

Book Reviews

Ivan Colovic, *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia. Essays in Political Anthropology*. London: Hurst and Company, 2002. 328 pp., ISBN 1-85065-556-1 (paperback).

When reading contemporary studies of politics in socialist Yugoslavia and its successor states, one quickly comes across a curious absence when it comes to the subject of ethnic identity. It is widely recognized in academia that modes of personhood or identity, and the cultural conventions through which we make sense of the world, are socially constructed – that is, they are not natural but constantly being maintained and reproduced by social institutions, rituals, and myths. Indeed, the study of the social construction of identity has expanded considerably over the past two decades in European and North American academic circles. And yet when it comes to Southeastern Europe, there remains a dearth of serious scholarship regarding the links between political culture and personal identification with an ethnic collectivity. It is hard to say why this is the case: perhaps it is because ethnic identity appears durable enough to simply assume outright, or because nationality and ethnicity come so close to already existing norms of personal identity in Europe, or because the symbolic space in the successor states of Yugoslavia are so thoroughly saturated with the signs, representations, and images

of ethnic collectivity. Whatever the reason, the power of ethnic identity and difference to mobilize people and justify a wide range of political programs and projects is rarely explained or examined in analyses of politics in Southeastern Europe. At worst, the resilience and power of ethnic identification is characterized as part of the backward, primitive detritus of ages past that underwrites the cycles of violence in the Balkans. At best, it is dismissed as merely myth and not worthy of serious study, or lamented as an unfortunate, opaque, but “manageable” fact of political life in the region.

It is because of this that political anthropologist Ivan Colovic's *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia* is such a welcome addition to the literature on politics in ex-Yugoslavia. Throughout the book, Colovic shows clearly that the symbolic dimension of politics can not be separated from any other level of political reality and that the Serbian political ethno-myth is at the core of understanding the events that have rocked the region over the past two decades: “The Serbian ethno-myth does not date from yesterday. It consists for the most part of old stories. That is why it seems like something familiar.... On the other hand, today's Serbian ethno-myth is a product of this age, that is, the state of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia during the last decade of the twentieth century. Often obscure and archaic, it is, nevertheless, focused on contemporary events, and its meaning becomes clearer when it is interpreted in the context of those events. Then it emerges that

its obtrusive presence in almost all areas of public life...is a consequence of the instability of the former state since 1980, the crisis and abrupt collapse of the order, including the symbolic order, on which that state rested" (80).

The book is divided into four parts. The first, entitled "The Serbian Political Ethno-myth" is composed of ten short chapters on topics that represent various facets of the dense symbolic universe that informs the cultural conventions of perception in Serbia: story, time, nature, frontiers, Europe, warrior, pantheon, identity, bank, and criticism. These chapters describe how the Serbian ethno-myth is made meaningful in light of current events, and how it is mobilized by politicians, intellectuals, and others for a variety of political and ideological ends. Each chapter builds upon and develops key observations made in previous chapters. Taken together they constitute a particularly useful contribution to how we understand ethnic identity and political subjectivity, and present a persuasive description of a worldview based upon "the allegedly natural and divine right of the ethnic community to see itself as the only measure of all things" (10) and "as the first principle and only horizon" (12).

The second section, entitled "From the History of Serbian Political Mythology," is a collection of three essays that considers the work of two Serbian scholars writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, Jovan Skerlic and Tihomir Djordjevic. Building upon the first part of the

book regarding the different themes of the Serbian political ethno-myth, Colovic provides a sketch of the origins of these themes through a careful reading of these scholars' work, examining the development and genealogy of political and social ideas from the nineteenth century that are salient to present-day Serbia.

Following the explication of the semiotics of political myth-making in Serbia in Part I, and the consideration of some of the historical and literary roots of that myth-making in Part II, Part III, entitled "Characters and Figures of Power," offers 32 short case studies of symbolic politics and the Serbian ethno-myth taken from current events between 1995-1997. Part IV is entitled "The Age of the Crowd" and is made up of three essays. Two of them, "The Rhetoric of Peace" and "Palm Reading and 'The Little Serbian Fist,'" have little in common to justify a separate section and probably belong with the case studies in Part III. However, the essay entitled "Football, Hooligans, and War" is nearly worthy of its own section. It is the most fully realized analysis in the book and details, as Colovic writes, "the ostensible opposition of sports reporters to the raging of nationalism among fans, of the consecration of the Red Star football club in the role of one of the most important symbols of 'Serbdom', of the 'spontaneous' organisation of the supporters of that club into a group under the name of 'the Valiants' and then of their transformation into volunteer

soldiers and their despatch to war” (259).

Colovic is an engaging writer in Serbian, and it is a credit to the translation that much of this comes through in the English language edition. Part of what makes the book fascinating is Colovic’s ethnographic sensibility: in addition to commenting on politics and contemporary literature, he analyzes a wide-range of cultural artifacts, such as photographs, popular song lyrics, epic poetry, scientific claims, and religious proclamations. Readers expecting the book to be united by a sustained argument or theoretical discussion regarding semiotics or ethnicity may be disappointed. Because this is a collection of essays written at different times, for different audiences, and in different genres (literary criticism, cultural commentary, political analysis), Colovic’s choice of data and his citation of scholars and theorists can appear eclectic. Although the commentary and analysis in these essays is largely descriptive, the book’s wealth of engaging and critical observations regarding the Serbian political ethno-myth does develop a reasoned theoretical consideration of the pragmatics of politics and ethnic identification. The book probably assumes some knowledge of Serbia on the part of the reader, and thus may at times seem to lack coherence for those who are new to the study of Serbian political culture. Nevertheless, the book has something to offer all those interested in examining the links between politics and ethnic collectivity in Southeastern

Europe, and comes as a welcome addition to our understanding of culture and power in Serbia over the last decade and a half.

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Anna M. Grzymala-Busse.
Redeeming the Communist Past.
Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2002. 360 pp., ISBN
0521001463 (paperback).

Grzymala-Busse has written an excellent book (awarded the Gabriel Almond Award for Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics) on the unexpected regeneration of the communist successor parties in East Central Europe. She seeks to explain why the discredited political actors of the *ancien régime*, widely despised by their own citizens, could not only survive the collapse of the old order, but also succeed in conditions of democracy. The main hypothesis is that the practices of the authoritarian regimes led to different configurations of elite political resources consisting in portable skills and usable past, which in turn determined their organizational and programmatic choices. Utilizing an elite driven approach she establishes a causal relation between the choice of party transformation strategies and the communist parties’ regeneration operationalized in terms of responsive appeals, electoral support and coalition potentials.

In the context of a burgeoning literature on post-communism,

which has created unprecedented opportunities for the study of rapid political development and transformation, this study succeeds to bring anew a wealth of empirical material on parties and elites, based on extensive systematic primary research of archival records of party statistics, interviews, transcripts of round tables, party programs, public opinion surveys and parliamentary records. But her main contribution is to arrange the empirical data in a theoretically informed argument, which combines the peculiarities of post-communist cases with the broad theoretical concerns of institutional analysis, party policies and democratic transitions.

The organization of the chapters follows the structure of her argument: communist practices influence elite resources; these shape transformation strategies, which in turn determine the degree of party regeneration. The first two chapters examine the prerequisites of party transformation. The communist organizational practices examined in the first chapter – elite advancement, policy reform and negotiation with the opposition – help to establish elite resources with which the parties would pursue regeneration. It concludes with two broad points: the legacies were replicated through deliberate action; and, even a collapsed and discredited regime leaves behind legacies that exert a powerful influence on political development. Chapter 2 examines the strategies of organizational transformation and the importance of sequencing and timing in the party elites' efforts to break with

the past and decisively centralize party organizations. The organizational transformation signaled the party's new identity at a time when there was considerable policy consensus and it determined aspects of party regeneration.

The remaining three chapters analyze the dependent variable: the degree to which parties could effectively respond to the exigencies of new democracies. The third chapter focuses on party's programmatic responsiveness. If they were to demonstrate that they were a reliable alternative to the political parties emerging from the anticommunist opposition, the successors' programs had to change their past programs. Despite the earlier verdicts that the parties would be unable to function as responsive democratic parties, some of them made considerable and consistent commitment to democracy, party competition and even a market economy. The 4th chapter explores how the parties would not only respond, but also succeed to gain a broad electorate and popular acceptance by cohesive campaigns and an appealing message, which reassured their potential voters that they would continue to pursue reforms with greater competence and sensitivity. The 5th chapter examines the conditions under which parties gained parliamentary cohesion and acceptance. It argues that convincing the electorate proved to be an easier task than winning over parliamentary forces, for whom communist legacies made cooperation with and acceptance of the communist successors

difficult to stomach. As a result of their elite portable skills, usable past and subsequent transformation of their organization, the communist successor parties could gain both electoral victory and parliamentary acceptance. They succeeded gaining legitimacy and governance in a system their predecessors had denounced for so long.

She approaches the problem focusing on the Czech, Slovak, Polish and Hungarian successor parties, chosen to maximize the variation on the dependent variable from complete regeneration in the Hungarian case to more limited regeneration as a protest party in the Czech one. Through a mid-level comparison of several cases she bridges the gap between the limited case and the global-universe analysis and tries to construct explanatory models. The conclusion extends the argument to other cases of communist party survival testing the claim that the parties that were completely rejected from their societies, like in her four cases, had no alternatives but to regenerate in order to survive. In contrast, where the parties did not exit from power, were not discredited or the opposition was weak to offer viable alternatives, they had few incentives to change and could rely on continuing patronage, nostalgia or populist appeals. The implications of this comparison are that non-transformed parties can gain support as protest parties and they do not have to change their appeals in order to do well in elections. These cases show that the less radical the break with the

old regime the less parties have to transform themselves.

Through the patterns of change she discovers throughout Eastern Europe cases, Grzymala-Busse puts her findings in a broader theoretical setting, establishes theoretical connections and contributes to three fields of scholarship in comparative politics: organizational transformation, the consolidation of new democracies, and political party development. First, she challenges the organizational and historical institutionalist analysis emphasis on resistance to change. Studying the way communist parties reinvented themselves she fills a gap in the understudied field of institutional survival and adaptation to environmental changes. Her findings suggest that a set of new leaders with the individual and organizational resources to implement a rapid transformation is the crucial factor that fosters successful organizational transformation. The second contribution of this study involves theories of democratic consolidation, which focus either on the overwhelming role of democratic institutions, or the negative influence of the social attitudes and political expectations. Against this background, this study of political parties demonstrates that some legacies of the past like organizational practices and networks can have a positive effect and foster adaptation to democracy, competition and stable governance. Finally, this research identifies incentives and mechanisms of party response, which in the literature have often been assumed rather than

examined. It suggests that past organizational practices bear directly on new elite configurations, which in turn, heavily influence the set of available strategic options and the alternatives that the parties are more likely to choose.

In a final note, this book has all the credentials to long remain a fine piece of research upper-level undergraduate and graduate students will be poring over because of the interesting puzzle it deals and because of its well thought-out design and comprehensive analytical model, which allows her to make a significant contribution to several fields of knowledge in comparative politics.

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Milan Jazbec: *The Diplomacies of New Small States: The Case of Slovenia with Some Comparison from the Baltic States*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. 237 pp., ISBN 0-7546-1706-8 (hardcover).

Milan Jazbec, the State Secretary in the Slovenian Ministry of Defense, in this volume presents an insider's reasoned observations of and policy suggestions for the challenging task of setting up diplomacies for small newly established European States. The focus of the volume is two-fold: theoretical as well as empirical. Theoretically, Jazbec follows historical and sociological lines of discussion, while empirically he

considers the experiences of Slovenia, and as background cases, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the 1990s. While Jazbec, the practitioner considers some debates in IR, arguably the most valuable contributions of the volume are to be found in the empirical cases. Nevertheless, as there is discouragingly little written on new small states' experiences in the globalizing international politics, this volume is a welcome effort in this area.

Jazbec starts out with a historical discussion of the changes in the international environment of the new small states after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Because this first chapter reviews a considerable range of topics, starting with globalization, processes of integration and disintegration of states, the changing role of international organizations and ending with the redefinition of the nation state, it sets the backdrop for further discussions but it also remains somewhat superficial.

The same chapter also provides a combined statistical and geographical definition for the subject matter of the book, namely which states in the international scene count as small. Yet, the two parts remain largely discrepant and leave the reader wondering about the exact focus of the book, be it the changing international politics or the evolution of the new states' diplomacy. This also remains a permanent feature of the following chapters, that is the theoretical, abstract and general introductions in most cases are little reflected in the empirical discussions. This, of course, makes it difficult to draw conclusions that would join the

insights gained from the two levels of analysis.

The second and arguably most valuable part of the volume provides the reader with a detailed account of the sociological characteristics of the newly established diplomacies of Slovenia, and the three Baltic States. The sociological characteristics here stand to indicate first, the social background of the personnel of the new diplomacies, second the gender and age composition and third, their professional career within the Ministry that includes education as well as hierarchical and vertical mobility. The details in the social composition of the diplomatic missions Jazbec shares with us are rarely considered, yet they provide interesting and important information about the changing role and form of diplomacy in today's world politics.

In the same section, the author identifies three potential tensions in the development of the new small state diplomacies which he holds unavoidable at the founding moment of the new states. First, the large portion of politically appointed staff within the whole diplomatic personnel, for they lack the professional skills and their high number foreshadows a possible future fluctuation of personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, something that Jazbec suggests avoiding. Second, the presence of young people who lack any professional experience is prevalent in all investigated diplomacies in the early 1990s. While it did create considerable problems for the new small states' diplomacy, it may not necessarily

establish a prevalent trend in the future. The large portion of women, on the other hand, is a feature in the sociological composition of the new states diplomatic circles which are expected to prevail in the long run. Jazbec considers the potential changes in the hierarchical organization of the Foreign Office and the difficulties married couples face in diplomatic corps. Finally, he considers the general problem of the lack of experienced diplomats in new small states and contrasts it with the relative success in establishing a world presence and sovereignty for these states. While these topics address relevant problems, Jazbec's discussion remains wanting which a more detailed account on the exact problems in a single but thorough case study might have allowed him.

In the final parts of the volume, Jazbec reviews the process of spatial widening of the diplomatic/consular networks of the new small states and the consequences of globalization for the functioning of diplomatic organizations. The first missions to be established were in neighboring countries, in the second wave the new small states established a presence in the most important European and world centers, including the five permanent centers of the UN Security Council. Finally, these were simultaneously added by a mission to some international organizations. The process also shows the ways in which small states' interest for survival is context dependent on the state of affairs in world politics.

Alas, once Jazbec finally arrives at the theme of globalization he leaves the issues addressed in the preceding part of the volume unconnected, and globalization all of a sudden appears as an external force that voluntarily creates homogenous challenges for the new states to address. This is really problematic as he fails to see globalization as a historical process that not only reorganizes the global political sphere but also presents the new small states with historically and locally specific problems. Moreover, Jazbec not only overviews exclusively general challenges such as changing communication technologies, the growing importance of multilateralism and the diversification of foreign political relations of states that are not at all specific to small states, but also falls short in recounting small states' specific adaptation strategies to these general processes.

All said, *The Diplomacies of New Small States* while largely general and filled with the above raised discrepancies between theory and empiric addresses an issue area that remains largely outside the mainstream scholarly discussions in IR, namely small states' foreign policy and diplomatic missions. As such it paves the way for future research into a little known area.

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Florin Curta. *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge Studies in

Medieval Life and Thought. Fourth Series nr. 52), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2001. xxvi+470 pp., ISBN 0521802024 (hardcover).

As Florin Curta warns in his Introduction, this book and its conclusion "may appear [...] as argumentative, if not outright revisionist"⁽³⁾ What is significant about this book? Awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association AHA for the year 2002, a prize offered since 1905 to the best (American) young scholar in European history, "Making of the Slavs" proposes a conclusion that challenges the traditional standard knowledge about the Slavs and their early presence in the Balkans. As the author says: "Instead of a great flood of Slavs coming out of the Pripet marshes, I envisage a form of group identity, which could arguably be called ethnicity and emerged in response to Justinian's implementation of a building project on the Danube frontier and in the Balkans. The Slavs, in other words, did not come from the north, but become Slavs only in contact with the Roman frontier"⁽³⁾.

"Making of the Slavs" is the outcome of an extended working background of the author on subject starting in the early 1990s'. It is a major contribution through its novel methodological approach, multitude of sources and argumentative style. An immense quantity of written and archaeological primary sources and secondary information is revisited within the framework of current anthropological theories.

The result a theory of which assumptions are clearly defined by the author himself at the end of the first chapter, "Slavic ethnicity and the ethnics of the Slavs: concepts and approaches"(6-35): "[...] early medieval ethnicity was embedded in sociopolitical relations just as modern ethnicity is. Ethnicity was socially and culturally constructed, a form of social mobilization used in order to reach certain political goals. [...]"(34). As Curta shows in this first chapter, the traditional standard knowledge about the presence of the early Slavs in the Balkans is a legacy of the nineteenth century deeply linked with the processes of constructing national identities in Eastern Europe. The intellectual tradition of Slavic studies was established in early 19th century by using a framework dominated by Herder's concept of national character (*Volkgeist*). Linguists were those who established that "Slavic" tribes are a part of the Indo-European family and that their Urheimet (place of origins) is situated in Pripet marshes. Also, during the twentieth century, the "national" archaeological schools from "Slavic" countries contributed with specific examples to support the theory.

What is the Curta's theory? His argument is extremely complex and he concludes by reinterpreting facts and data. For him, "Slavs" started to organize themselves only in contact with the Roman frontier (described in terms of 'interface'): because they were unable to traverse it, it started a process of social stratification that stressed the formation of "elites" and then "kings/chiefs". This process stressed social

stratification in their favor by promoting "emblemic style" and "traditions" in order to fortify the unity of their groups and to try to pass the fortification system. This process was stressed more in more in contact with the Roman frontier and led to the "[...] social group, which could arguably be called ethnicity [...]". The subsequent phrase resumes the author's anthropological framework applied in his study on forging the "Slavic" identity: "Though in agreement with those who maintain that the history of the Slavs began in the sixth century, I argue that the Slavs were an invention of the sixth century. Inventing, however, presupposed both imagining or labeling by outsiders and self-identification"(335). So, to sum up: in contact with the Byzantines (which always called themselves as 'Romans') for almost an millennium since the sixth century, being in a process of acculturation, the "Slavs" defined themselves as a collective identity step by step, maybe culminating with "the first clear statement the 'we are Slavs'" from the twelfth-century "Russian Primary Chronicle"(350).

How were these conclusions reached? The written sources are analyzed in the second and in the third chapters. The second chapter, "Sources for the history of the early Slavs (c.500-700)"(36-73), reviews all the primary sources concerning the "Slavs" (most part in Greek but also in Latin or Syriac) while the third chapter, "The Slavs in early medieval sources (c.500-700)"(74-119), analyses the proper image reflected by these written sources.

Curta observes that “Slavs” were a secondary topic and there is no proof that Slavs called themselves this way. The names actually used by the Byzantine authors were “Sclavene” and “Antes”. The criteria for Byzantine imaginary was not ethnic but military: “Antes” for allies and “Sclavene” for enemies; when the Antes also became enemies, they were also called “Sclavene”. The fourth to seventh chapter analyzes the archaeological material in correlation with the conclusions of the previous two chapters. Quantitative methods in a comparative perspective are used to analyze peculiar archaeological stuff from the entire Lower Danube Region. The fourth chapter (120-189), analyses the very dense fortification system built by Justinian at the south of Danube, issuing that its collapse was produced not by an invasion (or infiltration) of the Slavs from the north of Danube but from an internal social (especially urban) change, started in the fifth century; this way Byzantians had not enough resources to cover the expenses. The other three chapters are “Barbarians on the sixth-century Danube frontier: an archaeological survey”(190-226); “Elites and group identity north of the Danube frontier: the archaeological evidence”(227-310) and “‘Kings’ and ‘democracy’: power in early Slavic society”(311-334).

Making of the Slavs of Florin Curta is an extremely provocative and original approach to the problem of early Slavs which challenges the standard knowledge from South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. In six chapters, the

written and archaeological sources used in historiographies from Romania, ex-U.S.S.R, Bulgaria, ex-Yugoslavia etc. are (partially) de-located from their initial (historiographical and ideological) contexts and re-located within the framework of current cultural anthropological theories. The information is completely revisited in an equilibrated and critical perspective by using quantitative and qualitative methods to offer a diachronic and comparative interpretation. The book is also admirable for using computer software in interpreting the archaeological data and for displaying numerous maps and tables in its comparative approach to the sources.

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Michael E. Brown (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1996. 653 pp., ISBN 0-262-52209-8 (paperback).

Since its publication in 1996, “The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict” has become a classic volume for scholars and practitioners in the field of conflict resolution alike. This edited volume, a Center for Science and International Affairs study, offers a sweeping insight into one of the most persistent temporary phenomena. The book attempts to debunk the myths surrounding internal armed conflict. Instead of the dominant explanations that see violent internal conflict as mass-based and externally-driven, Brown sees internal, elite-level

activities as the principal triggers. An understanding of the permissive and proximate causes of conflict is then used to provide a plethora of policy recommendations concerning the options available to the international community for dealing with conflict prevention, management and resolution.

The first part is empirical in focus; the discussion of causes and implications of internal conflict is organized by regions, enabling a comparative outlook on the topic. The former communist bloc is somewhat overrepresented. The account of wars in the former Yugoslavia, the most visible conflict at the time of writing, occupies an entire chapter. Ivo H. Daalder has identified the country's ethnic geography and the history of conflict as permissive conditions of conflict, while the collapse of economic and political order were the proximate causes, leading to the rise of virulent nationalism. The bulk of Daalder's chapter deals with international implications of and responses to the wars. His conclusion that international efforts, if any, dealt with the symptoms, not the underlying causes of the conflict is a recurring one throughout the entire book. By contrast, the inclusion of Milada Vachudova's chapter on East-Central Europe, which deals with the absence of armed conflict in that region, is surprising considering the book's focus. In his piece on the former Soviet Union, Matthew Evangelista identifies the communist legacy and opportunism in political and economic affairs as the main

sources of conflict. As for international involvement, he emphasizes Russia's involvement in its near abroad, and risks forecasting future conflicts and the potential for international action in them. The remaining chapters deal with South and Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America.

The volume's second part shifts the discussion towards concrete policy issues. The first four chapters tackle select issues pertinent to violent internal conflict: secessionist violence and its prevention by political accommodation, negotiation and mediation, light arms and economic sanctions. The remaining chapters are devoted to international actors that engage in internal conflicts: NGOs, the U.S., the UN and collective security organizations. Following the book's general outline, each author summarizes the state of affairs in the respective field and goes on to provide concrete policy recommendations. In addition, all of the authors tend to present their recommendations in an optimistic light, albeit in cautious tone.

The policy orientation of the volume affects its nature. Although individual chapters offer their own respective arguments, they are, in effect, but summaries of the given topics. As insightful and illuminating as these may be, it seems that the magnitude of the book's scope went to the expense of its analytical content; the two main themes of the book, causes of internal conflict and international action could have easily filled two self-sufficient volumes. The book is otherwise

well-organized, and each chapter follows a unified outline. On the other hand, starting the book with case studies underlines the lack of the work's theoretical underpinning, only partly offset by Michael E. Brown's editorial conclusion on the causes of internal conflict. In this chapter, which could have been better placed right after the case studies rather at the very end of the book, he summarizes the empirical evidence on internal conflict and refutes the prevailing academic views on internal conflict. Brown correctly sees domestic elites and their actions as the main proximate triggers of violent conflict. In addition, in order for the masses to get involved in conflict, problematic group histories (underlying cause) and economic problems (proximate cause) also must be present. Brown's elite argument is well-placed into the elite paradigm's revival that took place after the much-celebrated third wave of democratization, although it suffers from the usual shortcomings attributed to that theoretical strand. Brown also suggests that the ability to understand internal conflict and to act effectively to influence it requires moving beyond single-factor explanations. However, his attempt at such a multifactor analysis reads like a selection from a list of factors of those with highest correlations with the emergence of violent internal conflict. The final editorial chapter is a summary of policy recommendations in conflict prevention, management and resolution.

The book is an impressive achievement and a valuable contribution to the field it covers, which becomes especially apparent from our current perspective. Although internal conflicts seem to be a thing of the past in light of the purported new threats of global terrorism and WMDs, they continue emerging. Relegation of internal conflict to the sidelines of the newscasts may, however, release the pressure on the international community to act, and aid prompt and more effective international action. In any case, the book can serve as a useful reference resource for anybody pursuing to understand and help resolve such conflicts, be it academics or practitioners. It is also a reminder that although internal conflict may not be at the top of the agenda of the day, it is recurrent and here to stay, regardless of the newly securitized issues.

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Lucjan T. Orłowski (ed.),
Transition and Growth in Post-Communist Countries.
Cheltenham/ Northampton, MA:
Edward Elgar, 2001. 316 pp.,
ISBN 1 84064 556 3 (hardcover).

The book *Transition and Growth in Post-Communist Countries* edited by Lucjan T. Orłowski contributes to the broad discussion on transition. The authors of this book look at transition processes in Central and Eastern European countries for the most part from an economic point of view leaving

the political transition dimension out of account.

The purpose of the anthology's editor is to review the ten-year record of political and economic transition in former Soviet-dominated countries. The volume is a compilation of papers given at the conference *Ten years after: Transition and Growth in Post-Communist countries* organized by the Centre for Social and Economic Research in Warsaw in 1999. The book takes into account the difficulties and struggles former communist countries have to solve on their way to more market oriented economies.

As a whole, the volume suffers a bit from the lack of continuity, a shortcoming typical of edited volumes. Nevertheless, the great overwhelming topic of economic transition holds it together.

The articles examine different aspects of economic transition processes and evaluate their outcomes. The volume consists of four parts according to the following subjects: The authors of the articles of the first part examine the factors responsible for economic growth in transition countries. Here, Stanley Fisher and Ratna Sahay deal with the macroeconomic performance of the economic systems of 25 countries formerly under communist rule. The authors concentrate on inflation and stabilization strategies as most important actions within the transition process. Daniel Gros and Marc Suhrcke address the question whether transition countries are still justified in receiving special treatment by the international community. Andrew M. Warner links the probability of

convergence of transition countries to geographic obstacles. With a side-glance to the dimension of political transition, the authors sometimes link the will to reform of the respective national decision makers to economic growth.

Throughout the second part, the authors link the performance of the single national financial markets to the global financial market and examine their ability to integration. Marek Dabrowski discusses advantages and disadvantages of monetary policies and exchange rate regimes in transition economies as he sees the increasing integration of financial markets as the most dynamic aspect of the globalization process. Andrzej Bratkowski and Jacek Rostowski discuss the problems the admission of Eastern European countries to the European Union will have due to the special features of the applicant countries. Bratkowski and Rostowski therefore suggest the transition countries to unilaterally adopt the Euro before EU entry. Lucjan T. Orłowski examines the consequences and the macroeconomic policy responses in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to the Russian financial crisis.

The authors of the third part of this book deal with the transition of the former communist welfare state systems to welfare systems suiting market economy. Nicholas Barr analyses on principles of reform of welfare systems. He concentrates on the advanced reformed countries of Central and Eastern Europe linking his issue secondarily to the dimension of

politics. Michal Rutkowski focuses on the changes in retirement/pension systems of post-communist economies. He names the obstacles and provides recommendations. The respective comments provide an excellent insight into the pro and contra arguments concerning the discussed topics.

The concluding part of the volume gives an account of a discussion panel at the 1999 Warsaw conference where prominent policy makers discussed the process and state of reforms that they had designed and implemented in their respective countries.

Methodologically, the book combines different concepts of analysis. The authors evaluate policy processes, take into account historical paths, and analyze concrete empirical data and additionally combine their results with policy recommendations.

Since *Transition and Growth in Post-Communist Countries* is a compilation of conference papers, its presentation and organization follows the structure of the conference.

All in all this volume is a good overview of the economic developments in post-communist countries during the last ten years on the basis of different economic concepts. Not only economists will enjoy reading this book – even though the interrelated facts of economic transitional processes are rather left unconsidered. It seems to be a fact that economists tend to ignore institutional transformations that are at least as important as economic success. Nevertheless, the book is readable also for political scientists, or

students of the Eastern European regions as well as for policy makers.

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Siniša Maleševic, *Ideology. Legitimacy and the New State. Yugoslavia, Serbia and Croatia*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002. 338 pp., ISBN 1462-9755 (hardback).

‘What I wanted was simply to formulate an outline for a conceptual model of ideology, that would, by focusing on the form and content of ideology, serve as an open hypothetical framework on the basis of which one could test some more generalisable claims about the nature of ideology’ (Maleševic, 2002)

Well known from his other current book on ideology titled *Ideology after Poststructuralism*, Siniša Maleševic presents another work that demonstrates his mature approach to questions of ideology and legitimacy. This time he chooses to examine the cases of ideology and legitimacy on the newly formed States of Croatia and Serbia that came into existence after the demise of Yugoslavia. He focuses on the question of ideology and proceeds by making an important distinction between two levels of ideology: ideology at the normative and the affirmative level. This distinction helps us understand better how masses conceive ideology and how they

reinterpret it according to their particular needs and values. This dichotomy also brings into the light the importance of traditionalism apparent in the cases of the recently formed States of Croatia and Serbia. According to the author, there is a considerable level of continuous ideological patterns and this is proved as the two states are compared and contrasted to Former Yugoslavia. The author comes up with a well-constructed model of ideology but also mentions what he calls the impact of the 'ideologisation of charisma' as he calls it thus giving us a new insight into the nature of elites. The author also provides crucial information about the political context in which these two new countries have been developed. Arguments are successfully demonstrated with the use of updated, interesting materials. In addition, the interpretations offered by the author are usually easy to follow even when the reader reaches the deep theoretical core of the book. Malešević is good at demonstrating his points and leading the reader successfully towards his main points. In terms of methodology, the author demonstrates his deep knowledge by offering us a solid approach to the explored theories. In empirical terms, the book has also a lot to offer as the studies on Yugoslavia, Serbia and Croatia are interesting and put theory into practice. There is a good balance of theoretical and empirical facts that make the book cohesive and rich in information. The author identifies general patterns of legitimacy in the establishment of new states and argues for an

inclusive definition of ideology which according to his opinion is better equipped in dealing with differently structured societies. The reader understands the different ways in which ideology operates and the different outcomes in terms of normative and imperative context. In addition, attention is also devoted to the charismatic figures of Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman, the political formulations and the popular feelings within the new States. However, although the book is well structured and well researched, it only focuses on Yugoslavia in the period from 1945 till 1960 and then examines the cases of Serbia and Croatia from 1987-1997 and 1990-1997 respectively. Therefore, there is a twenty-year gap period between 1960-1997/1990 that would help us understand better the issues of ideological transition and transformation. Closer examination of this period could have also offered new ideas about the nature of the political regime as well as give an account of what was to follow after the demise of the Yugoslav state. However, this could have been an extra feature of the book and in no case means that work currently presented is unclear or lacking in any account. On the contrary this is a well-researched, well-argued and cohesive book that is of interest to scholars who conduct research on Yugoslavia and the new States of Croatia and Serbia. In addition, political scientists will find Malešević's ideas on ideology and legitimacy challenging and innovative. The book can also be a good read for those interested in

debates about the nature of ideology, the transformation of political systems, the ideologisation of charisma and its impact on elites.

Siniša Malešević presents an interesting work and he closes the concluding chapter by suggesting that he is aware of the weaknesses and limits of his arguments at this volume. His approach is an interesting one which challenges other scholars to conduct research on the basis of Malešević's ideas. As the author claims:To refute, or support further, the hypothetical claims developed and tested here, one should continue with the application of this model to other societies and other dominant ideologies (p.317)'.

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János Kornai and Karen Eggleston, *Welfare, Choice and Solidarity in Transition. Reforming the Health Sector in Eastern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 365 pp., ISBN 0-521-79036-0 (hardcover).

There are few books on post-communist transitions, which have managed to capture the principle of multi-disciplinarily in such a comprehensive and convincing manner as János Kornai and Karen Eggleston have succeeded with their volume on *Welfare, Choice and Solidarity in Transition. Reforming the Health Sector in Eastern Europe*. Written as a joint endeavor of a researcher of post-communism and a health

economist, this book studies the issues of the health sector reforms in Eastern Europe from different points of view: economic, political and ethical. Therefore the group of potential readers for this book is not limited to the students of post-socialist transformations and/or of health-care reforms, but extends to those who function outside the academic community (e.g. politicians, legislators, civil servants, medical professionals and media representatives). Such broad audience reflects the two main aims that the authors set for themselves: (i) to characterize the present situation within the health sector in the post-socialist context (thence, contribute to the academic disputes on the relevant issues) and (ii) to suggest a course of actions most beneficial for organization of both the supply and the demand sides within that sector (and, thus, to influence the future shape of the reforms).

This double purpose of the book is clearly reflected in its overall structure. It is divided into two main sections; the descriptive and explorative part is followed by the explanatory and recommendatory one. The first part, which provides background information and discussions for the subsequent reforms guidelines, consists of four distinct segments. First, nine broad-spectrum principles are introduced (chapter 2). These consist of ethical postulates (individual autonomy and social solidarity), institutional and coordination prescriptions (managed competition, inducements to efficient services, supervisory role of the state, transparency, the time factor) and

allocation directions (congruous growth, sustainable financing). Next, the book offers a general overview of the most basic attributes of the health-care sector (chapter 3). It classifies different forms of organization of the supply side (providers of medical services) and the demand sides (purchasers of the services), and their interrelation according to the integration criteria. It also distinguishes problems characteristic of the health sector regardless of the cultural and geographical context, such as asymmetry of information or the need for selectiveness. Further on, it discusses these questions in a comparative perspective in relation first to the democratic industrialized countries (where it differentiates between five major types of health system organization they embody), and next to the Central Eastern European countries (chapters 4 & 5). All of the latter ones initially realized the so-called 'Soviet model' of public provision and the highest degree of integration between the delivery and financing sectors. In the post-socialist era they moved more or less radically away from that system, however the timing, sequence and direction of the reforms differed substantially from country to country. Employing comparative perspective, the authors give both a detailed description of the changes in health-care system that occurred in the particular countries in the 90s and come up with more general conclusions on the situation and problems of this system in post-socialist region. In regard to the latter, special

attention is drawn to the problem of relatively low earnings of the medical professionals in this part of Europe, the semi-legal or illegal practices of the so-called 'gratuities' and expansion of 'gray-economy' methods in this sector.

The second and main part of the book consists of diverse reform guidelines. These are not presented as a specific list of recommendations that is to be implemented selectively, but rather as a collection of alternative solutions that according to the authors respond best to the post-socialist difficulties of the health sector. Said otherwise, this section comprises of practical guidance for institutional, economic and political transformations which should allow for the best possible realization of the principles enlisted in chapter 2, taking into account the specificity of the post-communist context.

First, different guidelines for reforming the demand side are put forth (chapter 6). Here the authors introduce division into basic and supplementary care with the main distinction that the former one should be governed by the principle of egalitarianism (i.e. universal and equal access for all members of society should be guaranteed), contrary to the latter one where the principle of individual choice and individual preferences should prevail. The authors argue, *inter alia*, for maintaining relatively strong supervisory role of the state in regard to deciding on the macro-allocations for the basic care, and for advancing transparency within the financing system through introduction of the earmarked

health tax, and possibilities for public scrutiny and debates on those issues. They also come up with various proposals as regards the system of health insurance, which should promote its decentralization, separation from sponsors and providers, and managed competition between the public and private insurers. At the end of this section, the role of the employers in organization of the insurance system is discussed.

As regards the supply side, the authors propose a number of solutions which promote pluralistic system of provision (chapter 7). In the post-communist context that implies especially support for private initiatives, re-allocation of the ownership rights and increasing decentralization of the delivery system. Finally the book deals with the issue of the relationship between the supply and demand parts (chapter 8), where particular focus is placed again on the issue of payments for medical services, doctors' earnings and promoting the so-called 'neutrality' between different health sectors.

All in all, this book advocates the view that the main condition for a favorable outcome of the health sector reforms in post-socialist Europe is achieving a good balance not only between the roles played by the state and the market in their conduct, but also between the principles of individual freedom and social solidarity. Therefore, building up a health-care system which benefits the whole society in the best possible way seems to be not solely a matter of certain economic policy or institutional design, but also of

shared societal values and ethical principles.

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Philip Robins, *Suits and Uniforms, Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War*. London: Hurst & Company, 2003. xx+404 pp., ISBN 1-85065-676-2 (paperback).

History of the Turkish Republic's foreign policy can be divided into four major periods: The first is Atatürk and İnönü's period which is based on avoiding any international or two-sided conflicts and spending efforts for the sake of peace in the region till the end of Second World War. The second period begins with the Soviet threat just at the end of the war and ends with the famous 'Johnson letter' in 1964 in which period Turkish foreign policy can be seen totally as pro-American. The third period which lasts to the end of the Cold War was the period which Turkey tries to balance its and the West's policy priorities and gives more priorities to its own policy. The last one covers the worldwide transition period of international system following the end of Soviet Union which Turkey had to revise its foreign policy priorities and deal with the new ethnic, economical, and political problems in its region.

Until the last decade, Turkish foreign policy did not call attention of academicians with few exceptions. Since Turkey was seen as part of Western bloc and pursued his role in this scenario, Turkey's foreign policy did not

attract experts or academicians in detail. The end of the Cold War brings Turkey new opportunities and problems in its region. Just naming some of them can give efficient idea how Turkey's problems and opportunities increased in this part of the world: the problems in the Caucasian region (Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, ethnic problems, the possible transportation route of crude oil and natural gas to the West on the way of Turkey and the Straits), in the Balkans (Bosnian and Kosovo crises, Turkey's long time problems with Greece in Aegean Sea and Cyprus), and in the Middle East (the Iraq issue, the water crisis between Turkey-Syria-Iraq, the security interests of Turkey and its reflections on bilateral relations with Iraq, Iran and Syria). This book among others has a particular and peculiar place in examining and analyzing Turkish foreign policy from several perspectives.

This book begins with counting major Turkish foreign policy challenges which mostly coincides with above divisions of periods (1). Then it points out the lack or shortage of studies on Turkish foreign policy examining its reasons (2). In order to examine Turkish foreign policy from different aspects, the author divides his study into three parts and 10 subtitles. In the first section of the first part he analyses the changing international system and Turkey's place in it, namely Turkey's role in the Gulf Crisis in 1990-1991, its place in NATO and the Conventional Forces in Europe agreement, and attitudes to the

enlargement of the NATO (15-29), as well as its image on human rights and roles in international initiatives in various regional conflicts (29-51). This section shows that as a result of global changes following the end of the Cold War, "Turkey has gone from being a peripheral player in a global, bipolar conflict to being a central actor in a raft of actual or potential regional conflicts" (11). Despite Turkey's initiatives in international issues and in participation to the western world, human rights problems do not prevent it to be criticized harshly by its western allies. The second section deals with the roles of players of the Turkish foreign policy and their impacts in 1990's in various international issues (53-68). The main players in Turkish foreign policy according to the author are the government, the presidency, the foreign ministry and the security establishments (the military, the National Security Council, the National Intelligence Service) (68-79), among them the foreign ministry and military play leading role to make and pursue the policy. The secondary players are the Parliament, the media, interests groups, ethnic pressure groups and the last but not least the public opinion (79-93).

The second part of the book examines the domestic motivators of Turkish foreign Policy in four subtitles. These motivators are history, ideology, security, and economics. The author rightly observes that "history is a key determinant of perception in that it helps to form an identikit picture as to the make-up of others" (94). To prove his observation, he analyses the Turkish perception of

the Arabs, the so-called unreliable friendship of the West Europeans and the USA, the issues of Cyprus and minorities. The Ottoman legacy (101-102), the Sèvres (102-105) and Lausanne treaties (126-128), the Johnson letter in 1964 and arms embargo in 1974 (129-134) are other main factors which design the mentality of Turkish policy makers on all foreign and security issues. The author concludes that history “tells Turks to be suspicious, especially of their neighbors, who covet their territory or seek to erode the greatness of the nation through devious means” (135). The Kemalist ideology and its implications (138-160), Turkey’s strategic importance in the region (161-163) and its reflections on relations with neighbouring states (163-172, 181-189), the Kurdish issue (172-180), and finally the economics (207-238) are the other main domestic motivators which shape the Turkish foreign policy. This study shows that “security concerns lie at the heart of how Turkey views its place in the world and hence its foreign policy” (205).

The third part analyses Turkey’s relations with several states such as Israel, Arab states (239-269) and the Turkic republics in Central Asia (270-311) and its foreign policy process and action in the Northern Iraq (312-342) and during the Bosnian Crisis (343-378). Turkey’s relation with Israel has been seen by many as Ben-Gurion says that “Turkey treated Israel as a mistress (its wife being the Arabs) and not as a partner in a full marriage” (249). However, as the author points out, this relation has changed. “By 1993

the two countries were engaged; by 1996 they were wed” (249). Since then their military and economic relations reached to the top. With regard to the relations with the Turkic republics in Central Asia, Turkey was seen as a secular, democratic model for them by the West and Turkey itself. However, Turkey’s lack of capacity to be a model and the lack of Turkish political and economic stability prevented it. Therefore, the dream of Turkic world from Adriatic to the Chinese Wall has sunk to the bottom. The developments in the Northern Iraq in 1990’s became the main concern for Turkey. It includes security, ethnic, cultural, political and economic aspects. Following the Gulf War in 1991, the lack of Iraq authority in the region helped the terrorist and separatist PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) to get established in the region and to increase its activities in the South-eastern Turkey. Henceforth Turkey pursued the policy of integrity of Iraq and began to play important role by assisting the USA, initiating military operations and mediating warring Kurdish groups in the region. The Bosnian Crisis which is the last issue in the book shows that Turkey is a major Balkan power. Any conflict in the Balkans would drag Turkey into the issue to intervene or at least to make initiative.

Overall, this book is differed from the others in its own area studies. First of all, this study is based on both English and Turkish sources. Western scholars generally omit the latter. This tends to misunderstand background and sentiments of Turkish politics and

policy makers. Secondly, the author harmonizes the domestic and foreign policy developments so that the level and degree of their influences on each other can be understood in different aspects. Last but not least, the author successfully manages to analyze almost all current Turkish foreign policy issues as well as policy makers and motivators of foreign policy.

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