

plore the complexities of today's territorial structures of power and meaning.

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Review

Jaroslav Janczak
 and Przemyslaw Osiewicz (eds.)
**European Exclaves
 in the Process of De-bordering
 and Re-bordering**

Collegium Pollonicum and Logos Verlag,
 Berlin, 2012, 124 pp.

This special edition (Thematicon No. 18) is compiled out of nine chapters in various ways related to the exclaves phenomena. Theoretical, geographical, historical and legal perspectives in the first two chapters are followed by seven case studies. The theoretical part of the two-essay introduction to exclaves begins with Thomas Lunden's exploration on origins and historical development of exclaves. As a professor of human geography, his analysis strives to include people and human rights rather than just territorial aspects of this geographical phenomenon. Trying to define theory of exclaves, Lunden introduces three sub-theories. Within generic (historical) theory of exclaves he defines three phases of their establishment in history's creation of nation-state system in Europe, independence processes of dependent and colonial territories, and break-up of federal states.

Within perspectives of functional theory his research focus is driven towards ways of functioning and interrelations between independent state and its exclave territory mostly in light of political homogenization and nation-building. This theory is largely focused upon politics of interconnections that can vary in all kinds of different ways. The third sub-theory, the socio-demographic one, deals with inhabitants in exclave territories, their identities and ethnic and cultural deviances. This third sub-theory, or rather perspective, could be misleading if inappropriately introduced. Generally in the discipline of political geography (related to international law definition) exclaves are state territories outside state borders of mainland state. The same territory could be called enclave if completely surrounded by the territory of another state (surrounding state, host state or neighbor country, see Evgeny Vinokurov, *Enclaves and Exclaves of the World: Setting the Framework for a Theory of Enclaves*, ZDES Working Paper, University of Bielefeld, 2006). In the literature these kinds of exclaves are often called true exclaves as opposed to those surrounded by territories of several different states (e.g. Kaliningrad).

Widely comprehended definitions of exclaves and enclaves, and the confusion this might cause, are evident in the second theoretical essay by Wojciech Forsysinski named "Exclaves, Legal Perspective". He builds upon the theory of exclaves in international law perspective and states that the central element of conceptual framework in that area is the fact that "exclavity should be understood both territorially and with respects to the human rights of the exclave" (2012: 21). Regarding the de-bordering process in Europe, he calls upon a new account of exclaves not from the perspective of a na-

tion-state and its territory but from the perspective of individual rights and human security. Therefore exclaves/enclaves based on ethnicity have also been included in the discussion. Remembering that exclaves are not phenomena reserved only for Europe, especially in context of human rights, and citing Berger (2012: 22) in his wide definition of exclaves, the question that arises is whether this mixing and matching might rule out the very core of exclavity and intervene with theories on pseudo-states and nation-building processes. Berger's definition of Kaliningrad, Gibraltar, Gaza and Kosovo as "hardterritorial enclaves all of which can also be classified as exclaves" (2012: 22), as well as the special edition of *Geopolitics* on exclave territories are presented here as proof of interest in this phenomena and not further discussed. Although the author concludes with Robinson's (1953) differentiation that includes normal exclaves, counter-exclaves, pene-exclaves, quasi-exclaves, virtual exclaves, temporary exclaves and secondary exclaves, a lot more has to be said on this controversial issue of de facto and de iure exclaves (Dahlman and Williams, 2010, u: 2012: 25) and their representations in the contemporary world.

Lack of definition in the first part of the volume, as well as similar methodology in the second part makes this volume incomplete. Case studies in the second part could be divided in three groups, but no introduction or conclusion remarks have been either made, or are comparisons of de-bordering and re-bordering processes even possible. Case studies begin with old European exclaves in the text on "Switzerland's German and Italian Islands, Büsingen and Campione d'Italia" by Magdalena Musial Karg. Maria Mut Bosque writes

on the Spanish Exclave of Llívia, while one of the editors, Jaroslav Janczak, contributes with "Baarle-Hertog and Baarle-Nassau: Functional Interdependence of the Nested Territorial and Political Structures". Case studies continue with new European exclaves and the contribution by second editor Przemyslaw Osiewicz in his text on "The Cypriot Exclaves: Ormidhia, Xylotymbou and Dhekelia Power Station". Jaume Castan Pinos and Dorte Jageti Andersen contributed with a text on "Challenging the post-Yugoslavian Borders: The Enclaves of Sastavci and Dubrovnik". The second part concludes with two essays on European borderlands: Piotr Kwiatkiewicz's "Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic of Kerki", and Barkhudarli, Yukhary Askipara and Lika Mkrtchyan's "The Exclave of Artshaven". The volume ends with personal notes instead of a conclusion. Unfortunately, after such an up-to-date and promising title the content is rather uncoordinated and incomplete. Although the aim of this volume was, as stated by the editors in the introduction, an analysis "of processes of re-bordering and de-bordering in Europe with special focus on state exclaves" (2012: 7); not much has been said about re-bordering and de-bordering. The methodology of case studies is rather inconsistent. Some contributors took into account that accent should be placed on analysis of abovementioned processes, but some of them made historical (or even ethnographical) overviews of the case in question, or just an overview with a little bit of geography and a little bit of history. Mixing and matching of theoretical approaches is evident from the content itself, but also from the actual case studies as well. Different backgrounds, differ-

ent ethnical structures and different geographical interpretations on exclaves and enclaves make this volume uncoordinated. As a reader I would really like to see what happened with some of the exclaves in the processes of de-bordering and re-bordering in Europe. Do the processes of de-bordering help local population to re-connect to its mainland or not? Is the new reality of borders itself a way to overcome distances and geographical exclusions? What has happened to local population regarding their identities in such new realities? Also, it would be really interesting to see what is happening to the new exclaves in Europe and alongside European borderlands in the context of Europeanization. Those are all questions that the title calls upon but were left unanswered in this volume. Geographical locations of analyzed exclaves, several of which could barely be called European, urge for a more complex introduction to the volume. European neighborhood policy that strongly refers to the Caucasus region as well and should be considered in the context of re-bordering and de-bordering in Europe is left out in the lack of some kind of overall conclusion to wrap up this volume and explain theoretical and methodological inconsistencies. It should be stated that exclaves in the theoretical sense, but also all kinds of exclave-related phenomena, have not been extensively researched. Therefore this volume as well as future contributions from abovementioned authors are welcomed, and should be seen as an introduction to the debate on contemporary exclaves and related phenomena.

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Review

Radwan Ziadeh
**Power and Policy in Syria:
Intelligence Services, Foreign
Relations and Democracy
in the Modern Middle East**

I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2013, 221 pp.

Radwan Ziadeh's book *Power and policy in Syria* is "a masterly study of Syrian politics in the Assad era", according to Roger Owen, a prominent professor of Middle East history at Harvard University. His knowledge on Syria comes from experience gained during his human rights activism in Damascus from 2001 to 2007. Radwan was exposed to travel bans, cruel interrogations and the threat of arrests by his own country. These were the reasons he was forced to leave Syria in 2007. He found his comfort in the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC where he started to teach the West about the cruelty of the Syrian regime. Consequently, he became a founding director of the Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Washington, DC. All this gives Radwan Ziadeh a credibility to write about Syria's internal and external political problems. To show how *power and policy* are conceived in Syria, which is his main task, Radwan Ziadeh gives a detailed review through six chapters in order to provide the reader with a wider picture on why the Syrian revolution is actually happening. Still, it appears that he missed to give a