

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.

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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

forms of living indispensable for happiness. Besides dwelling on the Aristotelian concept of politics, Gučetić also looks into the existing political options for rulers and offers a plethora of advice. His advice are more in line with the concrete political interests than with moral principles.

Gučetić's text is followed by a document entitled "Maria Theresa's edict on the establishment of the politico-cameral study" in Latin and Croatian.

The next author, Ante Starčević (1823—1896), the ideologue of the Croatian national idea is represented with chapters from his political writings, under the suitable headings of "Politics", "State", "Freedom of speech" and so on. Starčević, as the ideologue of the national state and a partisan of the classical tradition in politics, at the time of the nonexistence of a Croatian state, accepted the concept of the moral preparation of the people for the task of carrying out sovereignty. His concept of the state has three principles:

1. Croatian state right
2. Right of the people to self-determination
3. Principle of legitimacy.

Starčević insists on the rights and the agreements on which the Croatian state right is based on, the right which had been kept alive in the Croatian people for centuries. Nevertheless, though he proposes establishing the state as a moral community, he tries to sprinkle his theory with liberal principles (various freedoms and the rule of law).

After Starčević, the editors have included the text "On state", by the politician and lawyer Gjuro Basariček (1884—1928), the proponent of the sociological theory of force in the creation of states. He thinks that a state can only be created via a struggle since struggle has "since times im-

memorial been a part of the history of mankind; the farther we go into the past, the bloodier and more hideous that struggle becomes" (p. 80). In the modern capitalist society new conflicts emerge, not those along clannish or tribal lines, but along economic and social interests. He insists on the necessity of creating the national state, the first requirement being to "transplant the language of the people into the literature". This will create a need for national unity, which will give birth to a "powerful national idea" as a unifying force of the state (p. 86).

Stjepan Radić (1871—1928), politician and political scientist, is among the best political scientists in this selection. Two of his texts are included here: "The Statehood and the Nationhood from the point of view of social science" and "The Constitution of the neutral peasants' Republic of Croatia". The first text will be described in greater detail. In it Radić offers his vision of the creation of a state and a nation. His starting point is Gumplovicz' concept of the theory of force; he claims that the "sole origin of states up to now has been force". According to him, force has material, organizational and moral elements. Radić is against the social contract theory, and particularly against Rousseau whom he accuses of having "misled the entire state-building science" (p. 142). A state emerges through a struggle among different tribes; later, the development of civil society brings about the pacification and the state is transformed into a means of universal forced labour. The outcome of this social struggle is not the triumph of that which is most just but that which is strongest. Fortunately, this strength embraces various influences (p. 127).

Particularly interesting are parts of the discussion entitled "The Habsburg Monarchy from the sociological and national viewpoint" in which he defines nation as a cultural and national

whole, based on the sense of belonging. Radić thinks that the structure of the Habsburg Monarchy fostered the development of nations in this sense, and for him it was, in that respect, an "example of a more advanced type of a state" (p. 195).

The professor of constitutional law, Ladislav Polić (1874—1927) is represented here with the text "On the development of democratic thought". Polić is probably the best educated lawyer and political scientist from this group; a doctor of law, he also spent some time specializing with professor Georg Jellinek in Heidelberg. He advocates the legal definition of the state and emphasizes the notion of the rational natural law which later gave rise to the liberal concept of the rule of law. This led to the emergence of the social contract theory, which was revolutionary at the time, due to its assumption of the equality of citizens and rulers. Thus this theory became the ideological launchpad for all democrats in their fight against aristocrats. Polić distinguishes between the antique and the modern democracy whose contemporary development he describes on numerous examples. His liberal and democratic attitude is obvious in his censure of Rousseau and Hobbes due to their absolutist theories of state: of absolute democracy and of absolute monarchy respectively, which are equally unbearable for the individual.

The authors Josip Andrić (1894—1967) ("Politics as science") and Josip Nagy (1884—?) ("The system of politics") define politics as a practical activity and analyse the foundations of politics as a science. Nagy defines politics as a practical science of the state which is linked with different social and humanistic sciences whose findings it tries to make use of in practice.

The last author is Fran Milobar (1869—1945), who was a professor at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb. His

work entitled "The state and the people. The executive and the parliament. Authority and freedom." emerged as the response to the inter-war political conditions when the political institutions of democratic states — as well as the liberal theory itself — were not able to cope with the times. Milobar claims that neither the individual nor the social principle should gain the upper hand since this results in anarchy. Though he does not speak in favour of dictatorships, Milobar advocates the so called authoritarian democracy which includes many advantages of constitutional monarchy, for example "the necessary authority and the honest unbiased non-party administration" (p. 275).

Finally, it should be stressed that this is only the first step in the study of the Croatian political science tradition and that in the next phase much more attention should be devoted to the analyses of the texts. Besides, the study of the cameral period should be stepped up since there are controversies about the scientific status of the cameralists' methods as described by Joseph A. Schumpeter in his book *History of Economic Analysis* (1954).

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