

BOOK REVIEW

CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Antheros Publishing House, Iași, Romania, 1998

„*Concepts and Methodology in the Study of International Relations*” contains studies of Romanian historians and politicians, which were presented at the Symposium - 15-16 May, Iași, (Romania). Academically Foundation „Petre Andrei” and the Center for the Study of International Relations, Iași organized it. The book is structured in three parts.

The first one called „Romania at the Gates of the west” contains actual problems like Romania and European Union from hopes to reality, Economic Consequences - The Treaty Romania-Ukraine, Nationalism and Regional Security and also an historical matter about Romanian relations with the Occident and the Great Powers. The study concerning „*Romania and European Union from Hopes to Reality*”, by Senator **Gh. Prisăcaru**, shows the main objectives of European Union after the Cold War: strengthening the Union and preparing it enlargement. The author made a synthetic analyze of the Romanian assets to the accession for E.U. and the following steps. It could be much useful if the analyze shows the difficulties of the Romania specially the temps of the adoption of the Community legislation.

„*Romania-Ukraine Treaty - Economic Consequences*”, a study presented by Senator **Varujan Vosganian** is an interesting analysis. The implementation of treaty’s stipulation would provide the condition to build a transborder Romanian economic zone - a further step to the achievement of the national ideal. Ratification would enable the reopening of the Romanian position issue in the frame of the international flows. The Romanian authorities have some responsibilities for the treaty to be an opportunity: to assume the Moldova Economic Relaunching Program as a component of the Governmental Program. It also include the measures following the application of the Government Resolution no. 1007/1996 regarding some special programs in order to support social-economic development of the Botosani, Giurgiu and Vaslui counties; to support Free Economic Zones; to build a common Romanian economic area, which means a cooperation between Romania and Moldavia Republic. The consolidation of the Euro-regions in this part of Europe represents a support further to maintaining of the national ideas. The ultimate purpose will be a trilateral agreement Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova. Another responsibilities for the Romanian authorities are: to ratify the European transborder cooperation Convention and the Local autonomy European Cart; to amend Local Public Administration Law no. 69/1991 in order to delegate more powers to the local authorities to decide to participate the European structures; the setting up of the Chamber of Commerce Romania - Republic of Moldova with branches in all of the Moldavia Region counties and between the similar institutions of the capital market. Romania has to pay, said the author, a special attention to this kind of cooperation as a comprehensive economic strategy. Therefore, the international economic relation gets a particular feature, and Romania is the one to make the first step towards the development of the cooperation both with Ukraine and Republic of Moldova.

Lucian Dirdală from **European Institute**, Iași, wrote about „*Image reversed of the European accession. A comparative analysis of referenda from Norway, Sweden and Finland*”. The author presents that European integration provides opportunities for investigation of certain connections between international and domestic politics. An integration policy generates a volatile pattern of coalitions within the domestic political system, which influences the process of policy ratification by

the domestic's constituency. Sometimes, comparative analysis may be used for the purpose of explaining the structure and dynamics of these coalitions, as well as the actual outcome of the debate. The case of the Nordic referenda (1994) for accession in the EU offers all these theoretical benefits. Anchored in the pluralist paradigm, the present investigation of the „second image reversed" concludes that the outcomes (ratification for Finland and Sweden, non-ratification for Norway) were largely influenced by the actual mechanisms of „second image" creation: regime type, strength and homogeneity of Executives, party abilities for bargaining with organized interests, party abilities for inner bargaining in order to gather grass-roots support for the official line.

In the second part of the book, „Theory of International Relations", we can find different studies from geopolitics and of conflict history, the theory cultural and religious factors in international relations and the end of the Cold-War.

Prof. Ph. D. *Constantin Hlihor* from the **High Military Studies Academy**, Bucharest, presents „*Geopolitics and History analysis in the Phenomenon's*". The politicians, annalists and in the last time the public opinion, said the author, face up a wide range of items and questions which possible answers cannot be included in a classic paradigms of analyses. The answer can be find in history, economy, sociology and politology. For a long time, the general perception was that the foundation for understanding the complexity of conflicts and political-military crises occurred at a specific time, is given only by the analysis of the economic element and political relation, as well. The profound changes all over the world demonstrated that the nation behavior is governed by some other reasons quite different from the classical ones: economical benefits and new resources territories. In the recent years geopolitical is increasingly returning in the field of social-political analysis even if there is an extreme contradiction in terms and confusions sometimes when concept and the analysis techniques for geopolitics are defined. The combination of analysis techniques specifically to history and geopolitical domains studying the power balance and interests that nations have got in some geographical areas, allows the development of the scenarios aiming at foreseeing the evolution of international relations on long or medium term.

Silviu Jora from the **Black Sea University Foundation. Conflict Prevention Center**, Bucharest, presented the study „*Elements of theory and practice in conflict prevention*". The study aims to present aspects on the conflict theory, focusing on the chronological presentation of several major thinkers and schools of thought. The study shows aspects of the doctrine of the „right war"; „the beginners of the Real-politik as are Machiavelli, Hobes and Bacon and the theoretical transformations after the Westphalian Treaty with the conception of limited war". The XIX century has witnessed a great concentration of theories from reiteration of the Machiavelli's realism and the theories of the „hard thinkers" as are Hegel, Nietzsche and Treitzsche up to the „Social Darwinist" School of the „fittest survival" Carl Von Clawsewitz has a particular place expiring the concept of „Absolute war" the war being „just a continuation of but with other politics means". At the beginning of the XX-th century the theories of Arthur de Gobineau, Giovanni Gentile and Benito Mussolini exalting the role of force and conflictuality for the social progress. The second half of our century witnessed the creation of an institutional framework for the management and prevention of the intern and international conflictuality which has to be improved facing the XXI-st century challenges.

Constantin Buchet from the **Institute for International Relations Studies**, Bucharest, presents the study „*Cultural-religious factor in Contemporary International Relations*". Religion can be an important factor which ordonanting the world security and the elimination of the risk's factor in the Contemporary International Relations. The danger of the religious war has little operability in the relationships between the nationstates and the cultural blocks. The place of religions in the International Relations has resurrected on old controversy in the study of international affairs: the relationship between „microcosmic" and „macrocosmic" processes. The conflicts proceeded on cultural-religious aspects and idealization of these features doesn't characterize the international

relations in Post Cold War, remarks the author. The evolution of international relations towards cooperation, competitively but not necessary conflict and confrontation.

The third part of the book is called „The History of International Relations". The studies reflect problems like Romanians and Europe in 17-th and 18-th centuries, Romanian diplomacy in 19-th century, relations between Romania and Germany, the Romania and Hungary, Romania at the Peace Conference in 1946 etc.

Mihai Macuc from the *Review of Military History* (Bucharest) presents a study about „*Some aspects of the Oriental Problem in 19-th Century. The right of intervention in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire*". During 19-th century international relations knew substantial changes. In the Ottoman Empire existed a distinct difference between the Muslim and the Christian subjects; this particular state of facts offered, step by step, multifarious pretexts to the European Great powers to intervene as protectors of different Christian communities of persons. Europe interfered with the internal affairs of the Porte, in the field of religious matters, much more than in those concerning juridical questions. The concessions made by the sultans on various occasions were for the Ottoman Empire - in the terms of international Law - a clear case of *diminutio majestatis*, thus affecting its sovereignty. The European diplomats took advantage of this special situation for legitimating the right of intervention of the Great powers. The author remarks that despites the efforts carried out for the modernization of the Porte from inside, its independence was relative. Also the European Great powers promoted a policy of interference in confessional, administrative, economic and military domains.

Dan Lazăr from *Iasi University* „*Al. I. Cuza*" made an incursion in the „Common diplomatic actions Romanian-Yugoslavs in 1919-1929". The author wanted to reconstruct, as much as the documents and the historical literature allow it, one of the most interesting segments of the diplomatic universe in the South-East Europe after WWI; this is about the relationships between two states in favor of Paris-Versailles Peace System. Insisting also upon the great tensions that characterized the beginning of these relations caused by the different controversies on Banat region, the author pointed out the main diplomatic actions of the two states.

Trașcă Ottomar from *History Institute*, Cluj, presents „*Romania and the German Military Plans - Maritza*". The study deals with Romanian-German military relations, military the part of Romania among German operations „Maritza" (invading Yugoslavia and „Barbarosa" - invading the Soviet Union. The defeat of the Italian offensive against Greece had created a new situation for the German war strategy in the South-East Europe. Owing to the defender that the British government had promised to Greece, Germany was obliged to prepare a military operation with a view to conquering Greece and removing the British influence from this country. Romania becoming the base of launching the operation made Berlin, besides the German military mission, in Romania, to send several contingents of troops in Romania. These had passed Bulgaria in order to take part to the invasion of Greece and Yugoslavia. Romania didn't take part of the attack against Yugoslavia and Greece, its parts being that of a „protective shield" against Soviet Union's threat.

The author shows that concerning the part of Romania in the projected invasion of the Soviet Union („Barbarosa" operation), the Romanian army was to be the southern flank of the German strategically disposition. With that end of view the Romanian army was mobilized to benefit by the „training" of some directions by German trainers as well as by the German army's contribution that was to help the Romanian troops in the operations including the liberation of Basarabia and the North Bucovina. The part of Romania and of the Romanian army in the projected operation was established during the direct meeting between Hitler and Antonescu (11-12-th June 1941). The breaking out of the Soviet-German war found the Romanian army beside the German one with a view to „destroying Bolshevism".

Prof. ph. d. *Gh. Buzatu* from *The Center of European History and Culture*, Iasi, wrote „*The first „balance sheet” of Romania’s participation in the Peace Conference - 1946*”. About Romania and this conference Romanian and foreign specialists made some investigations, among them Gh. Buzatu. There were published also a rich memorialistic literature and a lot of documents discovered in the archives from the chanceries of Washington, Paris, London and Bucharest. Based on these documents (see *Romania in the anticamera of the Peace Conference of Paris: Documents*, Bucharest, 1996) and on some unpublished materials investigated in Romania’s Foreign Ministry and the Hoover Foundation of the Stanford University (U.S.A.), Gh. Buzatu presents the problems in connection with so-called „first analyses” of Romanian participation in 1946 in Paris, as: the planning of the 1946-1947 peace treaties during WW II; the preparation of the Peace Conference and the place of Romanian question at the council of the ministries of Foreign Affairs from USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France (London, September 1945; Moscow, December 1945; Paris April-June 1946); the opening of the Peace Conference and the role of the Romanian Delegation headed by Gh. Tatarescu in the Political and Territorial, Economic and Military commissions; completion of the Peace Treaty draft and, the signing of the Peace Treaty (february 1947). All these problems were analyzed by the diplomats Eugen Filotti and Ion Christu in Bucharest, „behind the scenes” at the Romanian Foreign Ministry immediately after the Paris Conference (December 1946 - January 1947). The conclusions regarding the treatment of Romania in Paris and the conditions established in the draft of the Peace treaty were pessimistic, Romania was treated as an object of the world politics by all the Great Powers of the moment.

Concepts and Methodology in the Study of International Relations was coordinated by prof. ph. d. *Mihai Timofte*. The book is a contribution of the Romanian historians to the study of international relations, the place and the role of Romania in different periods of time. Almost eleven studies reflects the actual problematic of the theory and the practice of international relations and politics. It will be more useful (for the next Symposium and the future published contribution) for the Romanian and foreign historians if will find much more contributions about the actual issues of international affairs and the present interpretations, analysis of the Romanian foreign policy and others countries, the multilateral and regional diplomacy.

Diana Fotescu

Gh. Iacob, INTRODUCERE ÎN DIPLOMATIE (INTRODUCTION TO DIPLOMACY). Editura Fundației „Axia” Colecția Universitară Nr. 8, Iași, 1998, 343 pp., ISBN 973-96653-8-1

For a long time the need has been felt for a comprehensive book dedicated to diplomacy, an essential and useful tool for those involved in the study of this specific field. For this reason this new book of Gh. Iacob is to be greeted with satisfaction. The author is a well known specialist in the study of modern and contemporary history delivering his courses at „Al. I. Cuza” University in Iasi and doing his research in various places in Romania and abroad. This is mainly the reason why, this book is dedicated especially to his postgraduate students attending his classes and to those which are at the beginning of their studies concerning diplomacy. As the author already promised a textbook covering the same subject will be published soon in order to complete his work.

„Introduction to Diplomacy” as the title already disclosed is a book concerned with the main diplomatic documents which historically established the framework of the diplomatic relations, with the diplomatic terminology and rules and with the etiquette and protocol in different western cancellaries. In his short *Foreword* Gh. Iacob presented his intentions concluding that this book is a

necessary step in order to understand the basics of diplomacy for every beginner in this field. The first chapter of „Introduction ..." deals with „Old" and „New" *Diplomacy* and in fact it is a long essay (pp. -59) which is destined to prepare the reader which follows. In this part the author build arguments in order to prove how diplomacy evolved and was conducted during the last centuries. Furthermore a big part of the specific terminology is explained and made accessible for the students. This chapter is in fact the hard core of the author's contribution to the field. The second chapter of the book is titled *The Political an Judicial Legal Framework of Diplomatic Activity* and represents a useful reader for the students in diplomacy. Various documents starting with the regulations concerning the diplomatic agents signed at Vienna in 1815 and up to the Chart ratified by the General Assembly of UN in December 1974 represents the bulk of this long chapter (pp. 61-177). The chosen documents are representative for the field and the author made a mindful selection. The third chapter of the book, *Diplomatic Vocabulary* (pp. 178-211) is a useful tool in order to understand the field's lingo, as well as the next one *Diplomatic Protocol* (pp. 211-277) which is concerned with the etiquette and diplomatic rules and regulations. The last chapter of the book titled „*Everyday*" *Diplomacy* is a very interesting and original attempt to bring down diplomacy, to made it comprehensible for the average educated man by describing various personal experiences of different people travelling abroad or foreigners visiting our country. A short selected bibliography of 35 titles represent the last part of this book.

Of course, as it is easy to observe from the very structure of this book, *Introduction* " represents a useful tool for the students, having naturally the limits of such an attempt. We do not deal in this case with a highly academic work but with a simple and comprehensible introduction in this domain. Few on the shortcomings of the present book are obvious: the book is more a reader than a „scientific" organised work; the didactic vocation of this work „covered" sometime real interesting topics in the field; the author is „shy" in presenting his original thoughts and ideas about diplomacy etc. Maybe a book like this need not a selected bibliography but on the contrary a very extended one and for sure an index. All in all, the book is highly recommended for anyone interested in diplomacy and its publication is to be welcomed.

Cătălin Turliuc

WORLD POLITICS: TREND AND TRANSFORMATION by Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugène R. Wittkopf, Sixth Edition, St. Martin, Press, New York, 1997

Understanding the rapid changes of twentieth century politics, especially since World War II, poses an enormous challenge to students, scholars, and policymakers alike. Without the Cold War to frame an inquiry and understanding, there is little agreement about which dimensions of world politics will be the most important in the coming century. This uncertainty necessitates the need to critically examine the theoretical underpinnings of our knowledge, asking not only what on new but also how we know what we know about the forces of change and continuity in the world around us.

This is the purpose of the authors in *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. By comprehensively covering theory and evidence, they inform our understanding of relations among global actors, the historical development and issues that underlie them, and the ways in which trends currently unfolding are shaping the global future.

In the sixth edition of *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* the authors attempt to keep pace with the dramatic march of events and the evolution of concepts and theories that help us make sense of international relations.

Part I explains the macro, or holistic, view that frames the book's analyses. Kegley and Wittkopf focused on contending analytic perspectives that scholars and policymakers have developed to comprehend the trend and transformations occurring in world politics. These theoretical traditions are drawn upon throughout the book to clarify and enhance an understanding of contemporary world politics.

In part II the two authors investigate the principal actors on the world stage. Because states command particular attention, they explore their foreign policy decision making processes. Great-power rivalries, as played out in the global conflicts of the twentieth century, are emphasized in this section, as is an expanded focus on the Global South and the roots and consequences of global inequalities.

The authors examine the role that nonstate actors-international organizations, ethnonational groups, religious movements, terrorists, and multinational corporations-play in influencing contemporary world politics, and the ways in which the international environment, in turn, shapes their character.

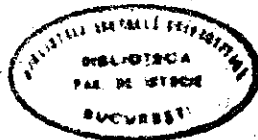
Part III analyzes issues related to material welfare. States positions in the world political economy are given special attention. The impact of the globalization of world political economy and the challenge it poses to states autonomy, how the dynamics of demographic change now sweeping the world affect international politics, and the challengers posed by pressures on the global environment are also examined.

Part IV examines issues related to peace and security. Threats caused by recent trends in armed conflicts within and between states, factors spurring preparations for national defense, and the exercise of coercive diplomacy are just some issues covered. These are the types of concerns that have traditionally occupied center stage in analyze of world politics. Despite the end of the Cold War, they still command attention in a world rife with civil wars and the proliferation of weapons.

In the last part, the fifth, the authors conclude with a discussion of how underlying trajectories in world politics might influence future trends. They discuss how today's world will affect the world of tomorrow and the impact that today's trends will exert on the policy problems and issues that today's student - the policymakers and citizens of tomorrow - will face in the twenty-first century.

With this sixth edition, Kegley and Wittkopf's *World Politics* illuminates and illustrates the changing face of world politics in dynamic full color. The analyze is also based on the understanding of the supremacy of the U.S. vital interest in a strategic environment.

Reading this book is possible to find answers to some very important questions like: what is the „National Interest“?, Of what value is military power?, Is war between states obsolete?, Can cultural conflict be controlled?, Has the quest for Empire ended?, Who will cope with globalization?, Is „Realism“ still realistic?, Is the World preparing for the wrong war?, Is this the „End of History“?, Is there a reordered global agenda? All of these are very hot issues of today's world. The authors provide useful tools to answer these questions using the trinity means-ways-ends. By emphasizing the two ways towards peace and international recunty (the realist one and the liberal one) the authors bring up the today's world dilemma: *balance of power and military solutions or international organizations and political solutions* which way is the right one, we will see in the future.



Teodor Frunzeti

Tiparul s-a efectuat sub cda 495/1998
la Tipografia Editurii Universității din București
