

ment of a policy-solution includes three criteria: the prognosis of the policy-solution, its efficacy (the ratio of the costs and the benefits) and the investigation of the fairness of the distribution of its consequences.

The next phase of decision-making is the one that answers the question of how various solutions are selected, who decides about that and which procedures are to be used. After decision-making there follows the implementation or putting the decision into practice.

Although it is difficult to speak about the beginning and the end of a policy-process, the author points out that an assessment is called for at the end of the process. Within this phase of a policy-process, it is often required to make a decision about bringing a certain activity to an end.

In the last, fourth part of the book, the author states that the purpose of dividing a policy-process into different phases has mainly an analytical purpose. A political cycle is a "combined sequence of activities in a simultaneous discovery and definition of problems, solutions and implementations" (p. 117). As of lately, the approaches which might be termed policy-drafts have developed for the purpose of linking the policy-process to the policy-effects. These are plans which systematically describe the connections between the problems and the solutions. The basic components of a policy-draft are policy-values, policy-context, and policy-measures and instruments.

By using policy-drafts, policy-analysis has reached an enviable level of development within political science. The author points out that "political science still does not have at its disposal a policy-innovative model that would be directly research-applicable" (p. 125). The mentioned model is still greatly determined by the context of the po-

litical situation and requires various approaches in defining the problem and applying the methods of analysis.

Ivan Grdešić's book is the first presentation of policy-analysis in Croatia. It will encourage students, professors and researchers in the field of political science to find out more about the various possibilities in evaluating political decisions. The book will also be useful to those who take part in the process of public decision-making in Croatia.

Zdravko Petak

Translated by  
Božica Jakovlev

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Book review

Božidar Javorović

*Velikosrpska najezda i obrana  
Hrvatske*  
(*Great Serbian Encroachment  
and Croatia's Defense*)

Defimi, Zagreb, 1995, 370 pages

The twentieth century has been marked by the rise and fall of totalitarian movements that have caused the death of millions of people worldwide. The ambitious attempts at establishing the total control over the totality of human life have invariably failed. Nevertheless, while they lasted, they gave rise to the politics which has been branded by many as the "politics of organized madness". The world order which emerged after World War II was supposed to prevent the emergence of such politics and its sway in international relations. It has had some success so far, but has not been able

to prevent the development of the "organized madness" within individual states. We have witnessed the emergence of such politics in Serbia, whose objective has been to subjugate the peoples of the former Yugoslavia and impose a totalitarian political regime. The causes of these developments on the territory of the former Yugoslavia date far back into history, which is amply documented by Božidar Javorović in his book *Great Serbian Encroachment and Croatia's Defense*. He claims that throughout history, there has been a constant conflict between two interests: one manifested in the struggle of the Balkan and Adriatic peoples for acquiring as much territory as possible in this part of Europe and the other manifested in the millenarian clash of global economic, geopolitical, military-political, cultural, and religious interests.

In the first section of the book, the author speaks of Croats and Croatia and gives an account of the historical development of the people and the Croatian state. He concludes that there has been a continuity of the Croatian state from the eighth century onwards, that Croatia was forced to join the concoction called Yugoslavia, that in the 1990 general democratic elections Croatia elected a non-communist government and thus opted for a democratic development and the values of democratic world.

In the second section the author analyses the relations between Serbs and Croats throughout history. Their relations have had ups and downs but have very frequently been dictated by the neighbouring powers (usually two momentarily most influential nations in this region would cross swords via them). For example, the Habsburg monarchy used the migrations of Serbian people who were fleeing north and west in front of the advancing Turkish troops to resettle them in the regions bordering on the Ottoman

Empire. These same Serbs have become the bedrock of the Serbian western expansion by means of various secular and spiritual programs, based on a single premise that all Serbs must live within one state. Such an idea would probably not have lifted eyebrows in the 19th or early 20th century, but it is hard to comprehend its resurrection at the end of the 20th century. The author identifies the proponents and advocates of that idea. These have not been marginal social or political non-entities, but Serbian political, cultural, religious, and scientific elites.

The third section is devoted to Yugoslavia and its disintegration. The author documents the assertion that Yugoslavia was a complex and heterogeneous state. Besides its national diversity, it has also been religiously varied, with three major religions: Roman-Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim. Such a situation gave rise to many polarizations, among them the ideological and political, national and constitutional ones, which the author uses as the starting point in his analysis of the relations in the former Yugoslavia. The ideological and political polarizations were manifested through the support or the lack of support for the socialist and communist system. The totalitarian regime discouraged the disclosure of the inter-ethnic polarizations. The communist government considered the national question to have been settled in the national-liberational struggle during World War II and the creation of the federal units on the national basis (except Bosnia and Herzegovina). They also thought that clamping down on any discussion about the inter-ethnic relations would resolve the issue. The constitutional polarizations were manifested in the discrepancy between the political system of socialist self-management and the dominant influence of the communist party on all forms of social and political life. At the end of the third section the author

concludes that (a) "the inner contradictions, problems and crises led to the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, the emergence of new social relations and new social forces (the latter eventually seized power), and that (b) the greater Serbian hegemonistic interests and policies had to bring about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, since they could not provide the framework for the realization of national, legal and international subjectivity of the nations living in it, and (c) that the Serbian pretensions and its unitarianist-etatist-centralist efforts to thwart the process of democratization and the independence of the republics at any price, triggered off the war in this region and led to the Serbian aggression on Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the fourth section of the book, the author claims that the intimations of the aggression on Croatia could be found in the elements of various political and economic reforms. The objectives of the Serbian expansionist politics are analysed as well as the ways in which they were put into practice at the time of the political dissolution of Yugoslavia and on the eve of the military aggression. The author divides the instigators and the proponents of the aggression into: ideological, spiritual, political, media-related, military, economic, and law-enforcement. These operated in the context of the clash among the three political drifts at work in each republic and on the federal level. Those were: the state-socialist, in favour of a strong and unitary state ruled by communists; the reformist, which advocated radical reforms of the economic system within the existing socialist system; the democratic, which proposed radical political reforms and the development of democratic political institutions. In such circumstances, the proponents of the aggression openly exerted political and other pressures and made an ample use of sabre-rattling, threatening with their military

might and an armed conflict. In this they enjoyed the support of the international community which opined that Yugoslavia should be preserved as an integral state and that economic reforms should be put into practice but without any radical changes in the political system.

The consequence of the confluence of these two factors was the Serbian aggression, first on Slovenia, and later on Croatia. The war and its aftermath are analysed in the fifth section of the book. There are two lines of analysis: one is the account of the aggression on Croatia, and the other is the review of the forms of the aggression and its synthesis. According to the author there are four stages of the aggression: 1. the period of special war 2. the period of Serbian uprising 3. the period of military conflicts and 4. the period of war and peace. This is followed by the analysis of the Croatian response to the aggression, a description of the creation of the Croatian defense and its army and the transformation of Croatia into a regional military power.

The sixth and the seventh section are devoted to the analysis of the outcomes of the war: the war victims and the damages. These two chapters include the statistical data gathered from various sources which illustrate the extent of the aggression.

The eighth section is a summary of the conclusions and the assessments of the possible developments on the territories of the former Yugoslavia. According to the author, the Croatian future "must be based on love and understanding, and not on hate. The divisive line among people should not run along the issues of nation, religion, race, political allegiances, but good and evil."

At the end of this valuable and comprehensive book, the author offers integral documents of Croatian and in-

ternational institutions that tried to put an end to the conflict in this region.

The book is not intended solely for scholars and politicians but for all those who want to find out more about the scope of the Serbian pretensions and the aggression on Croatia. By means of 37 maps, 52 tables and 8 figures the author provides exceptional documentary resource base which might help all those looking into the causes and the consequences of the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Vlatko Cvrtila

Translated by  
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#### Book review

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Andelko Milardović, Tihomir Cipek,  
Marinko Šišak (ed.)

*Hrvatska politološka tradicija.  
Prinosi za povijest hrvatske  
politologije  
(Croatian Political Science  
Tradition. Contributions to the  
History of Croatian Political  
Science)*

Alinea, Zagreb, 1995, 292 pages

A group of political scientists, at the beginning of the nineties, led by the three editors of this edition, started a research project "Croatian political science tradition". The first findings proved the existence of the institutionalized forms of the study of politics much before the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb was

founded in 1962. This, as can be read in the foreword to this book, primarily refers to the Political-Cameral Study in Varaždin, established by Maria Theresa's edict of 1769; in 1772. it was transferred to the Faculty of Law in Zagreb.

Besides reviewing the history of the study of politics in Croatia, the foreword is also a short review of the development of political science in general. The editors have applied certain criteria for the selection of the authors and the texts.

A group of the chosen authors worked at universities, while some majored in political science (for example Stjepan Radić and Josip Nagy, in Paris). Most of them were major figures in political life. The texts have been picked out according to the thematic and technical criteria.

The thematic criterion requires the topics to be from the fields of the foundations of politics or the relationship between politics and political science, and to be as near to the "institutional study of politics" as possible (p. 17). The technical criterion requires the texts to be suitable for publishing in this sort of a limited-scope anthology. That is why the book does not include the texts by the philosopher of politics, Julio Makanac, an otherwise undisputed authority. The rest of the foreword supplies the information about the included authors as well as the basic theoretical guidelines of their works.

The first original text is "Civic admonitions for ruling states" by Nikola Vitov Gučetić, Ragusan political-historian (1549-1610). Gučetić deals with the functioning of a well-ordered state. His teachings do not exceed the framework established by Aristotle's "Politics"; he refers to this works throughout his book in an attempt to find the constellation of institutions which might be conducive to the realization of the