

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.

*Marta Zorko*  
*University of Zagreb*

---

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

comprehensive conclusion at the very end of his book. Instead, the book ends with just a short conclusion on its last chapter: *The Challenge of Political Islam: Muslim Brotherhood and Democracy*. As it stands, he has failed to summarize his work in one final unit, and give it an even higher value.

Birth of The Third Republic and Establishing Syrian Authoritarianism, Inheriting Syria from Father to Son: Hafez al-Assad's Last Days, Damascus Spring: The Rise of the Opposition in Syria, Bashar al-Assad and Foreign Policy, and *The Challenge of Political Islam: Muslim Brotherhood and Democracy* – these are the titles of Radwan Ziadeh's chapters. The quality of these chapters is unquestionable. A combination of historical overview with political and diplomatic terminology allows understanding to a reader who had no prior knowledge about the Middle East history or politics. The writing style is simple and mostly based on facts on Syrian history. In his book, Radwan Ziadeh is rarely critical of certain events he writes about. We can conclude that he is only stating historical facts without being critical of them. It is as if he grieved for his homeland, which had betrayed him, therefore trying to be humble and careful in his writing.

However, this impression can be wrong, considering that in the preface of *Power and Policy in Syria*, Radwan Ziadeh talks about the future of the Syrian Revolution and the creation of the Fourth Republic. In his opinion, the Assad regime will eventually be forced to topple, despite the little support the Free Syrian Army (FSA) has had from the West. The determination of

the freedom-fighters will make the end of the Assad regime purely a matter of time. Democracy will be restored and the "impossible" revolution will become possible. These statements are paradoxical inasmuch as Radwan Ziadeh's entire book is full of examples on how any attempt to introduce democracy was crushed and accompanied by human victims. The question is where he is drawing his hope, when his own book states the very opposite. Syria gained its independence in 1946, left the Syrian-Egyptian unity movement in 1958, as well as the Second Republic – The United Arab Republic in 1961. The Ba'th Party seized power in 1963 and Hafez al-Assad became president of the Third Syrian Republic. It was the beginning of Syrian authoritarianism and it seems that little has changed since. The pyramid-like presidential system has resulted in a constitutional, legal and actual concentration of power in the hands of the president. The government administration, the army, the security organs and the Ba'th Party are dependent on Hafez al-Assad's good will. Besides, the civil society in Syria, particularly trade unions, non-governmental organizations and syndicates were deeply penetrated by the regime. The People's Assembly (the Syrian parliament) was asked to convene in order to amend Article 83 of the Syrian Constitution, stipulating that the president of the Republic has to be at least 40 years old. This was amended to 34 so that Bashar could assume power, which reflected the extent of the regime's control. Young Bashar inherited this type of rule and remained faithful to his father's legacy. Therefore, *Damascus Spring*, as the first attempt to create the concept of "civil society" was crushed by the Ba'th

Party and resulted in numerous arrests. “Sitting on two chairs diplomacy”: trying to establish good relations with Baghdad and USA, then Hezbollah and USA, showed how complicated Syria’s policy is. Syria has demonstrated repeatedly that it is unable to have a clear position on any of its internal or external issues. Al-Assad strongly condemned the Muslim Brotherhood, he even imposed “Law 49” stating that all members of the Muslim Brotherhood will be executed. This was changed in 2005 when Syrian universities were established, and when the Syrian people started to seek greater respect for Islam. Accordingly, Muslim festivals were organized and new mosques were built. About all this, but more detailed, of course, Radwan writes in his book which he ends simply by saying that political Islam is likely to remain relatively stable, as it has been for three decades, but this will not prevent the emergence of fundamentalists and extremist groups, which may carry out armed operations from time to time. However, he is certain that the Muslim Brotherhood will not have any political or social impact.

The book *Power and Policy in Syria* predicts a negative scenario for Syria’s future, which perfectly reflects current events. Assad’s resignation is still far from reality and war is ongoing. Radwan Ziadeh’s positivism is derived from the fact that Damascus is his hometown and he has been working in USA for years. He wants only the best for his people and he believes that political reform, a reform that should culminate with an entirely new democratic constitution, is the right way for Syrian people. In the eyes of the entire international community, Bashar al-Assad

is condemned as a ruthless dictator who needs to step down as soon as possible, as well in Radwan Ziadeh’s eyes. Radwan Ziadeh provided us with an excellent historical overview, which makes it easier to understand why Syria has been suffering for so long. The only objection to Radwan Ziadeh’s *Power and Policy in Syria* is the lack of an overall conclusion, which would include the summarization of all chapters and therefore facilitate understanding.

*Apolonija Rihtarić*  
*University of Zagreb*

---

Review

---

**Bassam Tibi**  
**The *Shari’a* State: Arab Spring and Democratization**

Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 2013, 242 pp.

We have before us Bassam Tibi’s new book, *The Shari’a State: Arab Spring and Democratization*. Although Tibi is a worldwide known authority on issues of political Islam, a man “that needs no introduction”, so to speak, he is not well known in Croatian political science. During the past 40 or so years, Tibi has written and published numerous books and academic articles on Islamism. He is the “founding father” of the study of “Islamology”, a study of Islamism and the conflict of Eastern vs. Western ideas, or the “cold war of