

stand why this occurred. Little effort is made to account for Ukraine's immense economic difficulties. Numerous public opinion surveys are discussed, but no effort is made to uncover the causes or explanations for such attitudes. Often, Solchanyk will acknowledge that the issues are complex and multifaceted, but he does little to untangle competing explanatory factors.

One can also quibble with the analysis that is presented. Solchanyk argues that Ukraine faces a stark either/or choice: the West or Russia. He also implies that the choice of the West has been made, even though survey evidence shows that this is not the choice of most Ukrainians. However, Ukraine has done very little concrete to adhere to Western standards, it is unclear if the West will have Ukraine as a partner, and it is very uncertain that Ukraine really has crossed a Rubicon in both its foreign and domestic policies. These problems are thrown into greater relief by the present crisis in Ukraine, in which Kuchma stands accused of ordering the disappearance of a journalist and of falsifying election results, among other things. These actions, documented on audiotape, are more akin to what we would expect of Aleksandr Lukashenka of Belarus. They belie Solchanyk's assertions of Kuchma as a reformer and could easily push Ukraine away from the West, if not closer to Russia. Moreover, Solchanyk also tries to play down the regional divisions besetting the country, even though one sees in the surveys he presents a clear polarization on such basic questions as valuing the country's independence as well as political ideology.

In short, while the book does an admirable job of discussing the issues surrounding the Ukrainian-Russian relationship, it lacks the depth to draw rigorous, convincing conclusions.

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Political Will and Personal Belief: The Decline and Fall of Soviet Communism by Paul Hollander. *New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000. 368 pp. \$35.00.*

Scholarly explanations for the demise of the Soviet Union have proliferated in the decade since 1991, at least partially compensating for the notorious failure of the discipline to have predicted or anticipated the fall. Paul Hollander's valuable contribution to this expanding literature shifts the focus away from the objective, particularly economic, failings of the system toward subjective assessments of Soviet communism. Hollander contends that the disillusionment of elites, produced as individuals inevitably encountered the lies, injustice, and crimes of the regime, was the catalyst for the collapse of the Soviet order.

To provide support for his thesis, Hollander draws upon autobiographical accounts published by former insiders over the last fifty years to explain the reasons for their disaffection. He controls for significant differences in individ-

ual career paths by dividing his subjects into five different categories: defectors and exiles, reformers, high-level functionaries, East European leaders, and members of the internal security forces. After offering fairly detailed accounts of the life experiences of individuals in each category, Hollander develops a general depiction of the typical path to disillusionment found within each group.

Through this careful mode of analysis, Hollander demonstrates that the paths to disenchantment with communism were remarkably similar across his categories. For the subjects in each group, early loyalty to the communist order was gradually undermined by personal experiences that revealed the sharp disjunction between the reality of life and the ideals and beliefs of Marxist-Leninist ideology. These experiences were diverse: first-hand observations of the massive waste of resources, poor quality of finished goods, and similar evidence of the inefficiency of socialist production; encounters with poverty-stricken or malnourished citizens; knowledge of elite privilege and corruption; and the arrest, imprisonment, and execution of relatives or friends. Repeated exposure to overwhelming evidence of the shortcomings of the system made it impossible for rational beings to convincingly justify the disparity between reality and socialist promises and produced a cognitive dissonance so great as to move many individuals from a stance of unquestioning loyalty to much more critical postures. These new stances ranged from masked moral repugnance to reformism, from private dissent to open dissidence and opposition.

In the conclusion, the author rests a larger theory of the Soviet collapse on this carefully constructed depiction of the process of elite disillusionment. It was not declining economic performance alone that led to the decision to implement reform, Hollander contends. Rather, it was the interaction between objective economic performance and elite disillusionment with the moral failings of the regime which inspired *perestroika*. Once launched, reform progressively unveiled horrors of the past and harsh realities of the present, and thus widened and accelerated the process of disenchantment. Members of the elite who had been only moderately critical moved toward reformism, and reformers were transformed into radicals. This rapid erosion of elite support in the late 1980s, coupled with mass mobilization from below, destroyed the legitimacy of the Soviet order and precipitated its lurch toward destruction.

The central weakness of the study, as with so many other studies of communist and postcommunist politics, is the absence of a developed theoretical framework. As a result, the research does not contribute to the accumulation of scientific knowledge nor does it have direct implications for the major debates in comparative politics.

Nevertheless, the author opens a promising path of inquiry that may lead to theoretical innovation. The emphasis on the role of elite perceptions and evaluations is a refreshing departure from the typical structural, deterministic explanations of communism's demise. Hollander makes a compelling case for including human beings and their experiences in the account of communism's collapse. Moreover, by convincingly connecting political decisions to individual

normative evaluations, Hollander draws attention to the significance of moral cognition, a phenomenon that has been largely neglected in contemporary political science.

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Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower edited by Robert J. Guttman. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001. 267 pp. Paper, \$16.95.

For all that has been written about the European Union—creating a suitable institutional architecture and fostering a sense of being European in the populations of the fifteen member states—there are few publications that collect both the viewpoints of commentators and Europeans themselves. *Europe in the New Century* aims to address this gap in the literature by providing what could be seen as a unique perspective on the future of Europe. Although it could be accused of being simply an exercise in crystal ball gazing, Robert J. Guttman's collection of the opinions of commentators specializing in various areas of the European experience is enlightening and engaging. His concluding chapters comprise visions from selected "typical" Europeans in each of the member states and from leaders in business and government.

The book is divided into four parts. After a brief foreword by Romano Prodi, and an introduction by the editor, the book goes on to cover the areas of politics, foreign policy, the European marketplace, and personal visions. The politics section provides a number of perspectives from Solange Villes's institutional approach to Leif Beck Fallesen's discussion of the redefinition of the nation state. Of particular note is Reginald Dale's chapter on "Differing Views on a United Europe," which describes the search for European unity from an historical and cultural perspective including an interesting view on the role of France in the integration process and its historical precedents in Duc de Sully's seventeenth-century proposal for a Grand Design.

The second part of the volume gives visions of Europe's foreign policy and is interesting for its breadth of coverage. Here we have chapters on Asia, the Middle East and Russia. Chris Patten contributes a broader chapter on the European Union and the world. Part Three gives us our third chapter by Lionel Barber, this time on "The Euro," two chapters by Bruce Barnard, and a vision of job creation by Susan Ladika, who writes, "what works for one country may not work for another because each is shaped by its own history and traditions" (p. 185). This is obvious but worth reiteration nevertheless. If there is a criticism to be made of the volume, it is that the number of contributors could have been greater. Given that the editor has been so careful to provide a wide range of viewpoints in the final section, it is slightly incongruous that not every chapter