

forthcoming work by Prof. A. Mitrović of the University of Belgrade *Serbia's Great War 1914-1918* (Purdue University, 1 June 2007). Apart from the above-mentioned, Lampe has largely drawn on the research done by Maria Todorova, Charles and Barbara Jelavich, Miranda Vickers, Richard Crampton, Ivo Banac and Richard Clogg.

Lampe looks at the Balkans as a whole, bearing in mind its ethnic and religious

blends, frequent and devastating wars, external interferences and interventions, but also the periods when reforms in the Balkan countries resulted in the adoption of European ideas and institutions. Outlining the history of a region Lampe views as being traditionally separated from the rest of Europe, he nevertheless points to an inclusion of the Balkans, its peoples and countries into European processes at the end of the twentieth century.

RICHARD J. CRAMPTON, *THE BALKANS SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR*.  
PEARSON EDUCATION LIMITED, 2002. Pp. 376.

*Reviewed by* Miroslav Svirčević

*The Balkans since the Second World War* by Oxford University professor Richard Crampton is a valuable and interesting monograph that discusses in detail the political, social and economic development of the Balkan countries (Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, and Yugoslavia and her successor states) during three major periods connected with the rise, reign and collapse of the global communist order: 1) 1944-49/50: from the final agreement of the Great Powers (Great Britain, USA and USSR) on the post-war fate of the Balkans to the establishment of new governments and legal-political orders in the Balkan countries; 2) 1950-89: Cold War; and 3) 1989-2000: from the fall of the Berlin Wall to most recent times. This "historical novel" pays especial attention to post-war Yugoslavia founded on the Marxist political doctrine and the absolute power of the Communist Party and its untouchable leader Josip Broz Tito, to its swings between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War and, finally, to its unexpectedly brutal disintegration, accompanied by unparalleled national and religious clashes and ethnic cleansing. There are at least two reasons for this attention: because Yugoslavia strongly influenced the po-

litical configuration of the Balkans from the Second World War, and because its disintegration is seen as the best example of so-called *balkanization*, a term that has derogatory connotations in Western scholarship and publicism.<sup>1</sup> The term is stereotypically used as synonymous with barbarism, absolutism, irrationality, primitivism, intolerance and other dark aspects of man and human society, surfacing in their extreme form since the collapse of the global communist order and bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and wiping out the basic values of modern civilization. In the last decades of the twentieth century Tito's Yugoslavia witnessed strong processes of retrograde populism, militarism, chauvinism and organized criminal, reducing all the Yugoslav nations (except Slovenians) to pre-civil, pre-political forms of ethnic-tribal existence. This state of affairs is comparable to Hobbes's description: *bellum omnium contra omnes*. It is Krleža's Balkan inn "where no sooner are the lights turned off than knives are drawn." Consequently, the writer makes the fate of Yugoslavia and her successor

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 33-37.

countries the focus of his book. All other Balkan countries, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, are given by far less space. Nevertheless, this does not affect the quality of his historical overview of developments in these countries. On the contrary, their historical development appears to be well studied.

In the first part of the book, the writer focuses on the changing political configuration of the Balkans in the wake of the Second World War. According to the agreement reached by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, the largest part of the Balkan Peninsula found itself under new communist regimes which in their turn were under the powerful influence of the USSR and Soviet Communist Party. The only exception was Greece, which did not belong to the sphere of Soviet political interests. Crampton seems to give a fairly good picture of the process of establishing communist governments in Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, as well as of the dramatic civil war in Greece between ELAS (armed pro-communist forces of the united left) and EDES (pro-Western and rigid anti-communist forces), ending in the defeat of the former. Nevertheless, there is one serious objection to be made. The controversial issue of the legitimacy of the new communist regimes in the Balkans is completely ignored, which then results in an incorrect picture of the post-war development of the Balkan countries. Namely, the reader is left with the impression that the transition of the Balkan countries into communism was a "natural" development. Quite the reverse is true. The communist movement, as a militant and totalitarian political force, seized power unlawfully in most Balkan countries, leaving it devastated after decades of its rule. This is very important to note if the fact is taken into account that communist parties in the pre-war period were only influential in some areas of the Balkans (Slovenia, Croatia,

Macedonia), while remaining marginal in others (Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria). The only Balkan state where the communist movement was quite strong was Greece, but Greece was spared from communist rule owing to the decision of the Great Powers. With these facts in mind, an objective approach would have required that the issue be discussed of the legitimacy of all "wartime representative bodies" (e.g., AVNOJ/ACNLY, which had no mandate to represent the Yugoslav nations) and post-war "elections" organized by Balkan communists. The communists would win the "elections" with a majority uncommon in modern democracies, which formed a formal-legal basis for the perpetuation of their unlimited rule, marked by massive abuses of human and political rights, amply using the police and secret police, brutally oppressing political "enemies" (most horrid examples being *Goli otok*, a full-scale Gulag in Yugoslavia, and concentration camps in the Danube delta in Romania), destroying economy with absurd ideological experiments (collectivization in agriculture, abolishment of private and introduction of so-called social property etc), shaking the social structure (destroying peasants, the middle class and the clergy while artificially creating a working class etc.), finally, brutally cutting off the whole region from the West not only politically but also in terms of culture, democratic tradition and civilization. One gets the impression that the writer deliberately chose to avoid this thorny question.

In the second part of the book, Crampton discusses the history of the Balkan nations during the Cold War. He gives a good analysis of their political and economic systems, and their foreign policies. Although Tito's "self-management socialism" was seen in the West as the most tolerant and liberal of communist regimes, it was comparable with the Warsaw Pact countries in ideological and police bru-

tality, regardless of what their individual foreign policies and relationship with the USSR were. After the break-up between Tito and Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia kept a balance between the two opposed military and political blocs, pointing out its right to “*its own path to socialism*”. She became the leader of the Non-alignment movement, which included former Western colonies, now independent nations, mostly African and Asian, and some Latin American. On the other hand, Romania, although a member of the Warsaw Pact, sought to pursue a more independent policy in relation to Moscow, especially after the death of Dej and with Ceausescu at the head of the Communist Party. The latter’s regime, however, has become synonymous with terrible brutality and abuse of power. Until the end of the communist era, Bulgaria of Todor Zhivkov remained a loyal follower of the USSR, while Hoxa’s Albania went through three phases: pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese and the phase of self-isolation. As the only non-communist country in the region, Greece was gradually overcoming the state of political instability, drawing closer to the West under the wing of the USA and NATO. Political struggle was fought between two rival parties: the socialist PASOK of Papandreu and the conservative New Democracy of Karamanlis. Since the settlement of the painful Cyprus Question (1960–61), strained relations with Turkey, and the fall of the regime of the Colonels (1967–74), Greece has succeeded in es-

tablishing a democratic system, eventually joining the European Union (1981).

The third part of the book gives a geo-political picture of the Balkans after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the USSR. All Balkan countries (except Greece) have undergone the process of political transition from totalitarianism to democracy, and committed themselves (at least declaratively) to human rights and freedoms, parliamentary government, free market economy and integration into the NATO and the EU.

By way of conclusion, it should be noted that the book was finished in 2000, which means that many important developments could not be included and analyzed. Two of these are certainly the entry of Romania and Bulgaria into the NATO and the assassination of the reformist-oriented Serbian Prime Minister Djindjić in 2003. Even so, Crampton’s book considerably contributes to the elucidation of the most recent history of *Savage Europe* (as the Balkans was named in a guide published before the First World War),<sup>2</sup> headline news all over the world in the 1990s. Obviously, its main goal has been to identify the causes of the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia, which has left grief and ruins in its wake, without, however, highlighting adequately the responsibility of Titoism for that disintegration.

<sup>2</sup> Harry de Windt, *Through Savage Europe* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1907).

MARK MAZOWER, *THE BALKANS. FROM THE END OF BYZANTIUM TO THE PRESENT DAY*. A PHOENIX PAPERBACK. FOURTH EDITION, 2003. Pp. 176.

*Reviewed by* Miroslav Svirčević

*The Balkans – from the End of Byzantium to the Present Day*, a book by the British historian Mark Mazower, is a significant contribution to modern historiography, Balkan studies in particular. The writer

has been awarded twice: in 2000 (Wolfson History Prize) and in 2001 (Bentinck Prize). Although condensed, the book is written very systematically. It includes an in-depth discussion of all terms, geo-