

jim putovanjem tu knjigu zatvorio ... Ispričao sam se svima onima kojima su Hrvati u povijesti počinili zlo, a samim tim i Židovima. Sasvim sam jasno rekao da hrvatski narod ne može biti odgovoran. Postoje pojedinci i oni za počinjena nedjela trebaju odgovarati, jer je svaki zločin individualan", istaknuo je predsjednik Mesić, ocijenivši svoju ispriku židovskom narodu moralnim činom.

Završavajući svoj uradak, Gerstenfeld u jedanaestom poglavlju *What can and Should Be Done? (Što se može i što bi trebalo učiniti?)* pledira na zadaću obrazovnih institucija da budu ono što jesu: da govore, objasne, poučavaju i promiču. Sve je manje živih svjedoka holokausta, pa ostaje povijesna memorija, koja, dokumentirana i argumentirana, to naslijeđe angažira tako da "Nikada više" ne bude retorička forma nego uvjerljivo obećanje. Gerstenfeld predlaže najprije suočavanje s holokaustom u najiskrenijem obliku. Potom predlaže šest koraka koja je sistematizirao Efraim Zuroff, koordinator istraživanja ratnih zločina u Centru Simon Wiesenthal: prvo spoznaja o sudjelovanju zemlje u tom zločinu i isprika za počinjeni zločin; potom komemoracija žrtvama i progon počinitelja. Četvrti je korak dokumentiranje zločina; peti – priprema i program edukacije i naposljetku obnavljanje ili naknada za zajedničku ili pojedinačnu imovinu.

"Holokaust svima mora biti upozorenje protiv zaborava, negiranja i umanjivanja", naglasio je papa u svojoj audijenciji. I Obama se slično izrazio prilikom posjeta Buchenwaldu: "Na nama je da budemo svjedoci, da osiguramo da svijet nikada ne zaboravi što se ovdje dogodilo." Eli Wiesel je Obami uzvratilo komentarom: "Da je svijet naučio, ne bi se dogodila Bosna, ni Ruanda, ni Darfur."

Gerstenfeldova se knjiga pojavila kao odraz neetičke tendencije tzv. preispitivanja povijesti i eksploatacije kvaziznanstvenih dokaza, što čine i pojedinci i šire nacionalne zajednice. Autor pritom ne pokazuje ni najmanju namjeru osporavanja legitimnoga prava na vlastito mišljenje, čak ako ono i nema uporišta u dokumentima.

Bernadica Jurić

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### **Miljenko Brekalo** **SOVEREIGNTY OF THE** **REPUBLIC OF CROATIA** **1990 – 1998**

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Svjetla grada d.o.o., Osijek, 2009., 617 str.

*Sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia 1990 – 1998*, was written by the author on 617 pages and published by Svjetla grada d.o.o., in Osijek 2009. The book consists of an introduction and sixteen chapters and is a methodological and historical research of the overall theme of planned and fully organized armed rebellion in Croatia at the end of the 20th century. This rebellion, however, was induced by the authors of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art's Memorandum, Slobodan Milošević and his political and military elite with engagement of Croatian Serb groups. In addition to the concluding remarks, author's biography, the supplement and bibliography (various primary and secondary resources: 485 all together), this book also includes summaries in Croatian, English, French, German, Russian and Italian language.

The outline of the book indicates to a great extent the significance of scientific and historical research into the fiscal and monetary systems which are basic to the nation-state building and sovereignty of Croatia. Thus, basic determinants include a comparative analysis of the fiscal and monetary structures of the government expenditure and revenue in the Republic

of Croatia and so-called Republic of Srpska Krajina for the period 1990 – 1998. In this way, the author was able to provide comprehensive overview of economic and legislative procedures related to the democratization of the Croatian nation during and after the so-called "Christmas Constitution" in December 1990.

Contemporary scholarly discourse on Yugoslav disintegration which marked the end of the communist era in Europe has significantly varied in its interpretations and explanations. The reason behind the violent breakdown and bloody dissolution of socialist republics has become historically misguided and misunderstood due to revised historical and social facts related to multiethnic Yugoslav society. The Eurocentric view and pragmatic Anglo-Saxon perception of the "uncivilized Balkan tribes" presupposed a primordial social reasoning of the Yugoslav wars. Social theory of modernity and its perspectives on the subject, however, have indicated so far a great need for qualitative historical research very similar to the one presented in this book.

The first seven chapters (Chapter 1: *National question and democratization processes in Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia*; Chapter 2: *Political and territorial organization in Croatia*; Chapter 3: *Population structure in the Republic of Croatia 1991*; Chapter 4: *Political framework of the crises in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Croatia*; Chapter 5: *Economic reasons behind the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia's dissolution*; Chapter 6: *The responsible party of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia dissolution*; Chapter 7: *Normative development phases of the Republic of Croatia's sovereignty*) of the book provide an overview of legislative and economic developments as

important factors for the democratization process in Croatia (still a part of former socialist Yugoslavia). Namely, social transformation of the Croatian society has developed democratic traits which contributed historically to the transformation of the socialist regime under Serbian aggressive internal politically driven activities. Hobsbawm's ideology-critical perspective in this case could explain the antagonistic social relations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia that are politically expressed as a clash of ideologies between the Croatian Union of Communists and the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Union.

Development of nationalist ideologies in former Yugoslavia is therefore deeply rooted not only in primordial social traits (emotions, mythology, history, ethnicity) but also in modern legislative and economic democratic changes under the pressure of the "anti-bureaucratic revolution" and 14th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Union. Namely, the whole period before the first pluralistic multi-party elections organized in Slovenia and Croatia in 1990 and with the constitutional changes of those Socialist Republics, is actually marked by the form of elite legitimation through the reestablishment of national traditions and a liberalism deficit in mass appeal. According to Kedourie, this idea of repression under the socialist regime and Serbian aggressive political monopoly on the federal level is tied to a *normative nationalist project of Greater Serbia* which resulted in proposals for national self-determination of Slovenian and Croatian nations worsening rather than improving situations of inter-ethnic and inter-nation conflict between the Socialist Republics of Yugoslavia.

In the next Chapter 8: *International Community Relations Towards the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia's Crises*, one can easily follow, according to Gellner's ideology-critical perspective, international misrecognition of nationalisms present in Yugoslavia's dissolution, which is perceived as backward-looking folk ideology,



when in reality nationalism is an indispensable carrier of the new democratic movements under a repressive system. Namely, this chapter marks the turning point in the book and redirects the reader's attention to the comparative chronological outline of normative sovereignty processes developed after the Yugoslav dissolution – in the Republic of Croatia and so-called Republic of Srpska Krajina.

The following ten chapters (Chapter 9: *Resolutions and Declarations of the Croatian Sabor 1990-1991*; Chapter 10: *Quazi-Normative Actions of Serbian Rebellions*; Chapter 11: *Territorial Organization of the So-Called Republic of Srpska Krajina*; Chapter 12: *Chronicles of the Armed Rebellion in the Republic of Croatia*; Chapter 13: *Territorial Sovereignty Organization of the Republic of Croatia*; Chapter 14: *Monetary Sovereignty*; Chapter 15: *Quazi-Monetary System of the So-Called Republic of Srpska Krajina*; Chapter 16: *Fiscal Sovereignty*; Chapter 17: *Quazi-Fiscal System of the So-Called Republic of Srpska Krajina*; Chapter 18: *The Second Expert Report of Mr. Torkildsen*) before the conclusion, are focused on the legislative and monetary systems developed in parallel in the Republic of Croatia and so-called Republic of Srpska Krajina. The aim was to provide a comprehensive overview of the legislative and socio-economic transformations and developments under war conditions in Croatia and its occupied territories.

In the framework of social theory of modernity, one can take a stand on ontological commitment to the underlying emancipatory/repressive dynamics of modern democratic processes developed in Croatia within the socialist regime in former Yugoslavia. However, the process of building the Croatian national state is great-

ly marked by the Serbian Yugoslav Peoples Army's aggression and part of the Serbian population in Croatia whose repressive dimensions are in general ideologically articulated through radical means of action. Namely, according to Deutsch and Barth's ethnic competition perspective, it is therefore possible to understand processes of overall social change in Croatia through unstable distinct structural positions held by the Serbian population inside and outside Croatia against the fact that in the newly formed Croatian nation they are reduced to a national minority. Changed structural autonomy of privileged distinct positions held by the Serbian population was greatly disturbed by new democratic changes in Croatia due to self-determination and sovereignty of the Croatian nation. Therefore, it should be noted, that social interpretative and explanatory potentials to analyze the above socio-historical development in the framework of democratic economic, fiscal and monetary change, underlines the core value of this book.

In the conclusion of this book review, it is important to underline several basic features of this work. The basic value of this book lies within its historical and documentary material presented in chronological and systematic manner which fulfils its historiographic duty to encompass socio-historical facts of the recent Croatian past. Integral elements of social differentiation and change, the same as democratic processes of self-determination and sovereignty are in plain view to future scholarly attempts to study the underlying reasons behind the violent disintegration of Yugoslav socialist states and planned aggression on Croatia. Therefore, this book is a valuable contribution to comprehensive understanding of the underlying socio-economic and political features responsible for the war and atrocities committed during Serbian aggression and rebellion in Croatia. The Croatian nation building process outlined through economic and legislative means of interpre-

tation indicates that the author provides an objective account of the events that played a major role in historical change at the end of the 20th century in Croatia.

Sandra Cvikić

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### **John Tribe (ur.) PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES IN TOURISM**

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Channel View Publications, Bristol, 2009.,  
272 str.

Usprkos ekspanziji znanja o turizmu, neka su područja i dalje neistraživana, pa sveobuhvatno proučavanje filozofskih pitanja turizma predstavlja "pukotinu" u znanju. Stoga je glavni cilj ove knjige bio početno "mapiranje" i novi pogled u spomenuto područje. U toj namjeri, u okviru pojmova istine, ljepote i vrline, raspravlja se o ključnim filozofskim pitanjima, kao što su: što je turizam? Tko je turist? Što je mudrost? Što znači nešto znati? Što je stvarnost? Zašto se neka odredišta smatraju lijepima? Zašto je turizam poželjan? Što je dobar, a što loš turizam? Koji su poželjni krajevi?

Urednik John Tribe, profesor turizma na Sveučilištu Surrey u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, i autori tekstova, njih dvadeset, željeli su premostiti jaz koji postoji u shvaćanju nekih filozofskih pitanja koja omogućuju suvremeno razumijevanje turizma. Knjiga je podijeljena na tri cjeline, svaka ima pet poglavlja koja se bave promišljanjem: 1. Istine: stvarnosti, znanja i vještine, 2. Ljepote: blagostanja, estetike i umjetnosti i 3. Vrlina: etike, vrijednosti i dobra života. Koristeći se trima Aristote-

lovim transcendentnim entitetima: istinom (*verum*), ljepotom (*pulchrum*) i vrlinom (*bonum*), urednik ove knjige, John Tribe, i suradnici, pokušavaju – a u tome i uspijevaju – raskriti razumijevanje samostalnoga postojanja socijalnoga svijeta koji čini turizam. Već i sam sadržaj jasno pokazuje da je ova knjiga znakovito unapređenje konceptualnih i metodoloških istraživanja turizma.

Prva cjelina, "Istina", istražuje osnove terminologije, epistemologije, ontologije, vještine i konceptualizacije turizma. Svaki od pet poglavlja zasebna je podcjelina, a zajedno čine zaokruženu cjelinu. Ovaj dio knjige, kroz kritičko promišljanje, analizu turizma, provlači Aristotelovu teoriju o neovisnom postojanju društvenoga svijeta, nečega što postoji odvojeno od konkretnog, o čemu je raspravljao u svojoj "Metafizici". Autori, svaki u svom poglavlju, ispituju proces proizvodnje turističkoga znanja, koristeći se njime potom kako bi proučili što je važno znati. Kako urednik navodi u *Uvodu*, povezivanje s temeljima kritično je u vrijeme kada samo jedno pretraživanje pojma "turizam" na tražilici Google daje čak 127 milijuna rezultata! U Poglavlju 5 naslućuje se otpor i pomalo o-beshrabrujuće prihvaćanje da, koliko god bile interdisciplinarnе intelektualne granice istraživanja turizma, one administrativne, koje oko njih postavlja sveučilišni sustav, imat će svrhu ograničiti ih. Ostaje nam, stoga, neugodna istina da se proučavanje turizma i dalje jednostavno uklapa unutar akademskog istraživanja kao svojevrsna vježba za ocjenu.

U cjelini o "Ljepoti" proučavaju se restorativni, transcendentni i estetski aspekti ljepote u turizmu. Nju zaključuje poglavlje, koje, prema autoru Brianu Wheeleru, predstavlja "osobno, vrijednosno, anegdotalno viđenje temeljeno na iskustvenom" pogledu na umjetnosti i turizam, koje od čitatelja traži uključivanje u visoku razinu analitičkog razmišljanja. Poglavlja ove cjeline mogu se činiti avangardnima u turizmu, no ovakvi filozofski pogledi i razmišljanja podržana su i od Kanta. U