

Georgia and Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine pushed for their membership in the new Europe as a way to turn their back on Russia.

These and other developments constituted the context in which the crisis in Ukraine became possible and indeed inevitable. Chapters 3 and 4 document developments preceding and following the Euromaidan revolution and propose solutions to the crisis. The authors identify Russia's and the EU's mutually-exclusive positions regarding potential membership for Ukraine in their political and economic organizations. Before 2013, Moscow was pushing President Viktor Yanukovich to enter the Russia-controlled Customs Union. Moscow then prevailed on Yanukovich not to sign the Associate Agreement with the EU, which set the stage for public protests in Ukraine. All subsequent developments, including political negotiations, elections, and the military confrontation between Kyiv and eastern Ukraine are then analyzed in terms of zero-sum competition between Russia and the west. Charap and Colton argue for the importance of entering open-ended negotiations involving Russia, the west, and Ukraine over the stability of east central Europe and Eurasia. Such negotiations never really took place since the Cold War's end. A new institutional arrangement should be based on economic modernization, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and military neutrality of the states in-between.

It would not be possible to squeeze into this short book all the relevant developments regarding the crisis in Ukraine. Some important omissions include the Odessa massacre on May 2, 2014, discussion of the strategy and activities of eastern fighters, as well as those of neo-Nazi divisions sponsored by Igor Kolomoisky. Analytically, the biggest omission is the role of common values and Russian-Ukrainian memories suppressed by those whom Charap and Colton misleadingly call "pro-Western nationalists" such as Saakashvili and Yushchenko. In reality, these ethnonationalists were pro-western only rhetorically, banking on the liberal west's support against Russia but aiming to eventually purge their lands of Russian culture and its bearers. Charap and Colton view ethnonationalism as a problem, but don't discuss its constituting role in forming Ukraine's new identity and relations with the authorities in Kyiv.

Overall, however, this is a balanced and very readable book that also contains helpful maps and chronology. Given these qualities, as well as the book's scope and skilled review of various economic and security issues in Eurasia, the volume would serve as an ideal text for graduate and upper division undergraduate courses on international politics of central and eastern Europe and Eurasia.

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Kosovo and Serbia: Contested Options and Shared Consequences. Ed. Leandrit I. Mehmeti and Branislav Radeljic. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2016. xxiii, 317 pp. Notes. Glossary. Index. Figures. Tables. Maps. \$45.00, hard bound.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2018.161

The newly-created Republic of Kosovo has had a tortured history, having suffered from geographic isolation, economic underdevelopment, and political repression. A major source of instability has been the conflict between the Albanian-speaking majority and a Serb minority, as well as domination by the neighboring Republic of Serbia. These festering problems culminated in an extended guerrilla war during the 1990s, which ended when the United States and its NATO allies intervened on the side of the ethnic Albanians against Serbia, leading to Kosovo's *de facto* independence in 1999 and then its official independence as a new state in 2008.

The country remains mired in social and political problems, however, and is run effectively as an international protectorate, supervised by a series of multinational peacekeeping forces.

Kosovo and Serbia addresses contemporary political issues in Kosovo, placing them in historical context. This edited volume consists of ten separate chapters by both Albanian-speaking and Serbian-speaking academics, as well as an introductory overview by the editors. The topics range from the historical genesis of the Serb-Albanian conflict to more contemporary issues of political institution building, as well as international efforts at assisting Kosovar reconstruction from war. There is an emphasis on the need for Kosovo to resolve, or at least attenuate, its ethnic and political problems in order to prepare for eventual inclusion into the European Union.

The volume does acknowledge Kosovo's painful history, with a long record of human rights violations, massacres, and ethnic cleansings, typically undertaken by the ethnic Serbs against the Albanians, but at times with the Albanians acting to oppress the Serbs (and also the Roma). The historical context of inter-ethnic violence is explored in chapters by Veljko Vujačić, Arben Qirezi, and Tanja Pavlov. Yet, the overall emphasis is on the need for Kosovo to move beyond this conflictual history in order to establish itself as a functioning state. A repeated theme is the need for inter-ethnic conciliation between Serbs and Albanians, and this theme is reflected in the interethnic character of the contributors.

Another major theme is international efforts to promote nation-building in Kosovo, most notably by the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, EULEX, which is discussed by Mina Zirojević. Other international peacekeeping and aid missions, including the United Nations Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK) and the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) are also discussed, though more briefly. Official European Union and Russian policy in Kosovo is analyzed by Branislav Radeljić; EU efforts at economic cooperation with Kosovo and Serbia are assessed by Gazmend Quorraj; and general issues of state-building are assessed by Ilire Agimi.

Despite its title, the book is focused mainly on Kosovo itself, with discussions of the Republic of Serbia being relegated to secondary importance, and these mostly focus on Serbia's historical relationship with Kosovo. But the Republic of Serbia nevertheless remains a basic part of Kosovo's history and is thus vital to the overall story. Accordingly, chapters by Veljko Vujačić, Arben Qirezi, and Dušan Spasojević examine Serbia's longstanding role in Kosovo, both before Kosovo gained independence in 2008 and after. There is an emphasis on the necessity to create normal diplomatic and commercial ties between Kosovo and Serbia, despite their past history of conflict, as discussed in chapters by Gazmend Qorraj and Leandrit I. Mehmeti.

The analytical focus of the various chapters tends to be narrow, treating international tutelage in Kosovo as a technical undertaking. Larger political issues are for the most part ignored, especially with regard to the role of the United States and its allies. Noam Chomsky claims that US and NATO policy have needlessly exacerbated ethnic violence and human rights abuses in Kosovo by undercutting diplomatic possibilities for resolving ethnic conflict. David Rieff argues that international interventions in Kosovo amount to a modernized form of colonialism, superficially justified by humanitarian motives, similar to the White Man's Burden of an earlier era. Numerous writers, including Carla del Ponte, have criticized international organizations in Kosovo for asymmetrically favoring specific political groups in Kosovo, at the expense of their adversaries, and thus adversely affecting the prospects for ethnic conciliation. These larger issues are unaddressed by the contributors to *Kosovo and Serbia*, who focus instead on relatively minor points of detail. One senses that the contributors were careful to avoid offending anyone—but the result of this caution is blandly-written analyses, which collectively make for unexciting reading.

Several of the contributors assume that association with the European Union is a worthy objective for Kosovo and Serbia, and that the EU is a fundamentally benign entity. Evidence to the contrary is ignored. After the Great Recession in 2008, the EU has been instrumental in imposing economic austerity on Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, at considerable human cost, a point repeatedly noted by both left-wing and right-wing critics of the Union. Some of the EU's longstanding members have questioned whether membership has been a net positive at all, a view that surely influenced Great Britain's decision, following the recent Brexit vote, to exit the organization. Once again, the contributors to *Kosovo and Serbia* fail to consider these larger issues, while they simply assume that association with the EU will bring benefits.

Overall, the ten chapters in *Kosovo and Serbia* present useful if somewhat modest contributions to the scholarship on Balkan history and politics.

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Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes. By Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua A. Tucker. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017. xv, 336 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Figures. Tables. \$99.00, hard bound, \$29.95, paper.

doi: 10.1017/slr.2018.162

Communism's Shadow is an important book, one that draws upon a wealth of data and sophisticated modelling and statistical techniques to answer, at its core, an important question: how does the communist past matter in shaping political attitudes among post-communist publics? As the authors note, there is a rich literature on how the communist legacy has shaped post-communist institutions, but much less on political culture. This may seem odd because, after all, communist regimes explicitly attempted to create a New Socialist Man, whose values would differ from those of people living in capitalist countries. One would therefore perhaps expect some sort of communist legacy, as attitudes acquired while living under communist periods would persist well after communism fell.

Conclusively demonstrating this, however, is difficult to do. At the most basic level, as Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua Tucker note, based upon analysis of the World Values Survey (WVS), one can say that post-communist publics do exhibit less support for democracy, markets, and gender equality, and more support for social welfare policies, than those in countries that never experienced communism. The problem, however, is that these surveys mostly occurred after communism's collapse, so it is difficult to determine if the observed effect is a communist legacy, the result of living through a difficult post-communist period, or, perhaps, something else.

In order to identify a communist legacy, the authors dive into the survey data and add a host of other variables to test competing models, employing both global and intra-regional comparisons. They suggest that post-communist countries could "look different" because of pre-communist factors (such as levels of literacy or prior experience with democracy), communist-era factors (including state control over the economy, urbanization, and education), and the post-communist experience (such as difficulty of building democracies and markets). Their primary hypothesis is that the longer one lived under a communist system ("greater exposure"), the more likely it is that one acquired the regime's values. They recognize, however, that not all communist systems were the same, and thus take into account factors such as the level of repression (Stalinist vs. post-totalitarian regimes) and whether communism was