

ample, if "the conditions such as non-authoritarianism of individuals and the respect (support) for the universal norms of democracy and civil liberties are combined, then it is very likely that a person is to demonstrate a high degree of tolerance, that they will show tendency towards a universal tolerance or tolerance as a personal characteristic."

The author compares the results obtained abroad and in Croatia. They are mostly similar, but there are also certain differences which the author attributes to the differences in the political context and the fact that the Croatian research was conducted during the Serbian aggression on Croatia. However, the results also prove that Croatian youth is quite ready for the "realization of the political freedoms of citizens which will guarantee a stable and dynamic development of democracy in the Croatian society."

Vladimir Vujić's book is a valuable contribution to the research concerning political tolerance and the development of democracy. As such it is a very interesting reading for researchers as well as for educators since the understanding of the problem of tolerance is exceptionally significant for the education of young people.

*Vlatko Cvrtila*

Translated by  
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## Book review

Ivan Grdešić

*Političko odlučivanje*  
(*Political Decision-Making*)

Alinea, Zagreb, 1995, 137 pages

In 1951, Harold Laswell invited all social and other scientists to join their efforts in the pooling of knowledge about society and for society. Using the term policy sciences, he founded what is today called policy analysis. He thought that the new scientific orientation should embrace the most important decisions in the society and apply the interdisciplinary approach to their study. Laswell's plea coincided with the ascent of the post-behaviorist approach in political science which opened the door to the thematization of social problems, while political scientists began to devote attention not only to political processes but to their results and consequences as well.

Ivan Grdešić's book, *Political Decision-Making*, his first solo effort, is also the first integral response of one Croatian political scientist to Laswell's call for the need of the creation of policy-knowledge. The author, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, has for many years been doing policy-analysis and pointing out the significance of policy-orientation for political science. Although the influence of policy-approach can be noticed in other sciences, it is an undeniable fact that policy-analysis is most strongly tied to political science, within which it has become a separate research discipline.

The book in front of us gives a detailed review of the development of policy-analysis and its role in contemporary political science. The book is

divided into four parts: 1. political science and policy-analysis; 2. theories of political decision-making; 3. the course of political decision-making; 4. shaping the policy-process. At the end of the book the relationship between the policy-process and the political analysis is elaborated.

Though policy-analysis has for a long time been a separate scientific discipline, there is still no definition which would encompass all its features. At work here is a sort of a definitional pluralism, which Grdešić has tried to streamline into five basic attributes of the subject and the methodology of policy-approach to political processes. The author looks into the system of decision-making on the whole and not into individual decisions. Furthermore, he emphasizes target rationality since only a real activity may help in altering an intolerable state. The third feature of his analysis is the emphasis on decision-making and the institutions which are its venues. The fourth feature is linked with the domination of qualitative methodological procedures, though sometimes quantitative procedures are also used. And finally, the main feature of policy-analysis has been Laswell's insistence on the descriptive and prescriptive function of policy-knowledge as the knowledge about political decision-making and for political decision-making.

Decision-making is in the centre of policy-analysis. However, the decisions and the processes of decision-making are also the basic subject of the study of political science on the whole. Thus, in the second part of the book, prior to the investigation of the policy-process, the theories of political decision-making are looked into. The first topic is the relationship between decision-making and rationality. The classical model of rational decision-making in politics has been taken over from economics in which rational behaviour is identified with the maximizing of pref-

erences. Reacting to the drawbacks of the classical model, American politologist Charles Lindblom developed the incremental model of decision-making. It is a descriptive model which gets its features from the specific situations in which decisions are made.

The relationship between decision-making and political power is the subject of the next chapter. The two basic approaches to this are stratificational and pluralist. The first gives an elitist picture of power, while the second shows that there is no single power elite, but that new elites emerge with each new decision. At the end of this part of the book, the study of decisions is contextualized in the policy-process, which is analytically interpreted in several stages.

This represents the transition towards the third and the most important part of the book, devoted to the process of decision-making. The initial phase is the most significant one. Sometimes this phase is reduced to the creation of the agenda. Not accidentally so, since numerous studies of political power have shown that the ultimate power is held by those who decide on what decisions are to be made. The influence of the protagonists on the choice of the agenda is different depending on their position in the political system. The most influential are state protagonists, such as political leadership, political representatives, administration and policy-entrepreneurs (people who promote new political ideas). Apart from them, protagonists outside the government (interest groups, opposition parties, scientists and experts) take part in the initial process while mass media can often have a remarkable influence.

The second phase of the policy-process refers to the choice of policy-solution. The choice of the alternative for the solution of the problem has to a large extent been determined by the definition of a problem. The assess-

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

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### Book review

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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