The author has demonstrated considerable depth-studied sources in her work, as evidenced by the fact that on p. 149 it states the specific requirements of political parties in their election manifestos. The author analyses in-depth the organizational structures of political parties, e.g. on p. 31. The specified amount of sources used is indicative of the extraordinary elaborateness which is associated with the design of the work.

Based on the section “Sources and Literature”, located on pages 230–235 it can be statistically evaluated that the author visited a total of 6 archives in the Czech Republic and Slovakia and used 16 printed sources from the interwar period when drafting the publication, 55 monographs, 43 articles and studies, 13 compilations and collective works, 9 kinds of contemporary prints and finally 1 electronic source.

The main part of “Image Attachment” serves as icing on the cake, in which photocopies of lists of candidates, promotional and propaganda material of the period are listed.

In conclusion we can state that the publication Electoral Campaigns of Political Parties in Slovakia during the first CSR is an extraordinary achievement by copyright, which is processed very well and the benefits of this publications can be appreciated primarily by the scientific and professional community, but also by those interested in the issue of the electoral history of marketing among the general public.

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Baun, Michael and Marek, Dan, Eds.:

THE NEW MEMBER STATES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: FOREIGN POLICY AND EUROPEANIZATION


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The issue of so-called new member states’ Europeanisation has been on the top of research agenda especially in the period of (or better to say around) “Eastern Enlargement” of the EU in 2004/2007. Since then, research of the Central and Eastern European Member States as objects of Europeanisation research has become a little less vibrant and mainly provided in the way of single case studies or comparisons covering a limited number of cases. It is thus more than welcome that the editors, Michael Baun from the US Valdosta State University and Dan Marek from the Czech Palacký University, undertook the work to collect twelve country studies (including Cyprus, written by Stelios Stavridis and Christos Kassimeris, and Malta, written by Roderick Pace, and regrettably excluding Croatia) and wrap them with the theoretical introductory and comparative closing chapters.

Even more welcome is the fact that the editors and authors decided to examine the complicated process of a specific mixture of top-down, bottom-up and even horizontal Europeanisation of the foreign policies of these member states. The introductory chapter poses two basic research questions: (1) how does EU membership influence foreign policies, and (2) how are the new member states (NMS) trying to make an impact on the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)? Such a task proves challenging not only because of the under-examined
evidence form the NMS that must be newly elaborated. Another challenge is related to the specific nature of the CFSP and the role the EU institutions play in it. The main challenge here is conceptual because looking at the CFSP, one has to take into consideration more bottom-up uploading of member states’ preferences or the kind of policy learning that might lead to horizontal Europeanisation between or among them. The potential of the reviewed volume thus offers twofold input for the international community of scholars dealing with Europeanisation issues: new material for further empirical research and new incentives for theorizing “non-classical” Europeanisation mechanisms in the specific sphere of foreign policy which is still more the domain of domestic concerns than the commitments stemming from EU membership. After reading the book, one can say that the criterion of richness of new empirical evidence was met by all of country studies whereas the ability of the authors to apply analytical concepts presented by the editors varies considerably, so the contribution of the book to theoretical debate is more modest.

The editors of the book nonetheless equip the authors with a solid research framework. I appreciated especially the broad definition of foreign policy they use because it helps to cover the changing nature of the goals and means of contemporary foreign policy of the EU member country. The analysis of country studies should focus on the description and explanation of changes of preferences and interests, institutions and procedures, strategies and actions according to the editors (and virtually all of them cope with all of these areas well, at least at the analytical-descriptive level). The conceptual background of Europeanisation as designed in the introduction stressed the awareness of the facts that foreign policy with its very limited level of communitarisation needs to develop a much more opened approach than offered by the “misfit-goodness of fit” logic. All in all such an approach corresponds with the general shift in attention of Europeanisation research towards the spheres of politics and policies where Europeanisation is driven more by the “soft” methods of integration. The authors accordingly pay appropriate attention to the constructivist-like aspects such as socialization and policy learning without omitting the domestic mediating factors that can facilitate or hinder the Europeanisation processes. Some of the authors try to follow the above sketched analytical framework closely; others are unfortunately barely inspired with it.

Michal Kořan and his paper on the Czech Republic presents one of the best analyses from the point of view of intersection between empirical observations and their theoretical assessment. This chapter brings a comprehensive account on the obstacles preventing the stabilisation of Czech foreign policy-making in relation to the EU. Despite its superficial and pragmatic nature, Europeanisation “... has a limiting, legitimizing, unifying, and moulding effect on Czech foreign policy” (page 58) according to Kořan. Another chapter that meets both empirical and theoretical focuses in an excellent way is the chapter on Slovakia written by Jozef Bátora and Veronika Pulišová. Here we can find important remarks on global pressures towards institutional adaptation as, perhaps, more important factors of change than Europeanisation as such. Their analysis of smooth shifts from the policy of harmonisation in the pre-accession period to policy following more objectives given by national interests is well nuanced. According to the authors, this turn was possible thanks to the socialisation of Slovak politicians and officials into the environment of CFSP-making, whose finding presents a lesson on the importance of policy learning and socialisation as factors of success (however limited in the case of smaller member countries) of any attempts to upload national preferences to the EU level. The bronze medal in empirical-theoretical
combination of focus is taken by the chapter on Bulgaria. Dimitar Bechev unfortunately focuses solely on the elements of adoption and normative alignment when addressing the concept of Europeanisation. The strongest part of his analysis shows the changes of foreign policy placed within the broader context of general Europeanisation.

Somewhere in between analytical description and full-fledged theoretical discussion are the chapters on Poland, Slovenia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Joana Kamińska, exaggerating somewhat the role of Poland inside the EU in a way typical of many Polish authors, highlights an interesting moment of acceleration of Europeanisation processes after the Civic Platform had taken power in Poland which helps to understand that the cooperative approach pays more in the realm of the CFSP than solipsist strategies. Another important analytical moment of her paper are her remarks on the socialising effect of the Polish Presidency of the Council. The logic of appropriateness seems to play an important role (not only) in Polish foreign policy Europeanisation. A similar observation of the socialising moment of the presidency was confirmed by Polona Bunič and Zlatko Šabić, the authors of the chapter on Slovenia, who also follow fairly closely the analytical framework although sometimes description prevails over analysis not to mention the lower level of employment of the Europeanisation concept. I would have wished the Slovenian (as well as the Czech) authors to develop the more substantial topic of tension between the perceived commitments to the EU and to NATO. This issue is perhaps dealt with the best by David J. Galbreath and Jeremy W. Lamoreaux who contribute with a chapter on Latvia. Ramūnas Vilpišauskas’s chapter on Lithuania understandably develops the same motive as well depicting NATO as “a powerful transformative factor” (page 127–128). The author shows very well the perception of Europeanisation as a way of pragmatic utilisation of Lithuanian interest, a way of thinking familiar to many Central and Eastern European foreign policy makers.

Other country chapters (including Cyprus and Malta) are more behind the theoretical framework of the book. The chapter on Hungary, written by Csaba Törö, is part of the most theoretically underdeveloped sections of the book. On the other hand, Törö offers an interesting analysis of the limits of Europeanisation in cases where the issues “below” the CFSP scope are concerned. The same lack of theoretical concerns applies to chapter on Estonia written by Andres Kasekamp. His study of geopolitical factors framing changes of Estonian foreign is however presented in an interesting way and he comprehensively addresses the issue of tensions between the EU and NATO. Sorin Stefan Denca’s chapter on Romania is also stronger in collecting information than theorising. I appreciate that he stresses the importance of the rhetoric of the “return to Europe” and the way he shows the primacy of domestic factors in the process of shaping Romanian foreign policy.

The final chapter, written by Baun and Marek, serves both as a kind of conclusion and summing-up of the lesson to be learned from the findings of the country studies. Baun and Marek stress that the domestic consensus is the condition sine qua non for success in uploading national preferences at EU level. Generally, domestic politics matter the most but the EU and CFSP have a palpable effect. To understand the logic of change, one must take into consideration not only the effect of Europeanisation but to include the effect of other impulses of the internationalisation of the foreign policy of NMS. In regard to Central and Eastern European countries, NATO proves to be of utmost importance. Downloading is much more frequent than uploading. Elite socialisation and policy learning are thus the most visible outcomes of Europeanisation. And last but
not least, there is no single “new member” pattern of Europeanisation. Comparison and generalisation is made in a complex way. Unfortunately, some theoretical notions tackled by Baun and Marek in the introductory chapter remain undiscussed here. It is an extraordinary pity that the interesting empirical finding pointing to the lower importance than expected of horizontal Europeanisation remains elaborated only vaguely.

To conclude, Baun and Marek’s book is a must for scholars dealing with the foreign policy of Central and Eastern European countries. Rich in detail and accurate in analysis, the book shows both the importance and limits of EU impact on the foreign policies of NMS. The reader (including myself) who reads the book because of their primary interest in Europeanisation theory can be however a little disappointed with the rest of the book after reading an excellent introduction to the topic in the first chapter.

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Charvát, Jakub:

POLITIKA VOLEBNÍCH REFOREM V ČR PO ROCE 1989


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Elections and electoral systems are one of the fundamental institutions of modern democratic political systems. They represent one of the basic pillars of modern democracies. These (systems) are also an important element of the political development process because they (represent one of the most) are the most specifically manipulable instrument of politics to for setting new game rules, the more so talking about a newly emerging form of government, or democratising state. The study of electoral systems and their mechanisms and policy of electoral reforms and electoral engineering is the (subject) topic of large amount of specialized literature. The environment of Czech political science is no exception.

A lot of authors paid attention to the issue of the electoral system for establishing the first-order elections after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1989 and later its modifications (in the Czech Republic). There are two reasons for this. First of all, we are talking about an institution which was supposed (in a term of transition as the dominant paradigm of democratisation of the time) to end the communist supremacy and establish a new democratic system. The electoral system’s choice or its settings for the first Czechoslovakian free elections in 1990 thus naturally became the No. 1 subject of interest. Secondly, the central topic of discussions about the possibility, or the necessity of the assembly electoral reform is (was) the low level of government’s ability of action, particularly with reference to the weak government majority in the Czech Republic. The chosen electoral mechanism was named as the culprit and its reform was seen as a solution.

Jakub Charvát’s monograph Politika volebních reforem v ČR po roce 1989 published by Grada publisher in 2013 is the latest contribution to 20 years’ discussions of the first-order electoral changes. Although it could seem at first glance that the publication does not present any new information on these problems, because (as stated above) it is a relatively attractive area of interest, especially in the Czech environment, Jakub Charvát takes a more detailed approach to the topic in comparison with other authors and he brings (to the readers) a detailed insight into the politics of electoral