

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).

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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).

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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