

collapse of Yugoslavia, the ensuing deadly conflict and current predicaments. Dević argues that many post-Yugoslav film narratives clearly contest notions that the new (ex-Yugoslav) states and borders are in any way natural, making cinema an important counter-hegemony to the ethnonational “truth regime”.

Overall this is a very interesting, innovative and worthwhile book that merits a place in university libraries. All chapters are rich analyses and without exception very enjoyable to read. Researchers and students interested in Southeastern Europe will find them very useful and informative. There are some important messages for practitioners and policy makers, too. The book is also relevant of course for scholars interested in regional cooperation and regionalism more broadly, along with cognate areas such as conflict resolution and peace-building. One minor disappointment is the absence of detailed studies of some high profile regional cooperation frameworks which have been in operation for a few years and which yet remain to be assessed in terms of their performance. These include the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), which is mentioned although only in a small way, and the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC). Given the approach of this book, the choice not to focus on them is understandable. Yet it is notable that this work would have been unable to draw on detailed studies of CEFTA, the RCC and any relevant regional players even if it had wished to do so because there do not seem to be any. Maybe this points to some scope for a third volume in the series?

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Eric GORDY, *Guilt, Responsibility, and Denial. The Past at Stake in Post-Milošević Serbia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. 272 pp., ISBN 978-0-8122-4535-6, \$ 65.00

If you are interested in transitional justice, but your interest goes beyond the court cases of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), this book will suit you well. Eric Gordy provides a clear perspective on how Serbian post-2000 society has dealt with its recent past. He analyses those moments that threatened the hegemonic discourse of denial in Serbia as well as the non-moments – that is those instances that contained the potential to do so, but failed. In doing so, he skilfully manoeuvres through the post-Milošević era (2000-2012), highlighting the new governments’ confrontations with the country’s recent past.

Gordy defines his theoretic approach to transitional justice: the concept of *guilt* “refers to a specific status defined by a judicial institution” and *responsibility* to “states of feeling or judgement operating on the level of relationships, perceptions, and individual self-assessment” (18). This distinction leads to his core research questions: How has Serbian society dealt with questions of responsibility for mass atrocities that happened during the wars of Yugoslav dissolution? Has it been prepared to demand answers for crimes that were committed in its name? And if yes, what is the position concerning the consequences such responsibilities should have? To answer these questions, Gordy goes beyond the evidence provided by the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which determined the guilt of individual perpetrators. Rather, he discusses how Serbian society as a collective has come to terms with both the domestic and international crimes of the Milošević

regime. As in his earlier book *The Culture of Power in Serbia* (1999), Gordy places emphasis on culture as a field of study that complements political insights: "Outside the realm of politics and international relations, culture has been stepping into places where official actors have refused to tread, or have consistently changed the subject" (178).

After Milošević was forced to leave office in October 2000, the question arose how strongly the new government should distance itself from the previous one. The popular Serbian radio channel B92 ran a Comments section in its website. Gordy has gathered entries about the arrest and extradition of Milošević, which mirror how people felt at the time. The comments are remarkably insightful in terms of making the complicated feelings of guilt and responsibility tangible. For example, a commentator addressed the question of whether Milošević should be tried in Belgrade or in The Hague: "Now, anybody who thinks about it even a little bit knows that he will be tried in The Hague as former president, which automatically and immediately means that if he is found guilty, everything that the Serbian people did during the period when Milošević was president will be declared a crime" (34f.). These kinds of quotation set the stage for the subsequent analysis and show the wide variety of sources used, and which indeed are needed to understand the complexity of public debate.

Three key moments stand at the centre of the analysis: the extradition of Slobodan Milošević to the ICTY in 2001 (chapter 3); the murder of Zoran Djindjić in 2003 (chapter 5); and the disclosure of the "Scorpions video" in 2005, including the subsequent refinement of the discourse of denial surrounding Srebrenica (chapter 7). All of these moments enhanced the public debate in Serbia, as they challenged the dominant

narrative inherited from the Milošević regime.

The murder of Zoran Djindjić in March 2003, for example, "appeared to confirm long-suspected links between war crimes, political crimes, and crimes committed for more customary criminal reasons" (87). However, this impression was soon overturned by the confusion conservative forces deliberately spread in the media: "In the space of confusion grows the potential for denial" (ibid.). Gordy aptly reveals the battle for domination of the public space that took place. The assassination of Djindjić was a failed attempt by the "patriotic bloc" to take charge of the government. The attempt was countered by the government that Djindjić had led. The criminal gang behind the murder was quickly dismantled and their ties with the Serbian security services severed. However, after a few months of positive press for Djindjić's followers, confusion took over again and led to the conservative forces regaining power. Gordy's account is brief and clear, and the elaborate endnotes give proof of the density of sources he has consulted.

In the last two chapters, Gordy highlights how, because of this deliberately created confusion, denial has taken a hold on the Serbian public sphere. The varieties of denial range from the "celebration of crime" through "the ideology of forgetting" to "broadening the context beyond recognition" (90-118). At the same time, the author is sensitive to those initiatives, mostly from civil society organizations, that have challenged this discourse and claim that Serbia should take responsibility for the crimes committed in its name. Gordy uses the case of the "Scorpions video" to show how the discourse of denial has been successfully strengthened since 2005. For a brief moment, the video made the horrors of Srebrenica undeniable, as it shows Serbian paramilitary executing young Bosnian

men. However, reacting to the initial positive opening of a discussion about Serbian responsibility for Srebrenica, circles influenced by the Serbian Radical Party quickly managed to poison the public sphere with a variety of communicative strategies that came down to denial. This is not a new issue, but few non-Serbian academics have followed the Serbian public discourse sufficiently closely to present the plentiful, well chosen examples Gordy has gathered.

Despite past horrors, Gordy comes to a positive conclusion: "Viewed historically, limited but meaningful action in the ten years following the departure of Milošević from power is a relatively large and rapid development" (169). "Guilt, Responsibility, and Denial" have a long way to go in Serbia, but the vast documentation of the war, as well as the work of cultural and civil organizations that have actively propagated the necessity of confronting the past offer a long-term perspective towards a positive outcome – so far as history has ever produced such a thing. To conclude, I would assess this book as a "must read" for analysts of Serbian politics and society and as a very useful case study for transitional justice scholars.

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Florentina C. ANDREESCU, *From Communism to Capitalism. Nation and State in Romanian Cultural Production*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 190 pp., ISBN 978-1-137-27691-9, £ 66.00

The ambitious title of the book makes the reader expect a comprehensive volume on the entanglements of transition and cultural production in Romania. Instead the author focuses exclusively on one particular cultural realm, that of film. In this sense, the book's title raises expectations that are not

fulfilled in the little more than 160 pages that follow. Yet, even in a book dealing only with film as a social medium, Florentina Andreescu's task remains a challenging one: she is analysing the transition process through the lens of a film camera. In her introduction, she argues pointedly for a rehabilitation of the visual in the study of the social and political dynamics of change and asks the important question: Can the visual sphere be attributed a key role in the symbolic debates on the dynamics of change? In particular, she is concerned with the ways in which sociopolitical changes influenced filmic representations of the state, of the nation, of gender relations and of "the other".

Andreescu has a background in International Studies and Political Sciences, and it is through this angle – complemented by a psychoanalytical perspective – that she embarks on her analysis. Central for her is Michael J. Shapiro's model of a "cinematic nationhood", implying that film is constitutive for the self-image of the nation and the state, as well as a platform on which concepts of state and nation are continuously negotiated and reshaped (50). The seven chapters are a tour de force, outlining cinematic production in Romania throughout the last 40 years. They are structured according to the main topics the medium has dealt with: "the face of social authority"; the image of the worker as a hero; the image of the Romanian woman; and the image of the nation. Andreescu analyses these topics diachronically, differentiating between three temporal stages which she calls "communism", "transition", and "post-transition". The last phase is said to have begun in 2000 and is characterized by stable democratic conditions, a functional market economy, the establishment of neoliberal values and institutions, and Romania's entry into the EU (5). This somewhat positivist reading of the present situation