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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),² 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.

² 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-

graphic and climatic features and historical phenomena that have – in the author's view – decisively influenced the shaping and courses of the history of the Balkan nations from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the wars of Yugoslav succession in 1991–99. The reader gets the impression that this is a kind of a guide to a *Wild Europe*, and its main goal is to provide an introduction to the history of Southeastern Europe in the easiest way. At the same time, the book obviously seeks to offer a satisfactory answer to the question as to why this part of Europe remains, even in modern times, politically inferior to the West. The writer shows commendable objectivity, convincing argumentation and skillfully drawn parallels between similar phenomena from different epochs, an approach which may be very risky in modern historiography. Relying on the extensive and relevant literature from the field of Balkan studies, the author depicts the most important historical processes in the Balkans in the form of an easy-to-read novel whose parts are harmoniously put together to form a whole. Mazower first precisely defines the geo-political area of the Balkans. There follows an overview of its geographic and climatic features, of its multicultural structure and the distinct life style of Balkan nations, especially under Ottoman rule. In accordance with

these historical facts, the writer outlines the process of national awakening of the Balkan peoples, the establishment of their cultural institutions and progressive accumulation of state-building energies in the context of a slow but steady decline of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, i.e. opening of the so-called "Eastern Question", time and again decided by the Great Powers in accordance with their particular political interests. In the end, the writer attempts to explain the outbreak of hostilities in former Yugoslavia after the fall of communism, without resorting to prejudices about the Balkans and their nations widespread in Western scholarship and journalism. As a matter of fact, the writer suggests that the bloody wars in former Yugoslavia – accompanied by barbarism, ethnic cleansing and terrible retributions – were not an expression of the primitive mentality of so-called *Balkan man*, disposed to violence and atrocity, but an embodiment of new technological warfare of the modern era. Accordingly, Mazower, much like Maria Todorova, convincingly questions all derogatory labels and ideological stereotypes that have been attached to this European region ever since the Carnegie Endowment for Peace published a report on the Balkan Wars in 1914. The author of this review strongly recommends this book to readers.

BRANIMIR ANZULOVIC, *HEAVENLY SERBLA: FROM MYTH TO GENOCIDE*.
NEW YORK AND LONDON: NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1999. Pp. XIV + 233.

Reviewed by Miroslav Svirčević

During the latest Balkan crisis and wars of Yugoslav succession (1991–99) scores of books produced by Western scholars and publicists shared a common goal: to recognize and explain the reasons for the gory disintegration of Tito's Yugoslavia, a country once seen as the "most liberal" in the former Communist bloc. The basic

question Western observers addressed was what had caused the closely related Yugoslav peoples to break up amidst such hatred, destruction, mass atrocities and ethnic cleansing, accusations against which none of the warring parties can possibly defend itself. *Heavenly Serbia* by Branimir Anzulovic, an American of Croatian de-