bán's governance actually reinforced neoliberalism and produced an idiosyncratic variety. In describing the differences between Fidesz' neoliberalism and the neoliberalism pursued by his predecessors, Fabry argues that by combining some of neoliberalism's central tenets with authoritarian and ethnicist politics, Orbán created what he himself refers to as an 'illiberal democracy'.

Fabry's book, alongside a small but growing body of Marxist, neo-Gramscian, world system theory based social science approaches to the analysis of the political economies of the Central East European countries, makes a much needed contribution to the understanding of the consequences of postsocialist transformation. Although written to academic standards, it is not only the scholar who will benefit from this book. Its accessibility in terms of language, clarity, and length makes it a good choice for readers also outside academia who seek to understand the contradictory political and economic landscape of Hungary, as well as the other countries that once constituted the 'Eastern bloc'.

András Juhász (Novi Sad)

Novak Bjelić, *Kazivanja o Trepči*, 1303-2018, Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2019. 269 pp., ISBN 978-8-651-92375-6, RSD 1,870

The dispute between Belgrade and Pristina over northern Kosovo is still acute. This part of Kosovo, which is predominantly populated by Serbs, is one of the central issues in the process of normalization between the two parties in the conflict. Given Kosovo's mineral wealth, the Trepča industrial complex, situated in the northern Kosovar town of Mitrovica,

is one matter of dispute in the protracted process of reconciliation.

A number of works about the importance of the Trepča industrial complex for the Kosovo region have already been published in both the Serbian and the Albanian language. Most of these publications focus on the question of ownership of the plant, which, similar to the town of Kosovska Mitrovica, was de facto divided into a Serbian and Albanian part in 1999. The recently published book *Kazivanja o Trepči* (Tales of Trepča) by Novak Bjelić is no exception to this and follows a similar approach to the other publications on the subject. In fact, the book can be read as an example of the modern Serbian political idea about Kosovo, which has not changed over the past 30 years and consists of preserving Serbian sovereignty over the region. Despite the political changes of the last decade and the beginning of a direct dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, this idea continues to dominate in Serbian society and politics.

Novak Bjelić was CEO of the Trepča industrial complex from 1995 to 2000. In his book, he attempts to prove an injustice. After the arrival of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) in June 1999, Bjelić came into conflict with the interim government of Kosovo and the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) over the future status of the mining complex. Despite the support of the Serb population of northern Kosovo, which staged multi-day demonstrations from 14 August 2000, Bjelić was detained by the KFOR military units. After three hours in detention, he was deported to Serbia without further ado.

Although the title indicates chronological coverage of seven centuries, from 1303 to 2018, apart from briefly discussing the historical significance of Trepča for Serbia, Bjelić says very little about the history

of the region. The main part of the book is dedicated to the period from 1987 to 2000, when Slobodan Milošević was at the zenith of power. According to the author, during this period an attempt was made to improve the situation around the Trepča industrial complex, which had been in a state of protracted crisis throughout the 1980s. In an appendix, Bjelić assembles various documents and tables to prove his assumptions. The accuracy of the data he provides cannot be verified because archival materials in Serbia covering the period from the end of the 1980s are currently not available for research use. This means that readers can only accept Bjelić's claims at face value. Something that does deserve attention, however, is his description of the links between the Trepča industrial complex and its foreign partners in the 1990s. For example, he quite clearly describes Trepča's warm relations with Greek companies, which confirms the thesis, also presented in other publications, about the special interest of Greece in Yugoslavia under Milošević.

The book mostly comprises the author's memories of his work at the Trepča industrial complex. Overall, the publication is not particularly informative, however. This is especially true when it comes to the role of Albanians in the development of the Trepča mine. In fact, the author claims that it was only the Serbs who played an important role in this process. In reference to the time before the Second World War, this claim may sound more or less convincing. In terms of Tito's regime after 1945, however, which Bjelić covers only in general terms, this picture ceases to correspond to reality. During the socialist period, the Trepča industrial complex employed educated Albanian-speaking scientific and managerial personnel, who were also engaged in the publication of studies on geology and mineralo-

gy, and more generally provided practical guidance for the mining enterprises of the region. For example, one of the most eminent Kosovo Albanian mineralogists, Minir Dushi, was closely associated with the Trepča industrial complex. Yet, Bjelić still fails to mention Dushi's monograph, published in 2006, on both his research and the work of his colleagues.¹

That said, the reader does gain an insight into the relationships within the Serbian political elite at the end of 1980s and during the 1990s, as Bjelić describes their trusting relationship with Slobodan Milošević and other leaders of the Socialist Party. He mentions numerous formal meetings, gift exchanges, and regular conversations. Also, it is no secret that, for the Serbian leadership, Bjelić was one of the key figures when it came to upholding their interests in the region. For his loyalty, the author received the support of the government in managing the Trepča industrial complex.

Despite all of the reservations mentioned above, I still recommend this book. It does provide some interesting facts about the events in and around Trepča in the late 1980s and 1990s. The book is also interesting as a reflection of the current Serbian political position on Kosovo. Bjelić's analysis may in fact even help to overcome prevailing differences over the future status of the region.

Mihail Ceropita (Prague)

¹ Minir Dushi, *Veprimtaria shkencore në 'Trepçë' (1950-1989)* [Scientific activities in Trepça], Pristina 2006.