

*The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s* is a well structured and balanced volume that provides the reader with a critically written “state of the debate” on what *The Economist* once called the “Yugomess”. Among its biggest strengths and novelties, if compared with other introductory accounts, is the author’s insistence on not only *what* has been written about particular events, but also *how* it has been written. Hence the readers are also invited to reflect on their own moral convictions and personal ethics. Attributing more or less responsibility for the disintegration of Yugoslavia to internal or external factors, individual or institutional actors, is considerably influenced by value-based judgements, varying degrees of personal involvement. Based on these considerations, it is difficult and perhaps redundant to comment on what could have been included in or left out of the book, as Baker clearly had to make a selection and she did it in a coherent manner. The decision to focus merely on English language works has deprived the volume of important Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian contributions to the literature on the wars in former Yugoslavia, but it was probably a conscious choice based on the language skills of the target audience. If there are weaknesses to be identified, they are rather of a formal nature: coded in-text citations are harder to consult than author-based references, considering their relative importance in the text. All in all, a short but dense introductory volume that successfully captures the complexities involved in writing about history.

## References

Baker, C. 2010. *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism*

*in Croatia since 1991*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Baker, C. and Kelly, M. 2013. *Interpreting the Peace: Peace Operations, Conflict and Language in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

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Review

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Soeren Keil and Bernhard Stahl  
(editors)  
**The Foreign Policies  
of Post-Yugoslav States:  
From Yugoslavia to Europe**

Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014, XVII + 259 pp.

More than 25 years after the breakup of Yugoslavia there is a growing interest for overviews and analyses of the foreign policies (FPs) of both the former Yugoslavia and the independent states that emerged out of the former federation. While there is a plethora of literature about Yugoslav FP, although not entirely available online due to the fact that it was published during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is a significant lack of sources regarding the contemporary FPs of the ex-Yugoslav states. Although we have long entered into the third decade since the 1991 breakup and proclamations of independence by

Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, the literature on the subject is rather scarce, especially in the scholarly field. Mainly due to the fact that Slovenia and Croatia were the most prominent states in the FP field among the ex-Yugoslav republics, some analytic resources about their FP and corresponding processes can be tracked. The same cannot be said for other states, especially for Bosnia and Herzegovina or Macedonia, where it is extremely difficult to find almost any coherent works that speak about their FP relations and adjacent development through past decades.

Keil and Stahl decided to fill that void with a scholarly work that takes into account developments in FP in all the ex-Yugoslav states, including the newest one, Kosovo. They have invited some of the most prominent scholars in the field to contribute their overviews of the FP development in their domestic states. The result is a comprehensive overview of the FPs of post-Yugoslav states that paints a complex historical, cultural and political canvas of the region that, as it is often cited, “produces more history than it can consume”. The editors presented contributors with the complex task of explaining the context of FP actions of the states and actors mirrored in their contemporary strive towards Euro-Atlantic alliances, aimed at readers that are often lost when trying to comprehend the unique inputs and outcomes of the past hundred years of the region.

For the scholars of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav politics, this book will provide an insightful throwback to events and actors that were managing the past decades of still interlinked history while presenting developments within every ex-republic.

For others, this book can provide a proper foundation in understanding the main similarities and differences in both FP approaches and corresponding FP results, but it has to be noted that even a decent volume exploring this topic is not enough to contextualise the sheer amount of information needed to comprehend all the complexities that still paint the FP and IR actions of the presented subjects. It is hard to highlight any of the chapters, because the processes they describe and analyse are irrevocably interlinked. Ana Bojinović Fenko’s and Zlatko Šabić’s overview of the FP of Slovenia cannot be fully understood without reading into Cvete Koneska’s context of the post-Yugoslav FP of Macedonia. At the same time, Senada Šelo Šabić’s insightful overview of Croatian FP cannot be contextualised outside of Mladen Mladenov’s fully critical insight into contemporary Serbian FP. All of these chapters are important in understanding Adnan Huskić’s chapter about the FP of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and its complexity in domestic policy and FP formation, that has made Bosnia one of the most unique FP actors in Europe in general. As many of the actions, actors and results presented in aforementioned chapters are mostly familiar to the majority of FP/IR scholars, especially those who follow the post-Yugoslav republics, the true highlights of this edited volume are insights into Montenegro’s FP by Jelena Džankić, and Gezim Krasniqi’s overview of the FP of Kosovo. Both small states have risen in the past decade to become successful actors in the world of international politics, and both are aiming for full EU integration and membership in transatlantic associations.

An interesting fact pops up while reading the very conclusion in the overview of

Kosovo's FP, where Krasniqi remarks how "Kosovo's path to full international subjectivity is inherently linked to the issue of recognition and membership of international organisations. Therefore, in such cases, foreign policy gains a dual capacity, serving both as a tool of state-building and as a statehood prerogative" (217). The same could be said for almost all of the ex-Yugoslav republics: Slovenia and Croatia were faced with similar challenges on the eve of their 1991 independence, followed closely by Bosnia and Macedonia – as described by all the contributors in detail. These types of similarities provoke the narrative laid down in the very introduction to the book by its editors, Keil and Stahl, and especially by the welcome, but at the same time somewhat biased overview of the FP of Yugoslavia by Katrin Boeckh. While Keil and Stahl remain scholarly neutral in their introduction, it is Boeckh who somewhat fails to neutrally and objectively present the reality of Yugoslavia's FP. Her overview may be factually (or maybe even historically) accurate, but at the same time she falls into the trap of Western-centric critique of the subject, with highlighting only Tito and "Titoism" as being most responsible for the unique success of Yugoslavia's international relations. However, as all contributors noted, it was the very heritage of Yugoslav FP that was the foundation of the buildup of FP/IR actions of all post-Yugoslav states. And, as it is often notable through all entries, it was the domestic actors of Yugoslavia's FP that founded the initial FPs in the contemporary politics of today's independent states.

In the closing chapter of the book, Amelia Hadfield provides the necessary theoretical background on the subject, chal-

lenging the methodology used by the book's contributors, while giving a profound overview of modern FP theory with a special emphasis on foreign policy analysis (FPA) and its role in contextualising both ex-Yugoslav states' FP/IR and the EU in general. Maybe it would have been beneficial for the overall content of the book if the editors had decided to put such a chapter at the very beginning of the book, which can easily be circumvented by the reader by reading it straight after the initial introduction by Keil and Stahl. Nevertheless, this edited volume is to be highly recommended to all who have even a basic interest in the complex realities of the FPs of the ex-Yugoslav states.

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Review

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### **The New Third Rome: Readings of a Russian Nationalist Myth**

ibidem-Verlag, Stuttgart, 2015, 308 pp.

While pursuing the slightest interest in international politics, a phrase one might have heard attributed to Russia is "Third Rome". Popping up occasionally in western media, more often when Russia engages in controversial international activity, it often comes in the form of news articles pointing out some worrying strains over