

cerned with the distribution of voters along the left – right continuum. This is followed by a chapter in which Kunštát explores the geographical distribution of electoral support for the party, the stability of the electoral behavior of its voters, their party identification, and the average age of the party's electorate. A frequently discussed topic, the extinction of Communist Party members and voters, is analyzed. The author also challenges the frequent thesis that the current Communist Party electorate is based almost solely on former Communist party members from the period before 1989.

In the penultimate chapter, Kunštát summarizes his findings from the previous chapters of the book. The chapter is devoted to a comprehensive analysis of the current form taken by KSČM, with a particular focus on whether the Communists may be described as an anti-system party. Although a clear answer to this question is not given in the book, the author, based on evaluation criteria, rather inclines to the view that the Communist Party is an anti-system and anti-democratic party. In the final chapter of the book, data on the social and economic background of Communist voters is presented. Kunštát focuses on the educational level of voters, their economic activity, class, income, etc. Interpretation of the data provides no significant or surprising findings, but it does confirm an established notion about the composition of the KSČM electorate.

Daniel Kunštát's publication brings much interesting information and especially data with which readers interested in the problems of the development of Czech communism are not yet familiar. Although the author presents no significant surprising or novel findings, the publication is highly interesting and beneficial as a comprehensive analysis of contemporary Czech Communism, in particular, KSČM and its electorate. We would certainly recommend the publication for all readers with an interest in the topic.

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### Holubec, Stanislav:

#### **JEŠTĚ NEJSME ZA VODOU: OBRAZY DRUHÝCH A HISTORICKÁ PAMĚŤ V OBDOBÍ POSTKOMUNISTICKÉ TRANSFORMACE.**

Praha: Skriptorium. 2015. 312 pages.

DOI: 10.5817/PC2015-3-257

When revolutionary change comes to a political regime, each society must ask itself questions about its own identity. Establishing a new order requires finding sources of legitimacy, as well as sources that challenge the legitimacy of the previous regime. An inevitable part of this process is the transformation of historical memory and the image of the national community's place in the world, including perceptions of neighboring states and national or ethnic communities. Visions of the 'good' and 'bad' society

undergo profound change, the old regime is denounced, and historical traditions that run counter to what had been valued are now lauded instead.

*Ještě nejsme za vodou: obrazy druhých a historická paměť v období postkomunistické transformace* (We Haven't Made It yet: Images of the Other and Historical Memory during the Post-Communist Transformation) by Stanislav Holubec, a postdoctoral researcher at Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena, is about the images Czech post-communist society holds of its own modern history and its place in the world lodged between East and West. The work represents a new entry in the flourishing literature on collective memory in Czech historical and social sciences. But although previous studies have already explored the images of particular nations or countries/regions within certain historical periods, this work is the first to provide a systematic treatment of these images of other nations. It also complements the existing body of studies on the post-communist transformation, which still lack adequate coverage of historical memory and images of the Other.

The author focuses on three major issues: (1) the formation, reproduction, and transformation of discourses in post-communist Czech society, (2) the placement of Czech post-communist identity formation within the broader framework of modern identity formation in twentieth century Czech society, and (3) comparison of Czech representations of the world and of the country's own history with those of other post-communist countries.

One aim of the work is to connect, within a single analysis, two traditionally divergent fields, those of perceptions of history and of the neighboring world. To do so, the author bases his theoretical approach on a combination of two distinct analytical perspectives. The perception of history is analyzed using concepts derived from research into col-

lective and historical memory well-known in Czech social science, while perceptions of the neighboring world are examined using concepts from the field of postcolonial studies. The latter approach is uncommon in the Czech social, political, and historical sciences, although there are many topic areas where its application might bring particularly interesting insights. Examples would be relations between the Czech and Roma populations, and Czechoslovakian governance in Carpathian Ruthenia. The introductory section of the book is given over to presenting theoretical approaches and the state of research in the field in both the Czech and foreign literature.

The first chapter examines the development of modern Czech historical imagery. The analytical categories employed are the Habsburg monarchy, the interwar republic, the German occupation, Stalinism, and the Prague Spring. It then treats perceptions of the world, using the analytical categories of Europe, West, East, Central Europe, Russia, Germany, and the Balkans. The time span covered is from the middle of the nineteenth century up to 1989, allowing the historical roots of some key pillars of post-communist worldviews to be traced. The chapter reveals the significant discontinuity between the post-communist discourse and previous periods: in the early twentieth century, the dominant discourse to do with Czech identity was Slavic, anti-German, national, and focused on the Protestant tradition. But after 1968, pro-Western, anti-Russian, and anti-national (as well as, to some extent, Catholic and pro-German) themes gained force. It was this latter view which became dominant after 1989.

The second chapter comprises the empirical core of the book and is focused on establishing the historical discourse and that of position in the world during the 1990s. The author's conclusions derive from his analysis of a representative sample of Czech print magazines that covered the research

subject from various political perspectives and that target a wide readership as opposed to a narrow group of intellectuals – *Respekt*, *Tvar*, *Literární Noviny*, *Mladý Svět*, *Květy*, *Reflex*, *Týden*, *Naše Pravda*, *Necenzurované Noviny* and *Republika*. A brief qualitative description of this sample provides interesting insights into the periodical press of the period. Obviously, the public discourse was also formed by the broadcast media and newspapers, but broadcast was left out because of limited availability and newspapers because of an overabundance of primary resources. The magazines also include more comments and reports that enable the author's views to be presented in greater detail and represent all the chief political currents in the area. An exception is the communist magazine *Naše Pravda*, which mostly published articles by the conservative faction of the Communist Party, and therefore does not represent the full discourse of the party as a whole.

Holubec differentiates two phases of development of the post-communist discourse on historical memory and the perception of the neighboring world: the early phase (1990–1991) during which the discourses were formed; and the later phase, in which the accent may have shifted among particular issues but the basic premises of the discourse remained stable. The author offers a typology of post-communist discourses in the Czech Republic that centers on distinguishing between state-building discourses (involving identification with the new regime), radical discourses (about deepening political changes and rejecting the 'socialist heritage' more decisively), a democratic critique (modifying political developments to conform to particular left-wing or patriotic traditions', and oppositional discourses (nostalgic communist and radical nationalist).

He also compares media discourse and public opinion and illustrates a basic correspondence between the two. But adequate data is lacking for a detailed analysis of all

these issues within the relevant time period, particularly as regards historical memory. In addition, this presentation of basic statistical data fails to provide information on latent factors or correlations among individual issues that might constitute specific sets of attitudes characteristic of the political discourses in question. What remains, then, is limited to indications of the extent to which the author's discourse typology was actually present in public opinion, but these indications do indeed tend to support the author's hypothesis.

The third chapter presents the views of Vaclav Klaus and Vaclav Havel, the two key protagonists in the post-communist transformation, on the issues of historical memory and the neighboring world. It reveals a consensus between the two politicians – one that was also held by most of Czech society and most of the media – on basic issues like anti-communism, a positive attitude to the 'First Republic', and a pro-Western orientation, that in most cases overcame differences between Klaus's Czech nationalist views and Havel's pro-Western stance. The analysis of their views complements the typology of discourses noted above and represents two coherent forms of discourse of the state-building type.

In the fourth chapter, the author compares historical memory and perceptions of the neighboring world in post-communist countries within Central-Eastern Europe. The comparison uncovers many points in common between the Czech Republic and other countries in the region, including a rejection of socialism and Russian influence, interest in European integration, and the image of a golden age in the past. But it also reveals features specific to the Czech Republic in the form of a perceived threat from Germany, a weaker role for religion, greater acceptance of the democracy project, and a distant relationship to traditional nationalism. The chapter might have provided more bibliographical

references on the other countries, but it is particularly interesting for both Czechs and the international audience.

The book concludes with the author's claim that the 1990s comprised the period in which a new historical memory was formed and profound changes in the perception of neighboring nations took place. The use of tools like othering, stereotypization, dichotomisation, and orientalism contributed to establishing a new ideological hegemony that played an important role in legitimizing the new regime. At center was the dichotomy between the good past of the First Republic and the good society of the West versus the bad past of communist totality and bad neighbors to the East such as Russia. Discourses focused on the past and the neighboring world reflected the main social conflict taking place during the socioeconomic and political transformation that involved the dominant anti-Communist, neoliberal forces and the left-wing, communist, and populist-nationalist opposition. But the main emphasis is on the discourses and the actors; their strategies and power struggles are mostly left in the background.

Not only is this book the first to attempt systematic coverage of the topic, it may also serve as a source of inspiration for future research. This is true not only because of its theoretical perspective, one that shows the suitability of using a postcolonial approach in the Czech context, but also because it provides fodder for more detailed studies in the future on discourses to do with particular aspects of historical memory and the perception of the neighboring world – including factors not covered explicitly in this book, like the Romany population, Muslims, and the European Union. Tracing the roots of the post-communist discourse as well as the historical factors that have conditioned them, along with the uniqueness of the mainstream view in Czech history, may help weaken the black-and-white approach to historical issues

more evident in the Czech Republic than most other Central and Eastern European countries. It may also disrupt stereotypes of the Other and the myths that are an inevitable part of any historical narrative and in this way contribute to a higher quality public discourse. The comparison of the CEE countries will make the book interesting to an international audience, and the readable style of writing ensures it will be accessible to the lay public, as well.

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**Keil, Soeren and Stahl, Bernhard, eds.:**

**THE FOREIGN POLICIES  
OF POST-YUGOSLAV STATES:  
FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO EUROPE.**

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2014.  
280 pages.

DOI: 10.5817/PC2015-3-260

After the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia, the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states did not become a major subject of interest for scholars researching international relations. The basic foundation in this area is thus inadequate, and this volume provides useful information, opinions, explanations, and conclusions about the foreign policies of the seven former Yugoslav states – Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo – that may then be used as a meaningful framework to broaden knowledge in the topic area.

*The Foreign Policies of Post-Yugoslav States: From Yugoslavia to Europe*, edited by Soeren Keil and Bernhard Stahl, consists of five sections that aim to present the foreign