complexity of the issue may render the comprehension of the Ukrainian question difficult. For this reason the book may be difficult for those who are not conversant with the subject.

However, the book is highly useful for students who are interested in exploring the question in a possible thesis. It allows the reader to fully comprehend the reasons for a strong Ukrainian propensity in joining the EU.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

María Lis Baiocchi received her M.A. with Distinction from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary in 2008. She currently works as Program Manager of the Special and Extension Programs of CEU.

E-mail: baiocchiml@ceu.hu

Natasa Simeunovic is a graduate teaching assistant at the Faculty of Culture and Media at the Megatrend University Belgrade. She has published several works on literature, communication, and media.

E-mail: vasariste@gmail.com.

Alexandra Cosima Budabin is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science at the New School for Social Research, New York, USA. Alexandra is currently a Guest PhD Researcher at the Graduate School of International Development Studies at Roskilde University for the fall term of 2009.

E-mail: BudaA221@newschool.edu

Tommi Hume graduated from Princeton in 2008 with a Bachelors degree in Politics and graduated from CEU in 2009 with a Masters in Political Science. He is currently working at the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Budapest as a staff development assistant.

E-mail: tommi.hurme@gmail.com

Alexander Boniface Makulilo is PhD candidate at the Research Academy, University of Leipzig, Germany.

E-mail: makulilo76@yahoo.co.uk.

Konstantin Kilibarda is a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at York University and a Graduate Researcher at the York Center for International and Security Studies (YCISS) in Toronto (Canada).

E-mail: koliya.k@gmail.com

Gabriella Borgovan is an MA student in the "Joint European Master in Comparative Local Development" organized by the University of Trento (Italy), University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), Corvinus University of Budapest (Hungary), and University of Regensburg (Germany).

E-mail: gabriella.borgovan@gmail.com

Harun Karcic holds an MA in Political Science at the 'Roberto Ruffili' Faculty of Political Science, University of Bologna.

E-mail: harunk@yahoo.com

Christine Zubrinic holds and MA War Studies from the Royal Military College of Canada.

E-mail: christine.zubrinic@hotmail.com

Svetla Baeva holds an MA in International Relations and European Studies La Sapienza University in Rome.

E-mail: svetla.baeva@gmail.com

Stenia Paparella holds and Interdisciplinary Master's in Eastern European Research and Studies, Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna.

E-mail: steniap@hotmail.it