

were female? Unfortunately, presumably not.

I find Casper and Moore's book to be a very useful reading of the phenomenon of missing bodies also due to its applicability to a certain Slovenian case, i.e., the erasure of 18,305 people from the Central Register of Population at the beginning of the 1990s when the Slovenian nation gained political independence. All those people who had permanent residence in Slovenia, yet it was believed at that time that they are citizens of any other Yugoslav republic, unjustifiably lost all rights as citizens of Slovenia. As a consequence, the erased people were forcibly reduced merely to the state of their bodies and thus became invisible missing bodies.

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Heinrich Best, Agnieszka  
Wenninger (eds.)  
**Landmark 1989: Central and Eastern  
European Societies Twenty Years  
after the System Change**  
LIT Verlag, Berlin, Münster, Dunaj,  
Zürich and London 2010, pp. 297,  
\$ 45.00  
(ISBN 978-3-643-10449-6)

Systemic change in Central and Eastern European countries, after the *Annus Mirabilis* 1989, logically remains as one of the most important

social science research themes. Already the end of the first decennium of democratic development in the »zone of big transformation«, a name given by Hungarian political scientist, Attila Ágh, to the group of post-Communist countries, provoked an enormous conference and publication boom, between 1998–2000, which resulted in the basic motto: »Ten Years After«.

In addition to all the analyses and reflections on social, institutional, economic and other changes, another important theoretical approach was born during this period, namely the consolidology growing up from the transitology, and its application in the 1990s. This concept, developing the »third wave concept« into the debate about the possible »fourth wave«, and trying to offer scientific explanation for the success or failure of democratic reforms, and generally systemic change in the post-Communist countries, arose especially from the German social sciences. Wolfgang Merkel is one of the most important authors of the concept of consolidology and it is not an accident that the volume open *Landmark 1989: Central and Eastern European Societies Twenty Years after the System Change*, edited by Heinrich Best and Agnieszka Wenninger, opens with a contribution from Merkel. The volume includes contributions from a conference, organised in Berlin, in early April 2009, which provided a venue for scientific debate among social scientists – mainly in sociology, social and cultural anthropology

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and political science – about some of important aspects of post-1989 developments and also about the paradigms and trends in different scientific (sub)disciplines regarding the research of historical legacies, changes in social structure, or Europeanisation processes, in Central and Eastern European countries. There is not enough space in this review for deep analysis and examination of all contributions, thus we will select only some of the more pertinent.

As mentioned, the volume opens with Merkel's *Plausible Theory, Unexpected Results: The Rapid Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe*. As Merkel argues, the consolidology arises from the mistaken assumption that a comparison is possible among all countries in the »zone of big transformation«. As Merkel mentions: »Subsuming states such as the Czech Republic, Albania, and Russia, whose economic, cultural, and historical backgrounds are highly dissimilar, under the dictum of a single dilemma was a misjudgement of the degree to which the potential for democratisation differs across them« (p. 21). In other words, the object of comparison was selected incorrectly and the typologies categorising the post-Communist countries into the groups of consolidated, semi-consolidated and non-consolidated democracies were built at very weak rudiments. Nevertheless, in his essay, Merkel advocates the concept of consolidology, shows the multilevel model of democratic consolidation and no longer talks not about the ty-

pology, but about the degrees of consolidation. Using the data collected by the Bertelsmann Transformation Index, Merkel analyses the constitutional, representative, and behavioural consolidation as well as the consolidation of democratic political culture. All the figures summarising the research data show a clearly specific gap between the group of Central European and Baltic post-Communist states, on one side, and Romania and Bulgaria on the other; mostly both countries show results that are very similar to Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia. As the most important result of the comparison – and clear advice for the gatekeepers of the next EU-enlargement(s) – we must mention the very high ranking of Croatia in all four analysed fields showing the »Central European pattern« of the Croatian society.

The contributions collected in the second part of the book, in the section entitled *Facing the Past*, are mostly based upon path dependency theory and they discuss the legacies from the past influencing the discourse and development in Central and Eastern European countries. Stefan Garsztecki, in his theoretical introduction, shows that the collective identity arises from the plurality of cultures of remembrance. Such a position, destroying the holism and unity of national memory, is defended also by other contributors. Andrzej Szpociński presents quantitative analysis of values preferred in Polish society. The author analyses the development of popular support

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for the values symbolized by historical figures. The results show that the importance of personal virtues, democracy, social activity, and religion are growing, while for example the issue of military successes or patriotism plays a much smaller role than two decades ago. Andriy Portnov's contribution is also interesting in that it applies the path dependency theory to the issue of two Ukraines – the »pro-European, national Ukrainian, Western, rooted in Western Christianity and values« vs. the »pro-Russian, post-Soviet, Eastern, Orthodox«. The implications especially relate to the »victim discourse«, in reference to the Great Famine during the winter of 1932–1933, open many research questions. In the future, it would be important to include other concepts into the analysis, including the *homo sovieticus* concept that dominates the next part of the book, in the section entitled *Society under Change and the Role of Old Mentality*.

The contributions of Christopher S. Swader and Mira Marody develop the concept of *homo sovieticus*, the first one more generally, the later applying the concept to Poland. Swader shows the basic connotations related to the concept – the ideal-type describing the specific collective and individual characteristics of people living in the regimes of (real) socialism, such as passivity, demand attitude, etc. These characteristics are presented by the author as the dark side of human beings (s. 72). The author also discusses the possible connotation between Communism and moderni-

zation, asking if Communism might be understood as the instrument of modernisation. This question seems to be one of the most important in the anthology, especially with regard to the pro-Communist (re)sentiments, not only in illiberal democracies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, but also in the post-Communist EU-member states (let us remember the strong position of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia in the Czech Republic). Unfortunately, we still do not have relevant comparisons of modernisation processes in societies under the Communist regimes and, for example, modernisation oligarchies and illiberal democracies, such as South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, or South Africa.

It is important to note that two sociologically based parts – *Old and New Inequalities* and *Elites* are excluded from the review. However, this review does analyse two contributions from the last section of the book, entitled *Return to Europe*. In this section, Danica Fink-Hafner and Gabriella Ilonzski meet both intentions of the conference / volume, namely to present the results of analysis, but also to discuss the state-of-the-art of research and emerging trends. Fink-Hafner first presents and analyses the scope of the use of the theories and concepts of the European integration and penetration of these theories and concepts into the Slovenian political science discourse in the 1990s. For a better understanding, she summarises both the theories and their use into the comprehensive

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schemes (s. 261, 264-5). This contribution is organically supported by the chapter presented by Ilonszki. While Fink-Hafner stresses the theory, Ilonski mainly focuses on the research methodology, the questions, and the instruments used and preferred in the analysis of Europeanisation processes in Hungary.

Generally evaluated, the volume Landmark 1989 offers a multidisciplinary analysis of selected issues related to the changes after the democratic transition. The analysis mostly includes only post-Communist EU-member states; in two instances, the Ukraine and Russian cases are analysed, but not EU-membership candidate states, such as Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, or Albania. In this way, the selection of countries analysed does not meet the most important result of Merkel's falsification, stated in his introduction. The absenting countries and societies in the analysis could, and should include East Germany. Many social scientists in Germany, at the moment, feel the dramatic absence of comparative studies in Central and Eastern Europe, including the former German Democratic Republic. If the book had included both the East Germany and South Eastern European countries, we could indicate it as very important; with the absence of chapter analyses focusing on selected issues in these countries, we must evaluate this book only as being very useful.

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Thomas J. Volgy, Zlatko Šabič,  
Petra Roter, Andrea K. Gerlak  
**Mapping the New World Order**  
Wiley-Blackwell, Malden and  
Oxford 2009, pp. 296, € 27.60  
(ISBN: 978-1-4051-6962-2)

There is no doubt that the fall of the Berlin Wall and collapse of the Soviet Union marked a new era in international relations. This is a statement which is on the one hand straightforward, for the appearance of a new post-Cold War world is fact, yet on the other more complex, for it carries with it the need to define that which is 'new' in international politics. It could well seem that the new era will be accompanied by a new quality in international relations, one which powerfully remodels that which was, forming a new contemporary architecture in international politics.

Is the appearance of a new era indeed synonymous with the appearance of a new international order? If so, how does this differ from that which existed previously? What might be the consequences of the new international structure for those international matters of greatest significance?

It is these and other fundamental questions relating to the nature of contemporary international relations which Thomas J. Vogly and his colleagues attempt to answer in their