

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.**

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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

policy of the post-Yugoslav states over various intervals of time.

In the introductory section, Soeren Keil and Bernhard Stahl provide convincing, well-grounded argumentation that stresses all post-Yugoslav states have a unique foreign policy objective they hold in common – full EU membership, although each approaches the process of EU integration at a different speed. To obtain qualitative knowledge of the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states, it is of particular importance to highlight the editors' noteworthy observation that these countries currently find themselves in a transition process in which they lack identity and play no international role, and this is what is most salient about their foreign policy. The book's utility and importance lies in its clear, precise theoretical treatment, which may serve as a well-defined research framework for scholars studying the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states. More precisely, the editors have provided two avenues for obtaining new foreign policy insights, one traditional, and another – Foreign Policy Analysis or FPA – which allows both deductive and inductive approaches, yielding more bountiful empirical data and a broader base of historical fact.

The book contributes to the further development of political science in general, and international relations in particular, and provides a suitable research basis for those scholars studying the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states to do more thorough empirical research. Aside from the depth of empirical data it contains, this review volume provides a fresh opportunity for developing valid theory, both in terms of conceptualization and, in general, with a view to institutional mechanisms, foreign policy decision-making, foreign policy implementation, priority setting in foreign policy, the main actors involved in the process, and changes to instruments and policies during the period.

Also worth praising is the editors' use of Hill's definition of foreign policy – 'the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor in international relations'. This allows a broad range of foreign policy actors to be included in the coverage, such as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the subentity Republika Srpska, and the contested state of Kosovo. In spite of this, the individual authors did not fully conform to the editors' stance that all country studies should begin with Hill's definition. Each country study of the seven post-Yugoslav states is focused on analyzing, explaining, and providing fresh insights into the foreign policy of the state, discussing its new actors and their priorities, strategies, institutional developments and mechanisms, relations with other post-Yugoslav successor states, the relevance of public opinion, and the issue of continuity and change vis-à-vis prior Yugoslav foreign policy.

To conduct their research, the authors primarily employ the analytical method, specifically descriptive analysis, a basic methodology in political science thought and research. The conceptual background is well grounded by an emphasis on examining the foreign policy identity of each state and the connections between its internal and foreign policy, and not just foreign policy goals and mechanisms, in an effort to understand the foreign policies of the post-Yugoslav states and their varying levels of achievement when it comes to European integration.

On the one hand, the volume offers a versatile presentation of empirical materials; on the other, most of its authors display an evident lack of the analytical rigor needed to elevate the existing level of knowledge to a higher plane. They are thus proficient at collecting empirical data, but not so well-versed at dealing with it theoretically. The research framework as defined by Soeren Keil and Bernhard Stahl is excellent. But the research quality of the individual country

studies is not uniform – it ranges from very high, to very poor.

Katrin Boeckh starts the discussion with a significant contribution to deepening the empirical knowledge of foreign policy in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Making precise, appropriate use of historical facts and details, she provides qualitative insights and satisfying explanations for Yugoslavia's foreign policy under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito from 1945 until 1980. Her work is well-grounded, and offers convincing arguments that would be stimulating for scholars of the foreign policy of the second Yugoslavia to explore further.

When it comes to the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states, the best country study is that written by Gëzim Krasniqi in his article on the foreign policy of Kosovo. By linking empirical material to analysis in an appropriate, qualitative manner, Krasniqi provides an accurate, broad picture of Kosovo's foreign policy that stresses the country's chief foreign policy objective from the time of declaring independence has been to achieve international recognition as a full member of the international community. The strengths of this country study lie in the observation that Kosovo foreign policy 'gains a dual capacity, serving both as a tool of state-building, and as a statehood prerogative' (page 217). Likewise, the most convincing part of the study centers on the author's stance that Kosovo's status as an unrecognized international entity will deeply impact its position in international affairs.

The country study on Montenegro's foreign policy, written by Jelena Džankić, is the second best article in the book. She does an equally good job of presenting both empirical and theoretical categories, and this significantly aids our understanding of how Montenegro's foreign policy changed shape during the period from the FRY the achievement of independence. Theoretical assessments play a key role in her analysis,

while the coverage she provides of empirical material, mostly supported by historical fact, provide a clear view of the development of foreign policy, particularly when it comes to post-independence objectives, priorities, instruments, and mechanisms. Most interesting is her conviction that through a multilateral approach, Montenegro has attained progressive access to foreign policy.

Third place is reserved for the country study of Macedonia, and its foreign policy from the time it gained independence to the present day, provided by Cvete Koneska. As with the two prior country studies, this study does an equally good job in both theoretical and empirical terms in providing answers as to how and why Macedonian foreign policy has maintain continuity in its objectives even in the face of significant state-institutional upheaval since 2001. Koneska offers a well-grounded, convincing explanation for how internal (to do with state-building and institutional changes in 2001) and external (preserving national identity in the case of Greece and Bulgaria) political issues have shaped Macedonian foreign policy strategy and goals, and what the consequences are of the country's foreign policy behavior. Koneska offers a clear, concise presentation of new insights into how foreign policy priorities have developed, and how the enforcement of foreign policy objectives depends upon the national identity issue.

Both the country study of Slovenian foreign policy written by Ana Bojinović Fenko and Zlatko Šabič and the Croatian foreign policy by Senada Šelo Šabič focus more on description and less on theoretical assessment. Analytically speaking, based on the defined research question, the chapter on Slovenia's foreign policy provide us with partial answers. On the one hand, the authors provide a suitable explanation for the assessments of Slovenian policy vis-à-vis Yugoslav foreign policy in terms of continuation and shifts, emphasizing the importance of creating new

foreign objectives after independence and developing new institutional mechanisms. But they offer very little when it comes to explaining Slovenia's foreign policy towards other post-Yugoslav states.

The article on Croatian foreign policy by Senada Šelo Šabić is well structured, except for a lack of theoretical exploration, offering clarity of form, and appropriate terms and explanations. Institutional mechanisms and novel actors are well explained, as are past and present foreign policy objectives and priorities, with a well-founded conclusion that after twenty-three years of independence, Croatia has fulfilled the requisite foreign policy goals by entering NATO and the EU. New foreign policy objectives lie in sharing knowledge and providing experience for Western Balkan countries willing to become part of the EU and NATO. Similar to the study of Slovenia, this country study lacks adequate detail and facts to do with Croatia's relations with other Yugoslav successor states.

Mladen Mladenov's study of Serbian foreign policy makes exclusive use of description as the chief tool by which to explain the causes of the failure of Serbian foreign policy over the past twenty years. This focus on descriptive analysis enables him to obtain significant insights into the constant changes in the Serbian political elite from 1987 until 2012 and provides many details. But scant attention is shown to the definition of Serbian foreign policy objectives and priorities, instruments, institutional mechanisms, and strategies. Readers of the book might, however, be satisfied with the significant contribution made on Serbian relations with Kosovo and Mladenov's excellent analysis of the normalization of relations between the two countries, mediated by the EU in 2012.

Finally, there is the article by Adnan Huskić on Bosnian foreign policy. It fails

to contribute to broadening our knowledge from either an empirical or theoretical standpoint. Using historical events and description as the primary analytical tool, this country study wants for appropriate, adequate answers regarding Bosnian foreign policy objectives, strategies, priorities, actors, institutional mechanisms, and relations with other post-Yugoslav states. The lack of a defined research question had a major impact on the study, which must be evaluated as poorly done.

Amelia Hadfield has done a remarkable job in the conclusion by linking together empirical and theoretical concepts to provide fresh insight into the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states. By collecting historical details on the development of the post-Yugoslav nation, foreign policy ambitions, and their geographical orientation, she has provided a healthy qualitative basis for further research into the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states that is supported by a clear, precise theoretical framework.

To conclude, then, this book, edited by Soeren Keil and Berhard Stahl, constitutes an important contribution to better understanding the foreign policy of the post-Yugoslav states. The book contains important empirical details and provides interesting analysis and may be warmly recommended to those who lack basic knowledge about the foreign policy of the former Yugoslav states. But for those dealing with the topic in a deeper, more meaningful, more purposeful way, it must be emphasized that, aside from the introduction and conclusion – both excellently written – the remainder of the book written by the seven authors falls short of providing a valid contribution to international relations scholarship.

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