

Book reviews

Book review

Mirjana Kasapović

Demokratska tranzicija i političke stranke. Razvoj političkih stranaka i političkih sustava u Istočnoj Europi (Democratic Transition and Political Parties. Development of Political Parties and Party Systems in Eastern Europe)

Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb, 1996, 202 pages

In the last eight years, both as a researcher and a teacher, Mirjana Kasapović has pursued the topic of the formation of political institutions in the process of transition from the totalitarian/authoritarian regimes into democratic ones. She is also an expert on elections and electoral systems and the formation of parties and party systems in the newly-created democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. She focuses on the analysis of the democratic transition in Croatia from a comparative perspective. The results of her work were published in 1993 in the book *Izborni i stranački sustav Republike Hrvatske* /Electoral and party system of the Republic of Croatia/ (Alinea, Zagreb).

The book *Demokratska tranzicija i političke stranke* deals with the democratic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, both at the level of different theoretical models and the level of the presentation, structuring, and evaluation

of a plethora of monographs and empirical data published since 1989. The democratic transition of Croatia fits into this methodologically reflected comparative context.

The book *Demokratska tranzicija i političke stranke* consists of four chapters. The first, entitled “Democratic transition in Eastern Europe: approaches and interpretative patterns”, includes a review and an assessment of the most significant theoretical models usually used to explain the transition from the totalitarian/authoritarian regimes into the democratic ones and in particular the collapse of the communist and the establishment of democratic regimes in eastern Europe. Reviewed here are the theoretical models of the so called democratic revolution (illustrated by the influential studies by Timothy Garton Ash and Ralf Dahrendorf) as well as the various models of the democratic transition (illustrated by the classic study by O’Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead and the works by Huntington, Przeworski, Offe and von Beyme). In the second chapter, entitled “Democratic transition and formation of political institutions”, the author looks into the theoretical approaches to the process of the formation of political institutions and offers a comparative review of the patterns of the emergence of basic political institutions in the post-socialist democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. The author concentrates on the issue of “the constitutional choice” of the electoral system, on the parliament structure and on the organisation and position of the executive government (parliamentary vs presidential system). In the third, and the most extensive chapter, entitled “Political parties and party systems in Eastern Europe: emergence and growth”, the author gives an account of the formation of

political parties in new democracies, looks into the relationship between the electoral and party systems, and focuses on the theoretical models in the explanation of the genesis and the structure of party systems, starting from the already classical theoretical model of socio-political rifts by Rokkan and Lipset and its elaboration by Ingelhart, and analysing the application of that model in the new theories that thematise the East European party systems (von Beyme, Korosenyi, Roskin, Markus, Agh, Kitschelt). In the last chapter, entitled "Croatia: democratic transition, political institutions, and political parties", the author investigates the applicability of the expounded theoretical models in the case of Croatia and gives a concise review of the features of the transition, the choice of political institutions and the party system in Croatia.

It should be pointed out that this is the first scientific effort by a Croatian author on democratic transition. The topic is exceptionally fresh and important for social sciences, particularly for political science, political sociology, and constitutional law. The author demonstrates a profound knowledge of foreign literature on the problem of democratic transition; at the same time, in an original manner, she synthesises it and applies it to the Croatian scene. Her original contribution to political science is her interpretation of the vast empirical material about the processes of political transformation in Eastern Europe and the elaboration of her own model of structuring party systems in the post-socialist countries.

Nenad Zakošek

Book review

Radovan Vukadinović

*Postkomunistički izazovi
europskoj sigurnosti — od
Jadrana do Baltika
(Post-Communist Challenges to
European Security — From the
Adriatic to the Baltic)*

Grafotisak, Grude, 1997, 258 pages

The changes in international relations, together with numerous new trends in economic, political, social and cultural/scientific development pose the question of security on the European continent in a new form. The creation of the new democratic and liberal relations in the vast space of Eastern Europe and Russia in the sphere of security has not brought about the corresponding growth that would reflect the positive tenor of these changes within this new framework. The existing period of changes, together with the instilling of the democratic values of the western lifestyle into the eastern European regions, opens new problems and lends itself to breakouts of crises which can lead to open conflicts and global insecurity. This is not a phase which is soon to run out of breath and make for a faster entry of the eastern parts of Europe into the western system of relationships. These are the challenges that are here to stay and that are going to be felt — with a bigger or smaller intensity — in various parts of this unstable region.

Radovan Vukadinović, Professor of international relations at the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb, analyses these significant issues of European security in his book *Postkomunistički iza-*

zovi europskoj sigurnosti — od Jadrana do Baltika. This is one in a series of books by this world-famous author, the book which for the first time in Croatia offers a comprehensive analysis of the European security problems and the chances for overcoming them at the end of the 20th century.

The book is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, the author looks into the challenges confronting Europe. The first of them is the collapse of the blocs, which caused regional instabilities. Starting from European inter-dependence and the danger posed by the upheavals in Eastern Europe, the author sees the path to European security in the build-up of a system of European security, in which crisis-management, economic links and the cooperation of the new democracies are remarkably important. The author poses the question: "Can a system of security be built in Southeastern Europe?" The answers to this question are supplied by analyzing the conflict in the former Yugoslavia via the initial responses of the Balkan states and the great powers to this conflict.

In the second chapter, the author deals with the visions and the realities of the Central European security and cooperation. Outlined here is the Central European trilateral and its launching at the summit in Višegrad on 15 February 1991, when the presidents of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary met. In this way, the three countries strengthened their international position and displayed readiness for bolstering democratic tendencies and European links. For all Central European countries, the security issue is the top priority, as evidenced by their efforts to conform their defense systems with the NATO standards in order to join it as soon as possible. The author is of the opinion that, despite all the obstacles, the Central European countries have come farther in comparison with the newly-created states of Eastern and

South-eastern Europe: they became EU associate members and would-be NATO members (in spite of Russia's opposition).

The third chapter is devoted to Russia's volatility, a serious threat to European security. The author, an expert on Russian state of affairs, first analyses the reforms in Russia, their protagonists and consequences. From the geo-strategic point of view, the present Russian plight is a danger for broader European setting, primarily due to a high concentration of nuclear and traditional arms (at present inadequately guarded) and to the inter-ethnic tensions which might turn into an open conflict. The Russian politics, somewhere between "Westerners" and the "Euro-Asians", determines the relations between Russia and the West, those between Russia and the Union of Independent States and Russia's place in Europe. The author looks into the Russian security policy, Russia's reactions to the NATO expansion, the new Russian military doctrine and the Russian instability.

In the fourth chapter, the author talks about the Baltic security and its most important parameters. First he talks about the relations between Russia and the Baltic countries; then he analyses Russian foreign policy regarding the Baltic states and their position regarding national security and their attitude towards the West.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the Croatian foreign policy. From an almost unarmed people who voted for the creation of its independent state, via a tortuous process of state-building in wartime conditions, the liberation of the homeland and the restoration of normalcy, the Croatian foreign policy to a large degree helped Croatia along on its trajectory from the struggle for an independent Croatia to its being a regional East European power. The author divides the activities of the Croatian foreign policy at the time of

the normalization of the relations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia into three concentric circles: the relations with the neighboring countries, the efforts to join Europe, and fortifying national security by means of its international activities. Croatian foreign policy is particularly important in strengthening its security, not only through its strategic partnership with the US as the only super-power but also through Croatia's coveted prospective NATO membership.

The book *Postkomunistički izazovi europskoj sigurnosti* is essential in understanding the current security processes in Europe from the Adriatic to the Baltic region, both for those experts in Croatia but also in Europe and the world who explore the issues of European security from the Adriatic to the Baltic.

Siniša Tatalović

Book review

Vlatko Mileta

ABC Europske Unije
(*ABC of European Union*)

Školske novine, Zagreb, 1997, 301 pages

Vlatko Mileta's book belongs to the category of indispensable books for Croatians, since it includes the concepts without which it is not possible to understand the complexity of the economic and the political relations in the region which Croatia has been striving to join.

Vlatko Mileta is a well-known expert on international relations, the author of numerous books, essays and articles. He teaches at the Faculty of Political Science; his subjects are con-

temporary economic systems and international relations, and post-graduate courses in international relations, international economic organisations and the European union.

He has written several books on the European Union. Among them are: *Europska unija — gospodarski aspekt* (in the book by V. Mileta, R. Vukadinović: *Europa iza ugla*) and *ABC Europske zajednice*.

His latest work deals with the European union concepts in the form of a glossary. There are more than 370 items — concepts, institutions and processes — characteristic for that leading integration in today's world.

The glossary includes all the key EU institutions and the essential attitudes of the EU towards "the third states". Also marvellously elucidated are numerous items important for understanding the inter-relations among the member states as well as the index of standard abbreviations encountered in the literature concerning the European union.

The glossary also provides information about the most significant facts from the Union's "life" and its development and offers a list of relevant events on the Union territory — since its inception in the form of the European Steel and Coal Community to the adopted projections until the end of this century and the beginning of the next.

The glossary is informative, intelligible and up-to-date. In a way it is a *precis* packed with knowledge and level-headed judgements by the author who has devoted several decades of his scholarly career to the exploration of the European Union and international integrations in general.

Darko Bekić

Book review

Jovan Mirić

Demokracija u postkomunističkim društvima: primjer Hrvatske
(*Democracy in Post-Communist Societies: Croatian Example*)

Prosvjeta, Zagreb, 1996, 304 pages

This book consists of two parts which, in turn, comprise differently intoned texts. The first part, entitled “What and why democracy?” includes a series of politico-theoretical essays on the premises, genesis, structure and aporia of democracy as a polity. The author investigates the relationship of the democratic system and various political doctrines and institutions that helped shape the specific form of democracy established in the 19th and the 20th century (liberalism, pluralism, state of law, majority principle). The starting point of the author’s analysis is the political philosophy of the Enlightenment and anthropology: he claims that the *sine qua non* of democracy are autonomous individuals, morally responsible for their acts, who establish polities as associations of free citizens, the result of their will and interests, and not as a quasi-natural entity, determined by origins, social status or cultural heritage. The author refers to a plethora of writers, both the “classical” theoreticians of liberalism and democracy and the contemporary political scientists. The character of this collection of essays is at the same time its shortcoming: some key categories and controversies of the contemporary democratic practice are not sufficiently discussed. For example, he does not explain the origins of democracy in antiquity, nor the difference between the ancient and the modern concept of democracy; he has not gone into the

antithesis between the immediate and the representative democracy, the source of the deepest rift in contemporary politico-theoretical debates and the manifestation of the two opposite democratic doctrines. And, finally, the fundamental dilemma of the so called elitist theory of democracy is overlooked, the theory that reduces the original liberal/republican concept of the democratic self-government to the level of the competition among the elites and the possibility of voters to give legitimacy — by their choice — to a temporally unlimited rule of one of them. The collected essays may be thus labelled a politico-theoretical optimistic plea for democracy which staunchly supports democracy as a political system but lacks in differentiated and critical awareness of the issues which the present-day democracy is faced with.

The second part of the book, entitled “Democracy in post-communist societies: Croatian example”, contains articles of different weight. These are committed political essays, aspiring to turn into a sort of “critique of ideology”: the democratic shortcomings of the Croatian statehood project are looked into from the point of view of the normative theory of democracy, elucidated in the first part. The author convincingly proves that making the establishment of an independent state the absolute priority and neglecting the liberal/democratic qualities of its institutions result in major democratic failings as well as populist and authoritarian deviations. In his political discourse, the author does not hide his own political affiliation: this is a book by a Serbian intellectual in Croatia, a member of the Serbian minority, who sees Croatia as his political community, in which he fights for both human and political rights of all citizens and for the minority rights of his ethnic community. Honesty, authenticity and the commitment of the author’s discourse give these texts a special quality.

We may conclude that the book *Demokracija u postkomunističkim društvima — primjer Hrvatske* makes for interesting politico-theoretical and political reading. The collected essays are undoubtedly going to attract much attention, not only of the academic but of the broader political public, since in the last few years the Croatian public has rarely had an opportunity to come across the manifestos of Serbian intellectuals from Croatia.

Nenad Zakošek

Book review

Ivan Grdešić

Političko odlučivanje
(*Political Decision-Making*)

Alinea, Zagreb, 1995, 137 pages

The author is an expert on political decision-making, a fairly neglected and obscure subject-matter in the Croatian political science. This has prompted him to define a series of political science concepts used in the contemporary political science literature. The references, mostly by foreign sources and authors, are the proof that this is a pioneer undertaking, vital for the development of political science in Croatia.

Since these are new subjects in political science, new theoretical models and new methods, which are not only insufficiently used but almost unknown in the Croatian political science, the author has done well to offer us a concise and well-ordered explication and systematisation of the most significant phenomena connected with political innovation and decision-making and succinctly reviewed the major findings of the political science studies by numer-

ous authors.

Central to this book is the concept of political decision-making from the point of view of the type and quantity of power. In analysing various phases of the decision-making process, the author's main subject is political initiative which he broadly defines as political innovation (applying new ideas, methods, subjects, and alike, to social and political context).

The author has given an original contribution to the new subjects and methods of political science, especially to the establishment and development of political analysis. The book is a valuable contribution in diverting the Croatian political science from the doctrinal and ideological subjects and topics to the scientifically- and expert-based analyses of complex and eventful political processes in Croatia. Thus, it is not only a scientific study but a useful guidebook for various subjects of political life.

Zdravko Tomac

Book review

Siniša Tatalović

Upravljanje u političkim
sustavima i sustavima obrane
(*Governing in Political Systems*
and Systems of Defense)

Defimi, Zagreb, 1996, 160 pages

Siniša Tatalović's book analyses concrete forms and methods of the operation of the systems of governing (political and defense) and searches for the answers to three basic questions: what is governing in these two systems like, what the relationship between the

two has been in certain models of organisation throughout history and what this relationship characterises. In the first chapter the author uses a comparative approach to come up with the definitions of the basic categories: system, political system and system of defense, governing and command.

The second chapter deals with the basic relations in the governing bodies, both in the political and the defense system, which can be reduced to three types of relations: the defense system as an instrument of civil administration, as a party in decision-making and as a regulator of political decisions. A part of the chapter is devoted to the sources of the power of the military (or better to say, the defense system) which would deserve a much more detailed elaboration than the one set forth.

The third chapter describes the afore mentioned relations on the example of several primitive societies.

The fourth chapter describes this relationship in transitional societies by means of two models: the magistrate (the Athenian state and the Roman magistrate) and the monarchy (the Roman and the Ottoman Empires, the Habsburg Monarchy). This chapter underlines the axiom according to which the concentration of power within a political system leads to bolstering the military influence in a political system.

The fifth chapter is devoted to dictatorships as a political system on the examples of its fascist, communist and military varieties. Within the fascist model, particularly interesting is the Japanese system, in which only military officers could be ministers of war and navy and who in this way brought pressure to bear on cabinets and influenced legislature, the organisation of administration and defense. One of the most important features of communist dictatorships was the presence of the military in the communist party bodies

at all levels. Military dictatorships are a characteristic process of militarisation that does not stop at the political sphere but extends to all the major areas of social life. "Stamping out the independence of universities, trampling on freedom of the press, freedom of labour, plus the state control of economic life, were their most important characteristics."

The sixth chapter is devoted to the republic as a polity, illustrated via five, primarily normative, models: presidential system (USA), semi-presidential system (France), parliamentary system (Great Britain), assembly system (Sweden) and transitional system (Slovenia). The case of the USA is characterised by the constant endeavours to keep the defense system under control by means of institutional innovations — deep waters at the time of its increasing power. The French system is mentioned as an example of a successful control of the defense system by the political system. The most important instrument in France is the balance and synergy between the gendarmerie and the army. In Great Britain, governing is "not turned over to individuals or individual bodies that might independently create a defense strategy and decide on the use of the military force, but is in the domain of several agencies of various composition and functions". In Switzerland, a country of immediate democracy, in the last hundred years more than 900 laws have been passed via referendums — among them the one on the country's defense strategy, by which the military is excluded from all decision-making processes. They are "responsible only for the operative and tactical issues of the preparation and the wartime deployment of the army". The example of Slovenia as a transitional country leaves an open question: should the army remain subservient to the new government or fall back on the former habit of political meddling. The author describes the measures that the Slovenian

authorities should undertake to assure the subordinate role for the military, which would purport the Slovenian aspiration to turn into a democratic state.

The seventh chapter deals with the relation between the governing in the political system and that in the defense system of the Republic of Croatia.

Siniša Tatalović's book is the first on the relations between the political system and the defense system in Croatia. By describing the mentioned models, the author shows to what extent they are in or out of sync with the realization of democratic values, which are — no doubt — relevant for the young Croatian state.

Inge Perko-Šeparović

Book review

Siniša Tatalović

Manjinski narodi i manjine
(*Minority Peoples and*
Minorities)

IP Prosvjeta, SKD Prosvjeta,
Zagreb, 1997, 304 pages

The author analyses the position of minority peoples and minorities in Western Europe, a challenging topic in many respects. These are the countries which share the same civilisational, political, and economic values, they are members of the same international co-operative bodies (EU, NATO, WEU), but — despite all this — they still do not accept some common solutions. From Finland to Canada, minority peoples and minorities go through different forms of relations in which various instruments are sought out in order to resolve the issue of co-existence. While majority peoples in their states

try to forge a single nation, minority peoples and minorities strive at achieving cultural and territorial autonomy and, should an opportunity arise, to leave a multinational community. This is illustrated by the example of western democracies where one can find practically all types of relationships. The almost ideal model of the protection of Swedes in Finland is, naturally, at the very top of the positive solutions but is hard to imitate in other western states. However, there are less idyllic relations, indicating underlying problems which might in time lead to the partition of certain polities.

The author objectively, equably and analytically investigates the present condition and the problems and tentatively points to the possible future developments. At the same time, he is aware of the potential dangers as well as of the general state of affairs in the international community which, despite the stepped up positive measures, is still far from making certain principles into norms entirely applicable to each and every country. Mutual trust-strengthening measures are important in the build-up of the protection that would not rely solely on the benevolence of the majority nation or on the so called friendly help offered to a minority by its parent-country. International standards, buoyed up by the permanent activity of international organisations — of UN globally plus regional ones — should be the hub of the efforts to create a world in which a peaceful and happy co-existence of majority and minority peoples and minorities would be secured. This is required by today's living which is increasingly communication-oriented, but also by the need for the creation of stable international relations. Without solving that question, for many countries it is impossible to speak of stability. Only a thin red line divides the imperilment of a country from wider international imbroglios. By his pleading for such comprehensive solutions, the

author correctly observes that for minority peoples and minorities the international standards and the institutions (regardless of their powerlessness) are the sole support.

In the appendices, the author provides passages from international documents on minority peoples and minorities, a laudable effort, since it brings this topic to Croatian readers and puts in one place excerpts from major international documents and the documents that regulate the position of the minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

The first edition of Tatalović's book appears at the right time. It has helped us to look at this problem from the point of view of the developed world and to understand that it is not the "privilege" of post-socialist or developing countries. The minority peoples and minority issues are a global question; the degree of democracy in a country as well as the global picture depend on its solution. As an expert on this topic, he will probably lunge into broader-based studies, and thanks to his style of presentation and the argumentation of his opinions, the readers may expect an equally thorough analysis of the conditions in other regions of the world. By accepting the most positive developments and shying away from the objectionable ones, we can create the new openings for Croatia to join the circle of democratic and developed modern states. This book has pointed to democratic solutions which, naturally, cannot be achieved overnight, but are necessary and viable.

Radovan Vukadinović

Book review

Mate Pavković

Hrvatske ratne štete
(*Croatian War Damages*)

Defini, Zagreb, 1997, 212 pages

In the book *Hrvatske ratne štete* (during the Patriotic War), the author looks into the extent of the war damages by means of a specific methodological device.

Although recently the world has gone through two major wars, the victors have not been able to agree whether the reparations are a compensation for the direct and indirect damages or a punishment for what has been done (and not done), whose purpose is to discourage and incapacitate the defeated party from ever attempting another aggression.

Since the author's intention is to delve into the extent of the damages, the entire research uses a corresponding methodological framework: first he tries to define what war damages are, and then defines which of them belongs to which category; and finally, he summarises them and explains how the damages can be restituted.

Obviously, the author approaches the issue of war damages from the standpoint of political science, particularly economic policy and international relations.

In line with the firmly outlined methodological framework, the book's contents have the needed concision and discipline and enough tenability.

The author divides war damages into four categories, each of which is further divided, but are synthesized later on for the purpose of an analytical interpretation of satisfactory credibility.

The author achieved commendable results which have enriched Croatian economic and political science in that extremely deficient field.

In its applied methodological pattern, the book can bear comparison with similar foreign books, while the differences are more noticeable (though understandable) in its pragmatic content.

The text is well-structured, well-laid out and will be useful in case Croatia sometime demands reparations from the aggressor. Since it is one of the first books in Croatia about this topic, it will come in handy to future researchers.

Vlatko Mileta