
Conference Reports and Book Reviews

Conference Report

Report on the 23rd Congress of the International Hegel Society in Zagreb

Under the auspices of President of the Republic of Croatia, Stjepan Mesić, the 23rd Congress of the International Hegel Society took place in Zagreb from 30 August to 2 September 2000. The Organizational Committee included Damir Barbarić, Pavao Barišić, Franjo Zenko, Danilo Pejović, Branko Despot, Ante Pažanin, Zvonko Posavec, Darko Polšek (Jure Zovko at first). The co-ordinators were Goran Gretić and Davor Rodin. The Organizational Committee was established on 5 December 1996 and dissolved at its 15th session, held on 30 September 2000. The Congress was sponsored by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Republic of Croatia and the UNESCO Paris. The Congress was unofficially hosted by the University of Zagreb and officially by the Faculty of Political Science. It was attended by 170 speakers from 25 countries.

By the number of its participants and the speakers, this was the biggest gathering of social scientists ever to be held in Croatia. The papers presented at the Congress will be published in the *Hegel Jahrbuch*, and a selection of papers in the Proceedings *Hegel i moderna* (in Croatian), edited by Goran Gretić, Davor Rodin, Zvonko Posavec, Ante Pažanin, Franjo Zenko (selected for this task at the 15th session of the Organizational Committee on 30 September 2000). At the same session, the decision was made to recommend Henning Ottmann, one of the directors of the International Hegel Society, who promoted Zagreb's candidacy for the 23rd Congress, for a Croatian decoration. The Council, the Directorate and the Society's Assembly adopted the proposal by the Croatian Organizational Committee to establish (with the EU's science funds) the *Center for Social Sciences* at the University of Split. Besides fostering the study of Hegel's

philosophy, this Center would be open to scientific initiatives from all social sciences.

This is a brief review of the technical aspects of this momentous event. The thematic aspects will be presented in the publication of the two volumes of the *Hegel Jahrbuch* (all the papers will be included) and the Croatian proceedings of the select papers, *Hegel i moderna*.

Davor Rodin

Conference Report

Round Table

Political Scientists and the Education for Democracy

On the occasion of establishing the Section of the Croatian Political Science Association *Political scientists in education*

Organized by the Faculty of Political Science (FPZ) and the Croatian Political Science Association (HPD), a round table was held at the premises of the Faculty on 23 March 1991. The title of the conference was Political scientists and the education for democracy. The goals of this round table were airing the real issues that political scientists are faced with in this field, discussing the opportunities created through the education for democracy, and offering suggestions. The participants were greeted by the Dean of the Faculty, Professor Ivan Šiber, stressing the significance of the education for democracy, particularly in the transitional countries lacking democratic transitions, including Croatia. The keynote speech was given by President of the Croatian Political Science Association, Professor Zdravko Petak.

The first speaker was Vladimir Vujčić, professor of pedagogy and methodology of political education at the Faculty of Political Science. The title of his speech was Political

science and political education. He talked about the scope and the significance of political science in political education. Political scientists have long considered political education an important subject of research. Its significance for democratic regimes is enormous since the political factors are more vital for democracy and its evolution than the economic factors. Vujčić also mentioned three open questions in political science linked with political education and political culture: the understanding of politics and democracy and their relation, the relationship between the citizenry and the personal identity (e.g. national identity), and the relationship between the social cohesion and the diversity within a society.

The next speaker was Nataša Vulić, adviser for social/humanistic sciences at the Ministry of education and sport. She spoke about the Situation and the problems of teaching politics and economy. Political education is explicitly incorporated in the subject Politics and economy; according to the Statute on the qualifications, this is the only subject which ought to be taught by political scientists. However, this subject can also be taught by sociologists, lawyers and economists, which sidelines the political scientists within the educational system. She also emphasized the problem of insufficient weekly number of classes for Politics and economy (two hours in vocational schools and only one hour in grammar schools) as well as the issue of the design of the contents of this subject. She thinks that the position of political scientists in education would improve if the subject was called only Politics. She is also of the opinion that every future citizen should acquire some knowledge not only of the political system of their country, but of some basic economic concepts; that is why she suggested the name is retained, and if not the name, then at least the content of this subject.

Tihomir Žiljak, lecturer at the Open University in Zagreb was the third speaker, and he talked about Political education of adults. He broached the topic by asking: Why to educate adults, what is the purpose of such education and can it improve the prospects of employment? The contemporary concept is that education is a lifelong process. Žiljak is optimistic

about the job prospects of political scientists in the education of adults: from the institutions for the education and training of adults, political parties and trade unions, ministries and other administrative bodies, to religious organizations and communities, big corporations and various associations.

More details about the National curriculum regarding the education for human rights were provided by Ante Akmadža, a coordinator of the project Citizens and the constitution, fundamentals of democracy. The national curriculum was designed in 1999 by the National committee for the human rights education of the Republic of Croatia. It included the education for human rights for pre-school institutions, for elementary schools (the first four years and the last four years separately) and for high schools. It is based on the most important Croatian and international documents on human rights. Besides these schools, it was envisaged that the National curriculum should include institutions of higher education, adult education and the use of the media in educating the public about human rights and the civic right of participation.

The speeches were followed by a discussion, in which the HPD members identified the most vexing problems for political scientists working in schools or other educational institutions: the inadequate number of classes per week allocated to the subject Politics and economy, which makes it hard for political scientists as teachers to reach the required weekly minimum number of classes for a full-time employment. Other problems were the inappropriate name of the subject, the content overload

and the marginalization of political scientists in education. This sentiment was voiced by the teachers who in the former regime used to teach marxism. Also, the HPD should protect political scientists by demanding that Politics and economy is taught solely by political scientists. Certain methodological problems were highlighted (long, unchallenging lectures *ex cathedra*) as well as and the need to adopt new methods of teaching. One of the methods is the so-called project teaching, without a formal curriculum, but which develops creativity and critical thinking and facilitates the students'

internalization of values and norms. And finally, the fact that in Croatia there is no institution for a systematic study of the education for democracy (as is the case in most other countries, including the transitional ones) was mentioned. There was a brief presentation of teaching materials and equipment for teachers of politics. Among them was the educational server Dadalos, designed by the Association for pacifist/pedagogical work in Sarajevo, established with the purpose of making teaching easier for those who teach politics and the related subjects. Dadalos uses the Internet and CD-ROMs to disseminate the teaching materials covering various topics from the field of political education.

At the close of the round table, the Section of Political Scientists in Education was set up, aimed at establishing an effective link among political scientists, HPD members, who work in education. The Section was envisaged as an institutional framework providing opportunities for cooperation, for sharing experiences, giving suggestions for solving problems and for discussing all the topics which the members of this Section found important for their professional training and the improvement of the quality of political education. The Committee was elected for a two-year period. The following people were chosen: Vladimir Vujčić, President, Tihomir Žiljak, Vice-president, Berto Šalaj, Secretary, Milena Roguljić (Osijek), Sanja Bakašun (Split), Dušanka Pribičević-Gelb (Zagreb), Snježana Klarić (Varaždin), Linea Brkljač (Pula) and Željka Deželin (Rijeka), members.

This round table showed that there was a need for similar conferences at which the problems faced by political scientists would be identified, suggestions and requirements formulated, and later promoted by the HPD in public and in government institutions. That was why Zdravko Petak, President of the HPD, in his closing speech pointed out that this was the first section and that several others are due in the future: political scientists in administration, political scientists in journalism, political scientists in research, etc. Let us hope we will not have to wait too long since their creation is long overdue.

Ivona Mendeš

Book Review

Nikola Vitov Gučetić

O ustroju država
(*On the structure of states*)

Golden marketing and Narodne novine, Zagreb, 2000, 534 pages

Translated by Snježana Husić and Natka Badurina

The concept of the state is today an unavoidable part of almost all political science textbooks and lexicons. Analyses of this concept are still very attractive for political scientists despite the onset of globalization as a new scientific paradigm that lifts the study of political processes onto the trans-national level. The theoretization of the state has a long tradition; the accounts of the forms of politics were the dawn of political science. How much do we know about the Croatian tradition in this field?

A step forward towards a better familiarity with this tradition is the publication of the work by Nikola Vitov Gučetić *On the structure of states*. Nikola Vitov Gučetić was born in Dubrovnik in 1549; he also died there in 1610. A scion of a prominent family, he is usually described by historians as a politician, philosopher, pedagogue and a major precursor of the modern Croatian political science. All the experts on his life and rich opus single out *On the structure of states* as his most valuable work. This work was published in 1591 in Venice under the Italian title *Dello Stato delle Repubbliche*. This edition is the first integral Croatian translation of this work.

The editor is Marinko Šišak, who also compiled the bibliography of Gučetić's works and the literature on and about Gučetić. Particularly valuable is Šišak's exhaustive and well-researched introductory study. It includes the most important biographical data on Gučetić – his origin, education, intellectual development. Thus we learn that despite hav-

ing been exclusively locally educated, his works were known outside Dubrovnik, particularly in Italian states where the bulk of his books were published. Besides having written proficiently on subjects as diverse as philosophy, theology, economy, law, astronomy, rhetorics, and politics, Gučetić also made his mark in practical politics as a member of the most important governing bodies of the Dubrovnik Republic of that time: the Great Council, the Little Council, the Council of the Select. On seven occasions he served as the Duke. Šišak believes that in the depth and scope of his work, Gučetić is undoubtedly the most important Croatian renaissance scholar. Particularly remarkable in their imaginativeness are the works that deal with politics. Šišak claims that Machiavelli, the pre-eminent figure of that time, was not a decisive influence on Gučetić as the latter referred more to Jean Bodin and a few other minor Italian contemporaries. Gučetić took an active part in policy-making, in an attempt to keep Dubrovnik independent from both Turkey and Venice, the superpowers of that era. He nurtured a plethora of practical and realistic sentiments about politics. Gučetić wanted to link the insights into the Machiavellian reality in which he lived to the ethical essence of politics, which he found in Ancient Rome and Greece and the Christian teaching. Such attempts at linking political philosophy and ethics can also be found in his book *On the structure of states*. The book itself is a faithful interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics*. On the purpose of Gučetić's work, Šišak says: "His intention was surely to problematize and theoretically define the idea of the state, explain the causes of the emergence of states, the principles of their functioning and the modality of their survival" (p. 31).

On the structure of states begins with Gučetić's dedication to Pope Clement VIII, through whose initiative Gučetić obtained the title of a doctor of philosophy and theology. Since Gučetić evolves his ideas by means of analyzing Aristotle's *Politics*, he adapted his work's structure to that of Aristotle's, matching each of the eight chapters in *Politics* to one in his own. Each chapter is in a dialogue form, a day's worth of imaginary conversation between Gučetić and his contemporary, a Ra-

gusian poet Dinko Ranjina. Apart from these eight chapters-days in which Gučetić, in the form of questions and answers, puts forth his opinions and attitudes, the book includes two short appendices: *Građanski naputci za upravljanje državama* (*Citizens' guide to the governance of states*) and *Pohvala građanske časti* (*In praise of citizens' honour*). In them, Gučetić concisely reiterates his views about what should be regarded as the proper design, functioning and maintenance of a state.

Out of Gučetić's bulky volume, his thoughts on politics and the state are particularly worth mentioning. They show that in analysing Aristotle's work, Gučetić touched upon an array of major political science topics. He participated in the debates by other authors of his time about the visions of the best politics and provided guidance for political practice. Although his understanding of politics was not Machiavellian, his fundamental assumptions represented a significant shift from the idealistic and utopian visions of perfect communities by Morus and Campanella. For Gučetić, politics is a practical art, guided by circumstances. Politics belongs to the sphere of practical sciences whose subject-matter is transient and transitory. When Gučetić speaks of the state, he primarily refers to the structure of government. He also says that there is a variety of the core components of the state, but the state is primarily defined by the manner of the functioning of the government. This is the topic of the third and the fourth chapter of the book, a kind of a universal theory of the state. Using a set of examples, he reinterprets Aristotle's classification of politics and then embarks on patching his own optimal polity out of the elements of a variety of types of governance. Gučetić thinks that such a polity would have to take care not to allow that all the power gets concentrated in one "area" of the polity. Gučetić thus develops the concept of the division of power, already hinted at in Aristotle; particularly important is the separation of the judiciary and the executive.

Gučetić tried to reconcile politics and ethics, aristotelianism and neoplatonism. In answering the question who should take precedence in a state, the laws or the ruler, he comes up with a compromise. In his desire to recon-

cile the contrasting attitudes, he would sometimes contradict himself, the reason for the inconsistency and incoherence of his political philosophy. Despite this, and thanks to his broad education and stylistic ease, and familiarity with political ideas and theories, he created an eclectic opus. He was a predecessor of modern Croatian political science, because as Šišak puts it: “He was the first Croatian author who took up the task of exploring and articulating the issue of the state as the central issue of political science” (p. 59). *On the structure of states* is the living proof that the beginnings of the Croatian political thought date as far back as several centuries.

Berto Šalaj

Book Review

Branka Magaš, Ivo Žanić (eds.)

Rat u Hrvatskoj i BiH 1991.-1995.
(*War in Croatia and BH 1991-1995*)

Published by Jesenski & Turk, Zagreb
and Dani, Sarajevo, 1999, 400 pages

More than five years have passed since the cessation of military operations; however, the consequences of the war that was being waged on the territories of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s are still pervasive and visible. There may have been many causes of this war, but the war itself evolved into a specific and distinct phenomenon. The war has altered the social and the political setting and changed its actors, forcing us to try to find the answer to the question: “What actually happened to us?”

War in Croatia and BH 1991-1995 is the title of the book that is the product of impressive efforts to offer a comprehensive picture of the war by two eminent authors. The core of the book are the papers presented at the round table of the same name held in Budapest from 25 to 27 September 1998, organized by the London *Bosnian Institute* and the Budapest *Institute for South-East Europe* at the Central-European University. The gathering was envi-

sioned as a venue for confronting the key military commanders and political leaders from Croatia and BH with the experts and analysts – the observers and the commentators of the war.

The opening article in the first section of the book, *The War in Croatia*, is *On the War-path* by Stipe Mesić, in which the author analyses the ways in which the Yugoslav leaderships, each in its singular manner, fomented the war. In his essay *The First Phase of the War 1990-1992: JNA's preparations for the aggression and Croatia's defence plans*, Martin Špegelj talks about the transformations that the JNA went through in the 1980s, as well as its political pussyfooting which ended in its closing ranks with the Serbian leadership and its adoption of the “Greater Serbian” idea. Špegelj also provides the JNA's plan of attack on Croatia and Croatia's preparations for its defence; he also deals with the issue of the relationships between the civilian and the military sectors in Croatia during the war.

Antun Tus' article *The War in Slovenia and Croatia up to the Sarajevo Armistice* was not presented in Budapest since the author could not attend the conference. His paper deals with HV's preparations for the war, as well as the developments on the front lines up to the Sarajevo Armistice of 3 January 1992. The author describes the genesis of the Croatian army and gives a detailed account of the siege of Vukovar in the fall of 1991, the HV's defense strategy for eastern Slavonia and Vukovar, and the preparations for breaking out from the encirclement. He also offers the reasons for the failure of these efforts and puts the blame on the top Croatian political leaders. Ozren Žunec in his text *Operations Flash and Storm* analyses the military outcomes of these HV campaigns concerning the often heard comparisons with the Air-Land Battle doctrine developed by NATO and employed by the HV. By analysing the data on the troops' disbursement during these campaigns, the rate of advancement and the number of troops, the author seeks to prove that the reference to the American doctrine is an exaggeration and its sole purpose political propaganda. The author does not want to diminish the significance and the successes of the HV's operations; he only claims that the myth of the HV as a “regional

force” had no base in reality and was exploited in domestic politics. The last essay about the war in Croatia is written by Dušan Bilandžić, entitled *The end of the war in Croatia and its consequences*. The author looks into the termination of the hostilities, the decision of the Croatian leadership to end the war and into the consequences of the war.

The second part, *The War in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, opens with Rusmir Mahmutćehajić’s text *On the Warpath*, in which the author talks about the ideological and political attitudes of the national elites, and the ethnonational greater-Serbian and greater-Croatian matrixes converging on the issue of the division of Bosnia, as well as about the Bosniak elite that involuntarily acquiesced to this division when it reduced the defense of BH to the defense of Bosniaks. Mahmutćehajić’s essay is all the more interesting since he testifies to the existence of the defense plans of the Bosnian leadership against the imminent greater-Serbian aggression. He claims that the top strategic priority of the republican leadership was to secure international recognition prior to the outbreak of a war.

In his paper *The first stage of the war 1992-1993: the struggle for survival and the emergence of the BH Army*, Jovan Divjak looks into the initial defense activities, the manner and the circumstances in which the ARBiH was created, and the enemy’s marked firepower superiority from the start to the end of the war. On the example of the siege of Sarajevo, Divjak illustrates the disproportion in the strength of the warring parties and the difficulties that the defenders of BH met with. In his article *Civilian-military relationships in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995*, Marko Attila Hoare analyses the wartime political activities, the political relations in the BH Army and the transformation of the said army from a people’s into a national and, eventually, a party army. The last essay in this section of the book is by Norman Cigar, *The Serbian wartime effort and the war’s end*. In it, the author deals with the Serbian decisions and actions leading to the end of the war.

The third section, *International Response – Lessons for the Future*, begins with Paul Williams’ paper *Political response of the in-*

ternational community to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. This paper is followed by Warren Switzer’s article *International military responses to the Balkan wars: the crisis of the analytical apparatus* in which the author discusses the international community’s perspective of the conflict and its bungled reaction.

An article by three journalists – Ofelija Backović, Miloš Vasić and Aleksandar Vaso- vić – is included, entitled *Who likes to be a soldier – mobilization crisis – an analytical review of the media coverage*, regarding the 1991 mobilization crisis in Serbia. The editors Branka Magaš and Ivo Žanić also include a remarkable number of notes, chronological data and the relevant maps; the sheer volume and the quality of the provided information offer a valuable source of reliable information.

According to the editors, it was possible – based on what was said at this round table – to reach some conclusions which run counter to the existing assumptions about the wars in Croatia and BH. First, all the authors agreed that these wars had not been a product of centuries-old hatreds and enmities but of the contemporary political elites who used these wars as a means of achieving their political goals. The second myth, that the wars had been caused by the premature recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, were also repudiated by the participants of the conference, since the evidence points to the fact that the war was a result of a well-planned and carefully prepared political plan suited to Belgrade’s political interests. On the contrary, the international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, the authors claim, came only after these countries had fought for it and won it and, in fact, contributed to the end of the conflict. Also, the recognition of BH was another obstacle to the Serbian aggression as it delegitimized the Serbian regime. Despite the tensions that had existed among the national communities in Croatia and BH, the wars could have been avoided had it not been for the direct intervention from Belgrade and the outside support for the war option. In fact, there were some elements of both the inter-state conflict and civil war in this conflict, but it was primarily an inter-state conflict. One of the important conclusions was that the relations between the civilian and the military sector were to a considerable degree

dysfunctional which had an immediate impact on the war effort since the political goals more often served to strengthen the power of the ruling elites than take into consideration the political realities and the military efficiency. The international community's insistence on objectiveness and on the political solutions was also a problem since, instead of contributing to a peaceful solution to problems, it only encouraged the stronger party to launch military campaigns, positive that the international community would fail to react.

Also, the conference re-examined the Serbian military might in the war; the conclusion was that it was very often overrated. Since the military successes were meagre, as the Serbian war effort was beset by low commitment and as the Serbian forces were counterbalanced by much smaller forces than the international community deemed necessary, all this gave the Serbs some food for thought and made them give up their attempts to achieve their goals by military means. In fact, the unfounded fear of the Serbian military might fostered by the international community enabled Belgrade to accomplish much more than it should have, which only prolonged the war.

The book is a major and relevant contribution to the understanding of the past events in the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, there are some shortcomings. Regretfully, the generals of the BH Army – R. Drešković, A. Dudaković, and S. Halilović – declined to take part; their participation would undoubtedly enhance the scope and the significance of the book. The major flaw of the book is that the editors did not include an analysis of the Croatian-Bosnian conflict of 1993-4. Although the authors mentioned that conflict in their papers and the discussions, still the readers are denied an exhaustive interpretation. Thus an opportunity was missed to deal with this open sore in the current Croatian-Bosnian relations.

However, it must be said that the authors and the editors proved themselves up to the task and came up with a book which has become an essential part of any serious study of the wars on the territories of Croatia and BH.

Tarik Kulenović

Book Review

Nada Švob-Đokić

Tranzicijski procesi i međunarodni položaj novih europskih država (Transitional processes and the international position of new European states)

Barbat, Zagreb, 2000, 194 pages

Transition and globalization are probably the most popular topics in political science. Nada Švob-Đokić analyses the situation of the countries which became sovereign states between 1989 and 1993, following the disintegration of the former socialist federations. She focuses on Croatia, its similarities and differences with the other newly-created European transitional states.

The author highlights the distinction between the process of transition and the process of transformation which are often considered synonymous. *Transition* is a system change whose first condition is social *transformation*. Its second condition is a successful international integration in the sphere of exchange and communication and the subregional, regional and global links. There are two main types of transition: (1) the transition from the pre-capitalist industrial and social formations into the capitalist ones (*evolution*), and (2) the transition from socialism into capitalism, an inter-system transition (*revolution*). Since the demise of socialism meant the death of socialist ideology as well, new theoretical/ideological frameworks were needed to facilitate the initiation and understanding of the emerging social changes; the author thinks that these frameworks were *nationalism* and *modernization*.

The ideology of national emancipation easily and quickly rallies a number of people around a political activity "since it expresses the collective identity and the collective aspirations based on a simple postulate of belonging to a certain collectivity whose existence is indisputable" (p. 68). Such national emancipation can hinder development and create self-

isolated, authoritarian regimes (e.g. Belarus, Croatia, FR Yugoslavia).

The theory of modernization looks into the complex interaction between social changes and economic growth, always politics-mediated in contemporary world. This theory draws from Weber's thesis about the connection between the Protestant ethics and capitalism. *Modernity* is generally understood as a set of "psycho-social values which a society ought to introduce to facilitate faster development" (p. 87). However, the economic and social transformation depend on many factors apart from the desire for change; thus, the neo-liberal economic reforms may strengthen the state, while the formal processes of democratization do not necessarily increase the majority's participation in decision-making. In short, the author's conclusions are "not encouraging".

Regarding the system changes and development, the author adopts the division into the *economic* (the introduction of a free market, the marginalization of the role of the state, the economic opening and the liberalization and the restructuring of production); *political* (introducing the fundamental elements of democratic institutions, strengthening the role of the media, and alike) and *broader social changes* (encroaching both on the system of social values and the functioning of the society). Despite the author's claim that a rapid and efficient economic restructuring has not been achieved in any post-socialist state, she nevertheless distinguishes three sub-groups of transitional countries: (1) the consolidated market economies (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia, Lithuania and Latvia, together with Hungary and Poland); (2) the transitional economies (most transitional countries, including Croatia); (3) the consolidated state economies (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Belarus, as the sole new European state). Unfortunately, the economic transformation means less entrepreneurship and more crude redistribution of the existing social wealth and the spread of crime (Russia and Croatia).

Concerning the political and the institutional transformation, the author briefly analyses all the fourteen states in terms of their party systems, the electoral systems, parlia-

mentarism/presidentialism, the state and the rule of law, and the civil society.

The current transitional changes in post-socialist countries are part of the process of globalization. Since the author uses Wallerstein's terminology – *world system, center, periphery* – she concludes that the process of globalization is a proof that the world system today has been integrating different societies and civilizations in a variety of ways. This physical globalization of the world system determines the nature of the contemporary international relations. This is why the traditional understanding of international relations solely as the relations among states has become reductionist. Global growth, global markets and the institutionalization of the world system are decreasingly under the influence or the control of nation-states. The role of the contemporary state is becoming more similar to a single-member constituency in domestic and international forums. The only practical way to improve a country's position is integration: partial, full, political, economic or system.

The author claims that bilateralism and multilateralism are the classic forms of international relations that neither foster nor hinder integrational processes; the issues of international linkages, co-operation and integration must be viewed from the perspectives of global or regional integration. *Globalism* is a mode of the development of the contemporary world based on the operation of free markets, the spread of democracy and the respect for human rights. The interpretations of this process are almost infinite, ranging from advocating globalism as an ideal type of neoliberalism with a marginalized role of the nation-state to challenging globalism due to the belief that the nation-state is still the dominant social framework of international interaction. In the same vein, the interpretations of *regionalism* range from the political science analysis of the functioning and the behaviour of states to the economic analysis of international political economy.

Since, according to the author, the functional aspects of today's international links are *exchange, communication, sub-regional, regional and global linkages*, she analyses the position of the new European states in these terms.

Exchange. An analysis of the economic situation of these states shows that their most significant comparative advantages in the international exchange are relatively cheap (highly) qualified workforce and (in some countries) the available natural resources (raw materials); what they all lack is capital. This is the so-called *semi-peripheral position*, a buffer zone between the developed (*world center*) and undeveloped countries (*world periphery*).

Communication. Regarding global communication, the author concludes that the post-socialist and particularly the new European states are marginal in their contribution to it and that, apart from the periodicals, they go unrecognized. Their media image is dubious. These countries are mostly the consumers of communication products and media information, while their own production of information is mostly limited to their own markets.

EU as the center of regional integrational processes. The issue of its eastern expansion is a strategic issue for EU (*Agenda 2000*). The regional links have now been practically relegated to the *sub-regional* level. EU has given its support to a plethora of sub-regional organizations such as CEFTA, CEI, CBSS, BSEC, BESC, etc., which should encourage mutual integration and contribute to the blurring of borders.

On the whole, the transformation and the transition in Europe are mostly supported through the dictate of the conditions for the eventual access to the European integrations; the interested parties have to do a lion's share: by means of domestic transformations alter its international position. The author's conclusion is that so far these countries have failed in this effort. The only thing that can save them is a cultural and individual diversity and the capability to redefine their identities within the new, polycentric globalism. This study by Nada Švob-Đokić can contribute to this, at least at the level of Croatia.

Ivona Mendeš

Book Review

Međunarodne studije (*International Studies*) *Vol. 1, 2000.*

Hrvatska udruga za međunarodne studije, Zagreb; Golden marketing, Zagreb, 2000, 438 pages

Hrvatska udruga za međunarodne studije (The Croatian Association for International Studies – HUMS), a year after its establishment at the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb, published the first volume of Anthology *Međunarodne studije 2000*.

The compilation *Međunarodne studije 2000* was published following a number of guest appearances by eminent experts in the field of international relations from abroad, numerous seminars and conferences held in Croatia and the publications and presentation of books, written by HUMS members. The book is the result of the continued work of the Association's members and the first collective analysis of international relations by HUMS.

The anthology is divided into three sections: Croatia and the international community, Phenomena and processes, and Reviews and information. The contents cover almost all major topics of current international relations, at the local, regional and global level. They are: the new Croatian foreign policy, the Pact on Stability, South-East Europe after the NATO intervention, the Kosovo issue, Croatia's prospects for joining NATO, Croatia's national interests and national security, the development of international studies in Croatia, the new world order, globalization, the US national security strategy for the 21st century, nuclear safety, Kissinger's role in international relations. Due to the broad spectrum of authors and their formal status, education and opportunities for individual scientific research, ranging from world-known experts and professors (Vukadinović, Mileta, Caratan, Tatalović) to postgraduate students, young researchers, assistants, employees of the Defence Ministry and the Croatian diplomatic outposts and other

government institutions, there are some oscillations in the manner of presentation and the concluding remarks. However, the desire to provide a link between the research of prominent scholars with that of younger assistants who will in the future take a professional interest in some of the aspects of international relations is one of the main goals of HUMS, and the first Anthology is a practical proof of an unselfish cooperation and guidance of the older generation of researchers with the younger generation.

It should be noted that the board of editors of this periodical includes a dozen internationally acclaimed European and American authors and professors from the field of international relations.

At the time when Croatia is increasingly expected to play an active role in its surroundings, as well as in the wider international community, it undoubtedly needs new, younger, educated researchers who will be able to promote its interests internationally, and to explain the international developments to the local public. Since HUMS is preparing the second volume of the Anthology of International Studies, this is an opportunity for the members of HUMS, as well as for all those interested in international affairs to share experiences, acquire new insights, and critically assess and scientifically analyse Croatia's position and role in the future.

Lidija Čehulić