

of old-age poverty. However, it remains a question if this virtue will be enough to guarantee the long-term political sustainability of the system. In any case, the evidence so far suggests that inclusive policymaking has had a rather limited beneficial effect on reform sustainability in CEE pension politics.

Nevertheless, Guardiancich's work still provides very important theoretical insights that may inspire future research on welfare state reforms in the region. As time moves on, more evidence will be available to test if differences in the policymaking style of the executive really contribute to long-term reform sustainability. The Slovak Republic, where a systemic pension reform has been adopted in 2003 without much consultation with opposition and social partners, may become an interesting case to test proposition four. After several years of tinkering with the funded private pillar, there appears to be growing pressure for the adoption of a constitutional law on pensions. Such a shift from divisive policymaking in the 2000s to broad consensus-building in the 2010s within one polity would lend itself to an additional test of the book's argument on the importance of inclusive policymaking.

Guardiancich's analysis is a welcome and timely contribution to the debate on post-1989 welfare reform pathways in CEE. Its detailed description of pension reform processes in Croatia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia provide a very useful source of information for experts interested in these particular country cases. In addition, the intriguing theoretical framework and the propositions derived from it have great potential to inspire future research on policy reforms shaping our welfare states, both in the post socialist world and beyond.

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Adam Kozuchowski: *The Afterlife of Austria-Hungary: The Image of the Habsburg Monarchy in Interwar Europe*
Pittsburgh, PA, 2013: University of Pittsburgh Press, x + 219 pp.

In this concise, well written, and well informed book, first published in Polish in 2009, the young Polish historian Adam Kozuchowski analyses the images of the former Habsburg Monarchy as displayed and reflected in texts published by (1) professional historians, (2) journalists, essayists, and political scientists, and (3) novelists in the three decades after the breakup of Austria-Hungary in 1918. In other words, the author studies 'the discourse on Austria-Hungary in its formative years', produced by 'a generation that took an ambiguous and unclear imperial legacy and transformed it into a coherent image of the

past' (pp. 3–4). One of the explicit goals of the book is to demonstrate that the interpretations expressed by the three genres—academic historiography, political essays, and literary fiction—are complementary, and that they fuse in an image of the monarchy that would not be complete if we ignored any of them' (p. 23). The author argues that without taking into consideration this 'osmosis between various genres ... we could hardly understand the discontinuities observable in one genre' (p. 190). Typically, the authors studied here chose to present the history of the Habsburg Monarchy either as a farce or as a tragedy, depending on whether they sympathised with the monarchy or not (p. 16). Kożuchowski explores texts that can be regarded as ancestors to influential works published after the Second World War by distinguished historians and literary historians such as A. J. P. Taylor, C. A. Macartney, Robert A. Kann, William Johnston, Claudio Magris, or Carl E. Schorske.

In the first chapter, books and articles by Austro-German historians with different political and ideological affiliations are discussed (Friedrich Kleinwaechter, Heinrich Benedikt, Hugo Hantsch, Harold Steinacker, Karl Gottfried Hugelmann, Joseph Redlich, Viktor Bibl, Heinrich von Srbik, Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau, Alfred Francis Pribram, and several others). One of their main concerns was to identify nations, persons, and events to be blamed for the decline and fall of the monarchy. 'Favourite convicts' were Hungary, the Magyars, and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, nationalists and bureaucrats, or, in the eyes of a minority of decidedly Catholic and Great Austrian historians, Prussia or Imperial Germany. Most interwar Austro-German historians had a strong German national identity and proudly emphasised the important role played by the Habsburg Monarchy and the 'Austrian Germans', respectively, in German (i.e. 'pan-German') history. Among the few exceptions were the Austrian com-

munists Albert Fuchs and (not mentioned by Kożuchowski) Alfred Klahr.

In political essays three main problems were discussed by interwar authors inspired by the fate of the Habsburg Monarchy (p. 68): the shaping of a genuine Austrian (national or supra-national) identity, the character of Central Europe, and the question of the political organisation of Central Europe, as well as the legacy of the Habsburgs and the Habsburg Monarchy. It comes as no surprise that the answers differed according to the political and ideological standpoints of the authors. Kożuchowski distinguishes three groups: the leftist or progressive-democratic, the Austro-German nationalist, and the Catholic-conservative. Special attention is devoted to the interesting but (at least prior to 1945) ephemeral and marginalised 'Austrian idea'. This term, coined on the eve of the First World War by the Viennese poet, playwright, and essayist Hugo von Hofmannsthal, was, according to Kożuchowski, 'a unique attempt to create an identity of a country that had ceased to exist' (p. 81). The idealistic and at least somewhat quixotic, mostly pro-Habsburg, Catholic, and anti-German advocates of the Austrian idea share several common opinions. They emphasised the difference between Austria and the nation, but, on the other hand, their vocabulary resembled that of contemporary mystic nationalism. Third, the Austrian idea proudly ignored reality: 'it denies all critiques of the monarchy and refuses to acknowledge the humble status of the German Republic of Austria in interwar Europe. It confuses the past with its glories with the miserable present, as it often confuses Austro-Germans with all inhabitants of the monarchy, refusing to acknowledge their distinctive national identities' (p. 90).

In the third chapter, Kożuchowski starts from the premise that literature was a powerful tool for shaping interwar readers' 'image of Austria-Hungary', as well as from the observation that the position of literary fiction is 'indeed exceptional ...

still today in academic discourse about the Habsburgs' (pp. 108–109). Partly on the vestige of Claudio Magris' influential study 'The Habsburg Myth in Austrian Literature', he discusses the famous and often-quoted books and short stories of Austro-German novelists such as Robert Musil, Stefan Zweig, Hermann Broch, Franz Werfel, Joseph Roth, Heimito von Doderer, Arthur Schnitzler, and Alexander von Lernet-Holenia, as well as Franz Theodor Csokor's drama *3 November 1918*. But he also extensively deals with Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Švejk*, Kazimierz Sejda's *Imperial-Royal Deserters*, and the works of several other Polish novelists, such as Józef Wittlin, Stanisław Vincenz, Emil Zegadłowicz, Jan Parandowski, Tadeusz Żeleński, and Jerzy Kossowski. Surprisingly, he doesn't even mention Miroslav Krleža's famous collection of anti-war short stories *Croatian God Mars* in this context. Citing Ewa Wiegandt's study on Polish literature of Galicia, Kożuchowski argues that the analysed texts tend to oscillate between two poles: 'la belle époque and fin de siècle, the Arcadian and the catastrophic', but that there was, actually, one more main motif: 'the satiric, mercilessly mocking the anachronisms of the old monarchy, its pompous sense of pride and ridiculous traditions' (p. 111). Several remarkable pages are devoted to the best known 'Austro-Hungarian fantasies' or 'masquerades' written by Austrian novelists: Robert Musil's *Kakania*, Fritz von Herzmanovsky-Orlando's *Tarokania*, and Gregor von Rezzori's *Teskovina* (probably a better choice for a Rezzorian equivalent of *Kakaniën* and *Tarockanien/Tarockei* would have been *Maghrebinien*). In all those fantasy states the famous Austrian bureaucracy plays a crucial, if ridiculed role. The author contrasts this with the horrendous role of the bureaucracy in the novels of another 'Old-Austrian' author, Franz Kafka's *The Trial* and *The Castle*.

As many interwar authors tended to identify the person of the very long-ruling monarch Franz Joseph with the state,

Kożuchowski deals in a separate chapter with the emperor's image in literary fiction, historiography, and memoirs. He wonders why the interwar image of Franz Joseph owed so little 'to what was probably his gravest sin and certainly his fatal mistake: starting the Great War that annihilated his monarchy and millions of his subjects. He was popularly considered a symbol not just of his country but also of the best aspects of "the good old days" of European peace and stability' (p. 164).

In the concluding chapter, the author sums up that 'identity, mostly correlated with nationality, seems to have been the most important single factor determining attitudes toward Austria-Hungary. Ideology, experience, and imagination certainly played their role. But they turned out to be secondary when the crucial question was involved: how should we evaluate the monarchy's decline and fall?' (p. 173)

In compiling the sample of authors and texts to be analysed, Kożuchowski naturally concentrated on authors for whom the history of the monarchy constituted an intellectual problem (p. 24). His choice, especially in the first chapter, therefore 'is not representative for the interwar time; it leaves aside all those who regarded the decline and fall of Austria-Hungary as a natural process that liberated their nations from the domination of foreigners' (p. 64). Mostly, the choice is comprehensible. Kożuchowski primarily focuses on texts written by Austrian, or Austro-German authors, although he confusingly tends to use the term 'Austro-Hungarian writers' synonymously without defining what he means by that.

A minor number of mistakes don't really dull the positive judgement. The name of the most famous Czech historian and politician of the 19th century is Palacký, not Palačky, the surname of a less important Austrian historian is Steinacker, not Steinecker, the first name of the Austrian novelist Doderer is Heimito, not Heimitio, and the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian

General Staff was named Conrad von Hötzendorf, not Hotzendorff. The Kremsierer Constitution of 1848 never was 'introduced' and therefore couldn't be 'revoked by Franz Joseph' (p. 47), as it was a draft constitution only, and the Rabbi, writer, and deputy to the *Reichsrat*, Joseph Samuel Bloch, was no Social Democrat (p. 103).

Pieter Judson and others have demonstrated in the last decade that Cisleithania, the western part of Austria-Hungary, was an example of modern state-building not directly linked to nation-building. Koźuchowski points out (p. 177) that '[i]n the spring of 1914 Austria-Hungary was still remarkably modern in many aspects. It had excellent railways, universities, cafés, newspapers, theatres, hospitals, museums, operas, airplanes, submarines, battleships, avant-garde artists, Marxists, the first psychoanalyst, and the second metro line in Europe. Only after the dissolution of the monarchy did it turn out that Austria-Hungary had been anachronistic.' The book under review gives a fine survey of the formation of the hegemonic discourse on Austria-Hungary in the interwar period and its various versions in different genres.

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Alan Ryan: *The Making of Modern Liberalism*

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At the onset of the political and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, many believed that liberalism as always found its strength in its ability to act as the enemy of tradition and the speaker for modernity. The unfolding of events in the region in the early 1990s demonstrated that the liberal idea participated in socialism's final defeat by exposing its economic irra-

tionality, its political despotism, and its immense social and intellectual conservatism. Thereafter, in countries with no prior history of political democracy and market economy, liberalism became the harbinger of a new modern state and society to be built without any delay. This seemingly final victory provided liberalism with a unique historical opportunity, wherein it finally possessed all the rights and duties to influence the course of transformation in the new polities and economies of Central and Eastern Europe.

The striking collapse of Marxist regimes worldwide, as Ryan writes, was a notable success of the liberal project (p. 42). In Ryan's words, since Marxist governments drew their legitimacy from the supposed superiority of Marxian socialism over its liberal alternatives, the wholesale failure of Marxist regimes in all possible respects—their failure as economic systems, their inability to secure political loyalties of their subjects, their failure to secure the human rights of the citizenry, and so on—in effect amounted to a practical demonstration that liberalism of some kind had won (p. 42). The collapse of communism and the transition to political democracy and market economy in new Europe have been the triumph for liberalism in the very broadest sense—that is, liberalism that stresses human rights, economic opportunity, and the values of the open society, rather than one with narrower party-political attachments (p. 41). This depiction of the breadth of liberalism is the most laudable impact of Ryan's book.

Despite liberalism broad appeal, liberalisation has faced mounting challenges in the new Europe of the 21st century. It is true that the liberal way of thinking has achieved universal acceptance to a degree hitherto unknown in the history of Central and Eastern Europe, but liberalism could not maintain consensus on its virtues. The very believers of liberalism ignored the fact that the process of liberalisation challenges the foundations of societies unready for