

## BOOK REVIEW

### IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION\*

The end of the Cold War set the entire world into a process of changes and developments, that did not fit into the pattern of predictability. Economic globalization has made it that, at the outset of this millennium, the economic capitalist system will work on other bases and at a different level. The accelerated trade exchanges, the interconnected markets, the power gained by multinational companies and the unprecedented mobility of the financial capital narrow down a country's capacity to control its own production of assets and their distribution. International relations are under a crossfire of tensions that are hard to decipher. The nation state that came into being as the outcome of the developments within the European societies and as a solution to the challenges of the modern age, sees today its own sovereignty restrained *de facto* by the economic agents for which territorial borders have lost their significance. The process of European integration follows the same trend.

Therefore, under the pressure of these contexts, the historical, social and political sciences have a new agenda today. Globalisation and the reshaping of political structures, supranational integrations and regional tendencies to fragment national spaces, interstatal cooperations, the changing of spiritual identity under the impact of mediatic aggressions and consumption culture, multiculturalism and postmodern hybridization of the way of thinking, are just a few of the most disputed themes in the contemporary intellectual environment.

Moreover, the interest in the analyses on the developments and trends of the societies at local, regional or global level, has generalized today and it doesn't belong only to the cultural and political elites as it was in the past. What will it happen in the European area? – here is a question with a major geopolitical scope. Will the integration logic defeat the differential logic? Will the European Union be configured as the federal superstate or as an association of national states? Will Europe keep in tomorrow's world the avant-garde position that it has had in the modern epoch? What are the effects of the process of globalization, including the indirect and "perverse" ones? Do they standardize the world or do they deepen the disparity between the states, do they attenuate or do they stimulate the interest in the cultural identities? Many theoreticians are exercising their analytical force upon such themes, promoting various approaches, diagnoses and previsions.

The publication of a book that frontally deals with this problematical complex represents an editorial event in the Romanian scientific and cultural world. It's the book entitled: *Identity and Integration. From Disjunction to Conjunction* by Professor and Researcher Grigore Georgiu.<sup>1</sup> I specify, from the beginning, that the reader is before a reference work, with a systematic construction, the outcome of the author's long-standing research and theoretical meditation. The work imposes itself both through the topicalness of the issues approached and through its theoretical standard, through the problematization level and through fertile interrogations that find expression. The book is also a sharp retort to the random "theoretical products" which, unfortunately are flooding today the mediatic market. At the other antipode the author shows a particular concern for the conceptualization and methodology used in the analyses of the politic and cultural phenomena, and the critical approach is present in the studies dedicated to the evolution of the Romanian society, either about the historical dimensions or the post communist period. This assumed rigour allows the author to point out what many other analysts cannot see, and especially cannot explain: it is about the discrepancy between the "real history" and the

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<sup>1</sup> Author: Grigore Georgiu; The book is published under the aegis of the Romanian Academy, at the Social Theory Institute Press, Bucharest, 2001, 274 pages.

interpretation role, which many theoreticians are applying to this history. The author's warning is concerned about the fact that, through its long-lasting geopolitical implications, "the European integration is one of the most important historical processes nowadays. It has to be approached in its own complexity from combined interdisciplinary perspectives, which is a difficult matter because the social and the political thinking are facing a new problematic field and there is a risk to apply schemes of over fulfilled interpretations on this one (page 20).

Although it is very difficult and risky to propose hierarchizations in the structure of a book with such density of ideas, I consider that the epicenter of the analyses undertaken by Grigore Georgiu is represented by the rapport: national identity/European integration (where the theme concerning the evolution of the national state in the postmodern world is also included) and the necessity or the reconstruction of the Romanian culture self consciousness. This appreciation starts from two premises: first of all, the Romanian elite is today in a dispute of ideas regarding our integration in the European structures, a process that also involves a severe comparative examination, through which we rediscover the accumulated disparities, internal weaknesses, geopolitical vulnerabilities and the unfavorable external image. Secondly, for the Romanians, the identity and the integration issues are aspects intimately conjugated and intense problematized including the political level.

They must be considered from a historical perspective, because, as the author says "the ratio between identity and integration was, in fact, the main theme of our modern way of thinking, from Cantemir to Noica". The integration imperatives are feeding today the process of self-evaluation and reconstruction of the Romanian culture self-consciousness.

A fine analyst of historical challenges which have fundamentally modified the geopolitical configuration of different geographic regions and especially of Europe, Grigore Georgiu makes a real *tour de force* to decipher the meaning of some contradictory tendencies from contemporary world. He considers that we witness two simultaneous processes, one of increasing the interdependence between societies and cultures (expressed by the globalization of the commercial markets and the expansion of new ways of communications), on the one hand, and one of rebirth of the interest in the local ethnic and national identities, on the other hand.

The author takes into review the ideas and analyses of some famous authors (such as M. Duverger, P. Drucker, R. Reich, S. Huntington etc.) which frequently talk about the suitability of the civilization structures to the local conditions, even about the "indigenization" of development projects of the societies. The work does not avoid the uncomfortable questions concerning "civilization conflict" from the globalization world and gives clear answers when the national identity issue is tackled or the issues on the structural model for the future Europe. The stake of discussions on national identities space is made by one of the specific cultures in the integration process. The author organizes the analytical approach to demonstrate that many of these representations regarding the relations between cultural identities and the process of European integration operates with a "disjunctive paradigm", through which both aspects are in opposition relation. This fact is seen in the publicist confrontations in our country on this theme. Concerned about the "logic model" through which we can interpret the process of integration, about thrilling debates concerning "the variable geometry" of Europe's integrating structures, the author identifies in the new political views and in some searching of contemporary thinking "a mutation of paradigms" a displacement of conceptions to a "conjunctive paradigm" which allows us to understand in a more adequate way the dynamic and complex conjunctions between unity and diversity in today's world.

Therefore, through his moderate and realistic point of view, Grigore Georgiu distances himself both from the trends of prointegration radical supporters who consider that "the European integration would be incompatible with the national idea and with the national values promotion", and from that one of the tight nationalism and anti-Western trend which, by joining the euroatlantic structures, sees a loss of identities and cultural matrix. "The two extreme positions –

says the author – are fed by two utopias, as aggressive in the theoretical register as in the community mindframe. The first has its support in the recent ultra-liberal ideology of globalizations (ideologies which took back from the Marxists the utopia that humankind moves toward unified, homogeneous and linear structures under the pressure of some free forces of the market and of the new means of communications, and the second is an inappropriate reaction and as utopic in this historical tendencies which can be appreciated as being anti-national just from a perspective that has been exceeded by real history”.

Accepting the idea that history repeats itself “but at other dimensions and in other forms” and being convinced that today, the Romanian culture “needs to rebuilt its self-consciousness,” a new review of the trends of ideas which marked the transition period of the Romanian society to modernity. Grigore Georgiu undertakes a thorough analysis on “a doctrine of conjunction between national and European – i.e. the poporanism”.<sup>2</sup>

The study of the poporanist doctrine, one of the most debated from the modern Romanian culture, is inscribed organically in the author’s project, the one that demonstrates that our representative personalities conceived the development of the country in close connection with the European space of civilisation. The author essentially describes the content of the poporanistic doctrine and equally points out the contribution of a great political thinker and man of culture, Constantin Stere, who founded the trend. The authors’s merit consists in the fact that, making a spiritual archeology work, suggests another interpretation perspective on poporanism, the one which restores the authentic meanings of the trend which influenced profoundly the Romanian political thinking in the first half of the 20th century. With the special analytical force, the author manages to displace a series of wrong interpretations and etiquettes about poporanism, marked by an obvious ideological partisanship, etiquettes perpetuated until today. Against standard interpretations, the author proves that the representatives of cultural direction from *Viața Românească* (*The Romanian Life*) Magazine – Constantin Stere, G. Ibraileanu and then M. Ralea – worked with a doctrine of conjunction between national and European and not one of disjunction. “Starting to be good Europeans, says Mihai Ralea, we will end to be good Romanians. The conclusion? Romanianism is learned through Europeanism” (p. 157)

Fairly, Grigore Georgiu appreciated that “reconsideration of this trend is an urgent task of the active generation from today’s Romanian culture”, because in its essential problematic we meet ideas an attitudes which can be reactualized to better understand “the challenges to which the Romanian post communism society has to answer in its period of transition, transition that means on the other level, of course, a resumption of the modernization process, interrupted or deviated, anyhow, unconsummated, uncompleted” (p.58). Studying carefully and analyzing critically the ideatic substance of some trends of ideas from the period of transition to modernity, Grigore Georgiu draws the conclusion that “one can find very expressive similitudes between the present opening towards western metropolis and that one from a century and a half ago”. Extremely interesting is the use of the distinctions made by Samuel Huntington between “modernization” and “westernizing”, to see in a new light the concern of the poporanists about looking for a proper way of modernization, of blending the national spirit and the critical one, an acute problem for the delayed societies and the one which desire to synchronize with western Europe model.

In the end, we point out the fact that the author anticipates a model of European integration in which the monetary unification, the coordination of economic programs, the common external politics and the existence of some political community institutions will not necessarily lead to the attenuation of national identities, but to their redefinition in the new polycentric environment.

<sup>2</sup> Poporanism (popor = people) was an early 20<sup>th</sup>c. reform-minded democratic current, which strived to set in place political democratic reforms (such as: the universal suffrage, a.o.); however, from an economic viewpoint, it considered that Romania should preponderantly rely on its agricultural potential. It fiercely opposed the implementation of Marxism in Romania.

There is the wider point of view conveyed nowadays. Thus, the analyst Barry Buzan,<sup>3</sup> pointed out the fact that, for growing up a state-like political construction, there must exist a physical base, institutions and an organising ideology. However, we can see that EU has a physical base – the Schengen space –, has political institutions and the Euro currency, but “it lacks that symbolic patrimony through which the nations knew how to propose to individuals a collective interest, a fraternity, a protection”.<sup>4</sup> In this context, it is not surprising at all the fact that the ideas and conclusions drawn by Grigore Georgiu are in harmony with the theses asserted by one of the main artisan of European construction: Hans Dietrich Genscher. In a recent interview in *Die Welt*, the well-known German political man stated that “there is no such a thing as a European identity. In all that Europe has achieved, each nation contributed in one way or another” and, therefore, in a multipolar world, the confrontation with other cultures should not automatically take place, but “it only has to admit the identity of the others”.<sup>5</sup>

There are just a few of the many valuable ideas included in the book by Grigore Georgiu. At the same time, the book will strongly appeal to the reader interested in the evolution of the European and national idea in the Romanian culture, and a useful and efficient tool for those interested in building up possible models for a quicker integration of the Romanian society in the European civilization ensemble.

*Constantin HLIHOR*

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<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan, ... (in Romanian, *Popoarele, statele și teama*, ediția a doua, București-Chișinău, 2000, p. 274).

<sup>4</sup> Anne - Marie Thièsse, ... (in Romanian, *Crearea identităților naționale în Europa. Secolele XVIII – XX*. Iași, Editura Polirom, 2000, p.12).

<sup>5</sup> Apud, RADOR Press Agency, Year IV, No.67 (1143) of March 8, 2001, p.35.

**“Diplomație în vreme de război. De la Carta Atlanticului la Carta ONU”**, Diplomacy in The Second World War. From the Atlantic Chart to The United Nations Organization Chart

Writing about the foundation of the United Nations Organization is, undoubtedly, a challenging task for at least two reasons. First, the topic was, and still is, subject to ideological debates, and a serious academic effort to understand the diplomatic premises, the historical context and the basic intentions of the “founding fathers” of United Nations has to be immune to contemporary political approaches. In the same time, the need for an objective evaluation of the role and performances of the UN is irresistible and of course, necessary. The question which stands, after more than fifty years of UN history, is at what extent the complex and delicate mechanism built in the years of the Second World War remains appropriate for the problems of to-day’s world. And it is obvious that the answers have to begin with a clear view on the historical moments and figures of the emergence of the United Nations Organization.

Mr. Constantin Buse and Mr. Nicolae Dascalu, prominent figures of the Romanian academic community, assumed this difficult task in their book “Diplomacy in the Second World War. From the Atlantic Chart to United Nations Organization Chart”. This eminently readable book is astounding in being both an engaging and informative account of the historical process of UN creation. The volume is divided into four comprehensive main chapters that each present a clear idea, while maintaining chronological accuracy.

In the first chapter, “From the Atlantic Chart (august 1941) to United Nations Declaration (January 1942)”, the authors are inviting the readers inside the diplomatic laboratories of both major and minor powers, the policy-making mechanism being very accurate described. Thus, one can easily understand the interests and the objectives of the United States foreign policy before and after their engagement in the War, the specific goals of the United Kingdom’s proposals, or the problems raised by Soviet Union, France, China or India.

Basically, the authors stressed the idea that the efforts to reach a diplomatic agreement, firstly between Great Britain and US and afterwards with a larger international dimension, in fact give birth to the basic principles for postwar international cooperation and security. From this point of view, the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Declaration, carefully unraveled by the authors, stands at the very beginning of the creation of an international security organization. Or, how the authors put it “ [...] for the birth of the United Nations Organization, the years 1941 – 1942 meant a stage of seeking during which were outlined the fundamental ideas and directions. [...] Both basic documents actually built the framework where the postwar issues will be debated and which will constitute the basis for the international security and cooperation structures.”

The second chapter of the book, “The Establishment of the postwar international organization’s bases: 1943, the Moscow Conference (October) and the Teheran Summit (November)”, goes a step forward, taking into account the period between the British initiative called “The United Nations Plan” (January 1943) and the American planning for an international organization devoted to maintain international peace and security issued in December 1943. Given their best, the two authors are fully observing not only the dynamic of United States policy making, from individuals to the various governmental and non-governmental structures involved in designing the postwar international organization, but also the patterns of British or Soviet views on this issue. Meantime, the Moscow Conference and the Teheran Summit are analyzed in

detail, Mr. Buse and Mr. Dascalu pointing up the different positions of the main actors and the difficult road to consensus.

At the end of this chapter, reviewing the facts, the researchers are proposing a sound interpretation on the diplomatic dimension of the year 1943, emphasizing at least three major elements: 1. "because of the war context, all efforts were aimed to solve the postwar security issue and, basically, the fundamental idea was to maintain at high level the cooperation between the great powers"; 2. "there was a major difference between the American and the British plans for the organization, which was perceived at a global scale by the Americans and more at a regional level by the British counterparts"; 3. "[...] the first successes were seen in the economic field with the convocation of the United Nations Conference for Food and Agriculture and with the emergence of the UNRRA, making clear the importance of the economic issues for the structures of the future international organization".

In the third chapter, "Working out the proposals for the foundation of an international organization: Dumbarton Oaks (August – October 1944)", the authors are focusing their analytical effort on the diplomatic work for the first common project of the future international organization statute, and are concluding with the convocation of the Conference in Dumbarton Oaks in August 1944. With the same chronological accuracy and sound academic demonstration the two authors are going from moments of international diplomacy to domestic confrontation, reconstructing in detail the negotiations held between the great powers, especially those involving United States, Great Britain and Soviet Union, on issues as postwar security, human rights and economics. During this part the specific policy making processes of Foreign Office, State Department, US Congress or White House and Stalin's Kremlin are observed in depth after a very careful analyze of a variety of documents ranging from memoirs to diplomatic papers.

Concluding this chapter, the authors' statement is that "the year 1944 was a decisive moment for the forging process of the United Nations Organization. [...] the Dumbarton Oaks Conference has worked out the first homogenous plan regarding the structures, the functions and the mechanism of the future international organization. Meanwhile, important steps were made toward creation of dedicate agencies in the economic, social, cultural domains, thus preparing the field for the final stage, the convocation of the Conference for creation of the new international organization".

The fourth chapter, "The foundation of the United Nations Organization: San Francisco (April – June 1945)", is structured in a series of snapshots meant to explain the historical and diplomatic premises of the San Francisco Conference. Thus, one can follow the course of high level diplomacy during events as Malta Meeting between British and American delegations, Yalta's Big Three Conference, Inter-American Conference in Mexico City (February – March 1945) or Washington Conference of juridical experts (April 1945).

Mr. Buse and Mr. Dascalu are focusing, of course, on the San Francisco Conference beginning with the preparations made by the diplomats from United States and Britain and ending with the works of Conference itself. In this part the details are almost overwhelming, but the scientific discourse stands sound and clear. Every issue present in the diplomatic action is acknowledged in its dimensions, from the location, name and languages of future organization to the final adjustments of the United Nations Chart. The authors are taking into account all the discussions on major and minor issues as well, providing the reader with a complex picture of specific goals, negotiations instruments, perceptions, all confronting and interlocking.

The final remarks on the genesis of United Nations Organization that ends the volume consider the key elements, which mark their influence on the aforementioned process. The authors are underlining the impact of previous experience of the Society of Nations, the

confrontation between national and international interests, the constructive contribution made by the minor states. Also, are present in the final conclusion ideas as the influence of public opinion and the decisive role played by the Great Powers.

The research effort made by Professor Buse and his colleague Professor Dascalu is, undoubtedly, a comprehensive and extremely solid academic work and its appeal is provided by its in-depth documentation and literary attractiveness. It contains less of a "thesis" than an analysis of historical events and it presents the process of United Nations founding as an erratic and often contentious one. The biggest contribution this text makes to the burgeoning body of literature on the United Nations is to bring alive the issues that the founding fathers of the UN faced with each successive step toward the final creation.

*Bogdan ANTONIU*

### GEOPOLITICS-HISTORY INTERFERENCE. "HISTORIA, QUO VADIS?"\*

On 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1998 held in Bucharest, the International Conference "Geopolitics-History Interference. *Historia quo vadis?*" This conference represented the sixth scientific event of the kind organized by "Military History Review" within 1994-1998. The participants were university professors, researchers, political and military analysts, generals, active and retired officers and also war veterans. These were representatives of the Universities in Bucharest, Iassy and Craiova, as well as of The Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, Academy of High Military Studies, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of Romanian Academy, Air Force and Air Defence Academies, Naval Academy, EURISC Foundation, all of them from Romania, and also Military History Institutes in Ankara and Bratislava.

The communiqués of the conference were divided within two sections: *Military History Between Tradition Conservatism and Futures Challenges* and *A Possible Way for History: from a Europe of Nations towards the European Community*. The papers presented at the conference were published in a volume coordinated by the commander Gheorghe Vartic, the editorial staff chief of "Military History Review", in the collection "Military History Review" of Military Publishing House from Bucharest, in 1999, under the same title as of the conference: "Geopolitics-History Interference. *Historia, quo vadis?*"

The volume opens with an Argument, signed by the coordinator, in which he specified the aims of the conference and the book, insisting on the fact that "we support the idea that is need to give back and not write again the past, that the historians have to be the savants of truth and not of the transient political power (...). Only in this way the history will fulfill its mission of *magistra vitae* (...). The change of opinions between historians and political analysis facilitate the finding of the answer at obsessed question *Historia, quo vadis?*". The coordinator of the volume ended his argumentation in a optimistic view, saying that: "history demonstrated that our country was, is and can be a powerful factor, generator of stability in Central and South-East Europe".

As we know, the scientific debates of the historians and military analysts, indifferently if there are internal or international character, are developed in a restrict background, between specialists, and that is the reason why there mediates is restricted. The main merit of this volume is exactly of the papers of this conference, through offering the participants opinions to the attention of a large public, who want to know new points of view concerning the international historical realities of the present. These opinions are so such interest as there are representing the

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\* Edition coordinated by comandor Gheorghe VARTIC, Bucharest, Edited by Military Publishing House [1999].

points of view of the best specialists in military specialists help to identify necessary solutions for residing the conflict and crises situations, that can appear in a certain moment.

After the introductory parte, the volume presents the open speeches of the conference offered by the state secretary, the chief of the Department for Defense Policy, his deputy and the Director of the Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History (colonel Nicolae Uscoi), the editorial staff chief of Military History Review, the conference host.

The main part of the volume is divided in the parts, according with the two sections of the conference. So, the first section: "The Military History Between Tradition and Futur Challenges" starts and ends with two interesting studies: "Considerations on History and Philosophy of History" (by colonel dr. Costică Prodan) and "Are Dogmatism, Reductionism and Isolationism Evergreen Companions of Military Historiography?" (by Commander <ret> Emilian Munteanu). The second Part "A Possible Way for History: from a Europe at Nations towards European Community" starts with the communique of colonel Prof. Cemalettin Taskiran and Major dr. Kadir Kasalak, "Historical Realities and International Relations" and ends with the communique of Colonel (ret) Florian Gârz "Military Alliances in XXI Century".

Because many of the points of view supported and argued by participants are new it have been useful to publish a tehniçal case and bibliographical card of these, so anyone who is interested in one of the topic has the possibility to get thoroughly into it.

Another merit of the volume is represented by fact that the text is presented in Romanian and English languages. So in this way the text can be read by large number of readers of English language.

Trough the points of view presented, the volume represented a fascinating reading, opening new themes of reflection on the contemporary realities.

*Nicolae VIDENIE*

## **GEOPOLITICS AND HISTORY AT THE CROSSROAD BETWEEN MILLENNIA\***

"Geopolitics and History at the Crossroad Between Millennia" is the result of two scientific reunions that were held in Bucharest, in May 1999: the International Symposium on Military Historiography at the End and the Beginning of a Millenium – Achievements and Perspectives and the Fourth International Colloquy of Military History where a special theme was debated:

"The Development of Political and Military Relations in Central and South – Eastern Europe in the 20'th Century".

Those two scientific reunions were attended by historians representing the research institutes and the commission of national history from Bulgaria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Israel, Holland, Poland, Hungary and Turkey. As representatives of Romania participated both military and civilian historians from Romania Academy, the Universities of Bucharest and Craiova, the Institute of History and European Civilization – Iassy, from Romanian Military Archive and Military Academies, from National Military Museum, The Museum of Romanian Marine and the National Association of Veterans of War.

This volume, coordinated by col. Dr. Alesandru Duțu, col. Dr. Petre Otu and col. Gheorghe Vartic, and published by the Military Publishing House, contains all the documents and presentations made by the invitates. It may be considered a study dedicated to the Central and

\* Edition coordinated by Col. Dr. Alesandru DUȚU, Col. Dr. Petre OTU, Comandor Gheorghe VARTIC, Edited by Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000.



South – Eastern Europe, a part of Europe that had experienced during a century dynamic changes, periods of peace that alternated with confrontation and war. The states of this geographic and geopolitical area, found themselves in the middle of major conflicts – being at the crossroad between the interest of Great Powers – and, also they provided the “facto” cause of the Two World Wars. During the so-called “cold war” some of these countries were protected by western alliances as NATO (Greece, Turkey), others were included in the socialist block – members of Warsaw Pact (Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Republic of Germany, Poland) and others were declared neutral (Austria, Yugoslavia).

History proved that Balkans and the rest of this part of Central and Eastern Europe are one of the most flamed part of Europe, concerning both military and politically point of view. Unfortunately, the latest conflict in Yugoslavia provided such a clear, but terrifiant example!

All the remarkable personalities that this scientific assembly gathered together tried to find new answers, to open new and subtle perspectives and to define and, possibly, make certain some hypotheses concerning the question: “What is the place and what is the role of Central and South – Eastern Europe at the end of this century?”

Answering to this specific question, historians analyzed the political and military relationships starting with the situation of the Balkans on the brink between the 19'th and the 20'th century, involving not only Romania, but also Serbia, Bulgaria and the creation of the first important alliances of this zone at the beginning of the century. There are presented different points of view, coming from both Romanian and Bulgarian documents and archives. There are also overviewed in accurate studies the development of the relations between the Balkan states during difficult and uncertain periods like First World War, the coalitions and the importance of the peace treaties before and after this world conflagration. At the same time, it is taken into discussion the less known aspects of the Romanian and Serbia relation (1918–1919); between Romania and the Hungarian Republic of People's Councils and the establishment of new political and military alliances in Central Europe; the military relations concerning Romania and France in the interwar period (1919 – 1939).

Special studies are dedicated to the Second World War, especially to the policy of alliances that all the states of this area were interested in, in order to consolidate their security and national borders and the effort of Romania's system of treaties for friendship and mutual assistance, may be considered an example. Secondly, there is analyzed the problem of intervention of the Great Powers and how the “Third Reich” included Romania into its expansion's calculation (Univ. Prof. Dr. Hans-Erich Wolkmann).

If we consider the “cold war” as the third world war, once again the Balkans played a dramatic role between the edge of a new precipice. Being situated at the crossroad of the interest of two Great Powers (USA and URSS), being deceived by the peace treaties and the agreements after the Second World War (“Romanian Perceptions on the Dispute Between the East and the West at the Beginning of the Cold War”, by Lt.-col. Dr. Constantin Hlihor), the evolution of the Central and South-Eastern European states during the “cold war” period involved special relations and attitudes (for example “Romania in the Soviet Plans of Agression Against Yugoslavia – 1948-1953”, by Lt.-col. Mircea Chiritoiu, “The End of The ‘Prague Spring’”, by Dr. Adrian Pop).

The end of the “cold war” and of the bipolar relation brought up new perspectives of analyzing the present and the future. Now, it is necessary to re-consider the problems of NATO and EU enlargement versus Balkan's instability, the process of ensuring the security for the states that liberated themselves from the Soviet Block and the issue of the recent NATO presence “out of area” in the conflict of Yugoslavia. One of the conclusion of the Lect. Dr. Valentin Stan is that : “The Balkans represent a very important area in the process of consolidating the Euro – Athlantic security framework. The internal developments within the

Balkan societies indicate a democratic transformation, which is strongly supported by the Western democracies and organizations. Yet, only a few states have the prospects of becoming Western community members. The way they fulfil the qualitative transformation criteria is very relevant for the performance of these Balkan actors in their striving for NATO or EU membership." ("New Alliances in Europe and Balkan Instability" – pag.347).

As we have mentioned at the beginning, this volume is the result of two scientific reunions. That is the reason why, we could have never take into discussion only the political and military relations during the 20'th century in this area of Europe, unless the issue of the evolution of the means of studying history and military theory – methods and concepts – had been approached.

There were presented the contributions to the military historiography from different points of view, Romanian, German, Italian and Israeli, but all of them were related to the history of these states and they represented their own contribution to the world military history.

In the German history, the birth of German military historical writing is dated more than 200 years ago. Since then, the German military history has been preoccupied by the achieving of the "perfection of the art of war" (Scharnhorst) and understanding strategy and tactics in the context of politics, state, economic and army condition. Nevertheless, German military history recognized a great impasse after the Second World War as a result of the total defeat of national – socialist Germany. There was the moment when German military historians had to find new paths and new principles to be passed on. In "Challenges for German Military Historical Research on the verge of the 21'st Century", Col. Fredhelm Klein considers that in the recent years, an incredible phase of awakening has been produced due to a younger generation of historians. The fundamental concepts of "military", "war" and "gender" concerning the Two World Wars are presented as research objects in cultural and mental – historical perspective. A new view for a new approach: "the relationship of war and genocide in the social and cultural – historical perspective and the experience of the individual mental dimensions of war."

Also, "In the 50 Years of Existence of the State of Israel" the concept of "war" has a very thorny significance as it has been used as synonymous with "history" since the very day of birth of the new state of Israel (November. 1947). Prof. Dr. J.L. Wallach presents the development of Israel and its changing and unsecured relations with the Arab World. He underlines that Israeli history, especially the military one, has different meanings in comparison with others military histories, due to the conditions and causes that influenced the military and political actions of Israel. A study "Struggle for Israel's Security" edited and published by Israel Society for Military History is most concerned on the security matters and every chapter deals with a particular war between Israel and the Arab World. Also, Col. Benny Michelsohn shows in his presentation the new research methods in the military field: photo interpretation and monitoring the communication nets, as the most recent methods learnt from Yom Kippur War (1973), Peace for Gallilee War (1982) and Golf War.

One of the great achievements of Romanian military historiography is the "Military History of Romanian People" treaties – a "scientific scrutiny over the Romanian military phenomenon throughout the centuries" ( Col. Dr. Aurel Pentelescu), an impressive work of research sustained by historians from all over the country, by publishing not only these treaties but other studies of great value and significance for Romanian people and for the world history, too.

Concerning Romanian Military historiography of the 90's, Lt.-col., Dr. Mircea Dogaru's opinion is that "the field of history research should reveal sine ira et studio the image of the past offering also, on the basis of the experiences of humanity, solutions for the present." Mircea Dogaru expresses the general opinion of the Romanian historians that the moment of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989 was, on one hand, a moment of relief, a new beginning and, on the other hand, it represented a crossroad for the Romanian military history towards new directions of research: re-analyzing the military phenomenon, covering the "black holes" of

national history, opening for pluridisciplinary research and universality. Though there have been some difficulties for the Romanian military historians, the work of research in this field continued by individual efforts of great personalities whose work results consists in over 200 volumes of documents, memories, studies and monographs. All of these may confirm the value of a new kind of specialists formed during the 9'th decade of the century.

The conclusion is that military history can never lose its increasing attractiveness and its universality. Knowing that the 20 'th century was one of war, from this perspective, military history has a special importance with the preoccupation of the dark side of men, too.

At the crossroad between Millennia, a rethoric question has been often asked: "Historia quo vadis?". This volume, piece by piece, has gathered many answers. It is the choice of the reader to find its own answer and it was the effort of the historians to present "de facto" or the realistic clues.

*Ileana ZAMFIRESCU*

### IMAGE MANAGEMENT IN THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS\*

The issue information control and, through this, of the image on the individual, the organization, the state, has always existed in an empirical way, and efforts have been made to place the evolution of the others in the positive range. In their turn, those who encountered difficulty in forming a vision as close to reality as possible, tried to get beyond that image. The significance of image has gained spectacular dimensions in the technological era, due to the ever more complex means of creating the image, including, maintaining, manipulating, denying it and so on. This is because it is on the very vector, which shapes the image and renders value to, it that the succes of certain actions depends, from the most common ones, such as the launching and maintaining a product on the market, to action related to credibility of state institutions or private companies. Image management is a largely discussed topic in our times. Apart from such discussions, it is important to note that people are trying hard to make the image attain those characteristics which are able to generate credibility and, finally, success in business or political strategies.

From here, from the fabulous investments of intelligence, money and energy, used to generate and promote a certain image, there is just one more step to the negative side of the issue. Quite often, image may also mean only appearance (let us remember that Machiavelli was advising the Price to distinguish between "to be" and "to seem"), that is a false. We have to admit, however, that in the dialectic of the phenomenon, it is exactly such appearance that is necessary and often requested by the publiy itself. This occurs, of course, on condition that veridicality limits are not exceeded, and that the process stays within the morality sphere. This sphere widens constantly, and its bounderies are flexible due to the relativity and perishability principles of concepts. Therefore, in contemporary times the state itself turned into a "show producer", as Roger-Gerard Schwartzberg wrote in his book on the topic. Besides, we all see that the show, namely the image, is the one governing the period, when both democrats and dictatorships make use of identical means in order to maintain the *status quo* inside diffent countries, or to maintain honorability appearances for other countries' leaders, media and public opinion.

Communication, and its relevant result – the image –, are domains on which many researchers in linguistic and social sciences, in philosophy and antropology, are focusing their efforts. The reason is the fact that "communication projection and the deriving image production are responsible for major consequences in all fields of people's activities", as Ion Chiciudean puts it in a recent book dedicated to this phenomenon. One of the great merits of his book is, without

\* Author: Ion CHICIULEAN; Edited by Licorna Publishing House, 2000.

doubt, his multi-disciplinary approach with regard to the modalities by which images are generated, come into systems, are coded in the intragroup communication and especially in the mass communication process, then how they become bearers of value and sense, have effects, exercise power and prove to be efficient in the diagnosis of certain situations of the state of the social systems.

Analyzing the most recent trends which pretend to appeal to psychology, social psychology, anthropology, history of mentalities and psycho-analysis, the researcher draw very accurate lines to the sphere of the phenomenon, in an effort to give an explanation based on the crucial coordinates of the bio-psycho-social incentive and articulations of images. The pertinence of this analysis is amplified by a very deep theoretical spirit in clearly identifying the intimate relations between all the dimensions responsible for the generation, dissemination and reception of images, with a beneficial emphasis on the need to establish a multifactor pattern for the interpretation and usage of such entities characterized by a great power and an irrefutable efficacy.

A thesis of undoubtable subtlety and with most useful further consequences for future scientific investigations, is the one stipulating that "images and mentalities are the products of collective mentality infused with a certain cultural pattern", which come out following the specific interpretation of social information". Hence, the idea that "there are very complex determination and mutual influence relations between mentalities and images". Combined with Fernard Braudel's theory regarding the historical periods, this leads to an interesting conclusion, which further leads to the interpretation of images as products of historically determined civilizations that also generate self-images. It also leads to effects of a pragmatic nature; no one can ignore the specifics of each message depending not only on the information to be conveyed, but also on the target-public, on its mental background and on its expectancy. It is rather easy to envisage the consequences that such an integrating, dynamic concept can have on military actions, which use images both as a propaganda and for more combat-like action.

The second part of the book presents "the possibilities of decreasing the vulnerability of organizations through the management of their images" by the use of three elements considered as essential: "managing the image of the organization, deliberate promotion of a favourable image, deliberate distortion of the image in order to affect the organisation". A special chapter briefly describes the methods and directions of investigation for assessing the image of an organization, which representats a necessary familiarization with the practical aspect of the phenomenon, with the action to be taken for correcting errors and malfunctions.

Ion Chiciudean's book is one exemple of the great effort to connect Romanian theoretical research and thinking to what is the latest investigation of a complex phenomenon – even a defining one for the contemporary world, I could say – due its extremely various ways in which it is manifested.

*Nicolae BABOI*

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GLOBALIZATION ERA\*

One of the most important processes the society is nowadays, confronted with is that of globalization. Generated by the globalisation tendencies of the national economic systems and by informational revolution, this process has profound consequences in the area of internatrional relationships, that of management and of the security systems.

\* Author: Teodor FRUNZETI; Edited by Land Forces Academy Publishing House, Sibiu, 2000.

The recent paper written by Professor Teodor Frunzeti "International Organizations in the globalisations era" issued in Sibiu by the Land Forces Academy Publishing House is an analysis of these changes and their implications in the international organizations.

This paper is based on the idea that in a world which has multiple power centers, where the role and the influence of the international organizations are increasing, it is necessary to completely understand their relationships with different actors in the geopolitical field, especially with national states, ensuring in this way, proper conditions for understanding the activities meant to maintain national and international security.

An important aspect in the study is that of the relationship between the actors in international arena.

The states were until the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, the main actors of the international relationship, arguing about their interests and harmonizing them in a geopolitical area.

Beginning with the second half of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the inter-dependencies created in the post-industrial world, the world wide spread of information, the globalization of the security problems, determined the emergence of new actors within the contemporary geopolitical phenomenon, of non-statal powers where the international organizations play an important role.

Taking into account the relationship between statal actors and the non-statal ones, there is a tendency that the latter become the main actors in international relationships.

This is the conclusion drawn by Professor Teodor Frunzeti in his paper (pages 9: 23).

Having in view this tendency in the contemporary reality the author gives a special attention to the conceptual limitations regarding the type of international organizations.

From this perspective, he outlines two types of organizations: the inter-governamental organizations and non-governamental organizations. (page 9).

The first type includes those organizations whose members are the states and the second one includes private agencies groups of persons or private persons.

As related to the place of such organizations in the international relationship system, the author underlines the idea that the inter-governamental bodies, because of the number of members, the reason of being and their objectives, can be classified as having a world wide character (UN, UNESCO, HWO, IMF) or an inter-continental, regional or sub-regional ones (pages 13).

The NGO's cover, from a functional point of view, all the components of the political, economical and social activity.

Speaking from the geographical point of view, although they are largely spread, all over the world, the NGO's are more active in the Northern hemisphere where the most of the economically developed countries are situated, countries that have a mature political system and a democratic regime (page 12).

An interesting issue outlined in this paper is that of the future of the national state in the context of the changes produced by the globalization. As a result, the states are forced to face a double process of determination: an internal one as well as an external one.

In spite of all these, author thinks that human society still needs the national state "in order to give identity to people, to collect taxes and fees, to make the social security system functional, to ensure protection and preserve environment and to ensure, at least, the stability and internal security" (page 9).

When it comes to the analysis of the existing inter-governamental organizations, the author didn't plan to present them in an exhaustive way, he just wished to talk about the most representative ones, taking into account their field of expertise and the number of members. The organizations presented in the paper are as follows: United Nations Organization, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, European Union, Western European Union, European Council.

Starting with the conditions of their appearance, these organizations are presented in evolution, we are made aware of their aims and objectives, the principles they are based on the structure, the institutions and their functioning mechanisms.

Establishing such indicators gives the opportunity of having in one book, extremely important information regarding the main international organizations, and furthermore, a scientific analysis which provides unity and consistency to the paper.

It is noticeable that in the same context, Romania's position, demarches and actions within these organizations are also presented.

As concerns the numerous existing non-gouvernemental organizations (NGO's), Professor Frunzeti focused on four types: ethno-political groups, religious movements, terrorist groups, and multinational corporations. The reason for his choice was the fact that "all those organizations are very active from the political point of view exerting a continuous pressure on states, in order to accomplish their objectives; (page 235).

There are approximately 6000 ethnic groups in the world, while the UN includes only 179 states. The people belonging to such groups consider themselves persecuted most of the time because they are not allowed to participate in politics and don't have a complete representation in the states they live in. In order to settle these dissatisfactions, a number of states in Europe promoted a decentralization policy and granted extended local and regional autonomy to some ethnic-political groups. It is interesting that the increase of these dissatisfactions, which have appeared lately, have been generated by the end of the Cold/War, which conducted to the decrease of the population's loyalty towards the state (page 239) and to the appearance of "inter-ethnic competition" and of "ethnocentrism" (pages 290-241).

When analyzing the religious movement, the focus is set on the possibility that these movements could become a source of tensions in the international environment.

The extremist religious movements could produce five types of effects: irredentism, segregation or separatist revolt, immigration, diaspora and international terrorism (page 244).

In the author's opinion, the international terrorism "aggravates international tensions and undermines the authority and power of state" (page 245). It is important to keep in mind the fact that terrorism represents a strategy used by many movements, by political, religious, or ethnic minorities and even by states (state terrorism).

The analysis of multinational corporations and of their influence upon the international environment is a controversial issue which gives the author the opportunity to consider that "the benefits and the costs attributed to multinational corporations, (as soon as they reached the important position they detain nowadays), have increased and have become too important for the future evolution of the global society and therefore, they cannot to be ignored" (page 250). The synthetic outline of the positive and negative aspects of the influence of these non-state actors, within the geopolitical area, represents an important contribution of the author, to the analysis of the globalization process.

A thorough study on the multiple implications the new actors that emerged on the international arena have over the evolution of the contemporary society and "a proper concept on the present day world politics "are needed" (page 257). This is the conclusion reached by Professor Frunzeti.

"International Organizations in the globalization era" represents, therefore an excellent and necessary study, concerning the actors who govern and influence the present geopolitical area. It addresses both the experts in the political field and the non-experts readers, the people interested in the human society evolution.

### GEOPOLITICS TODAY" \*

The end of the Cold War, the des-integration of the former Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin wall, the expansion of the Islamic world, the emergence and consolidation of the high regions are some of the contemporary processes and tendencies that give a new meaning and significance to the discipline and theory of Geopolitics. Redrawing frontiers between states, delimitating sheres of influence, intensifyin economic battle as the new form of conflict are processes that take place regularly and ask for a deep analysis of the attributes of the state, of the elements constituing the basis for the power of the state, an analysis of who the new performers on the international arena are. That is, the processes and tendencies that cross contemporary and give it its distinctive character as to past periods ask for a geopolitical approach.

In this context in which Geopolitics regains its status as a powerfully explanatory theory of the state and its performance, the book "Geopolitics", issued at the beginning of this year by the School of Communication and Public Relations, offers the Romanian reader the opportunity to gain insight into the main changes brought about by contemporary period, to acquire a conceptual apparatus which to scrutinize and better understand what happens in today's world politics and economics. The endeavor of the authours to present the main concepts of classical and modern Geopolitics, to use these concepts in order to present and explain some contemporary phenomena is of interest not only to specialists, to people directly connected to the field or the field of international relations, but is of interest to the public at large because, more than anytime before, international processes are of national or local interest and they influence the lives of everyday citizen in a way and proposition that hasn't happened in history until now.

The book has a threefold aim pursued in the following chapters: "**Birth of Geopolitics**", "**The German Scholl of Geopolitics**", "**The Anglo-American School of Geopolitics**", "**Romania: Geographical Position/ Geopolitical Position**", "**Romania's Geopolitical Strengths and Weaknesses**", "**Population**", "**Islam-an Expanding World**", "**The Russian Laboratory**", "**European Union**", "**Europe: Enlargement or Consolidation**", "**NAFTA-North America's Model of Economic Integration**", "**Asia-Pacific Region**".

The first aim is to offer a thorough presentation of the basic notions, ideas and perspectives of the **main schools of geopolitics**, such as the German School, the French School, the Anglo-American School, Roumanian School, so as to easy the insight into the way that various authors and thinkers have conceptualized and explained the performance of the state over time.

In presenting various schools of Geopolitics, the authours have the purpose of signaling what are the geopolitical inquires and answers that have a high degree of viability, irrespective of various historical or geographical context. For exemple, what is most significant in relation to the discipline here of interest is that it tries study the **potential of states**, to "*offer an equation of the power of the state. It is less important whether the elements that compose this equation change over time, are replaced by new ones order to keep up with changes in the real world, or entertain relations with one another. What is essential is the effort to establish such an equation*" (p. 19). Thereforem Geopolitics, can retain its explanatory power if it maintains a dynamic equilibrium between the physical attributes of the state and its attributes in the field of knowledge, information, culture, economy, if it manages to "*incorporate the main points and perspectives of a modern theory of development*" (p. 23).

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\* Authors: Paul DOBRESCU, Alina BARGAOANU Edited by "David Ogilvy" School of Communication and Public Relations Bucharest, 2001

### Classical and Modern Elements of Power – A Necessarily Dynamic Equilibrium

The second aim to present in a geopolitical perspective some “hot spots” of today's world and some of the economic and social processes that have a deep geopolitical significance. By such “hot spots” the authors understand: Russia and, generally, the former Soviet space, the Islamic world, Central Europe, Asia-Pacific zone. Such zones allow the testing of former geopolitical laws regarding the importance of the territory of state, its size, position, neighborhood, population, access to sea routes and proximity to natural resources. Equally, such zones challenge the propositions, of classical Geopolitics and constitute genuine laboratories where to put to work new concepts such as: ge-culture, crono-politics, eco-politics, geo-government.

Some of such “hot spots” seem to give more credit to classical elements of power, for example, the Islamic world, dwelling on sheer size of the population, on territory and proximity to oil reserves and to important commercial routes of the moment. Some other, such as Japan, seem to grossly contradict the classical attributes as power, forcing the conceptualization of power starting from the **soundness of the national strategy of development** and from the **political will to implement it** (p. 202). Russia, on the other hand, finds itself in the dilemma of whether to embrace a classical model of development, dwelling on size, massiveness, expansion of territory, powerful and numerous army and a modern development track asked for by the postindustrial age, characterized by internal economic performance, power to coagulate a region, to act as its legitimate, acknowledged leader (p. 123). And the development of a country like China seem to bring to light all the elements, classical and modern, that can explain and predict the evolution of a state in contemporary times: size and natural resources, population, geographical position, military might, and most important and in line with one of the main propositions of the book, mastery of a sound national strategy of development and political will to stick to it (pp. 193-194).

A separate discussion is allotted to Romania, drawing upon an important distinction between geographical position and geopolitical position and upon the costs of mistaking one for the other. The problem of Romanian development and economic reform is regarded not only a national context, but in the context of getting connected to European and international tendencies, of integrating in what is usually called “global neighborhood”. The consequences of failing in the field of economic reforms, of not catching up with modern trends do not regard integration as such, but rather the marginal position occupied in an integrated world (p. 83).

### Regionalization vs. Globalization

The third aim of the book that we are presenting is to draw attention upon some processes that give contemporary world a distinctive mark and bear geopolitical consequences: **regionalization** and the tension, sometimes even conflict between this trend and the other all-encompassing process of **globalization**. The existence of the main economic regions of today's world: European Union, Asia-Pacific, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) challenge and put into new light the geopolitical competition, no longer headed by any individual state, now matter how important and powerful, but by a coalition of states. These two processes give a different configuration to the relationship between the individual state and the region, to problems of sovereignty and independence, the relationship between the state and the multinational companies, the relationship between regional economy and commerce and the international ones. The state is no longer the main performer on the international arena, but the economic region plays this role in a more and more pregnant manner, which leads to a new form of continentalism, even to the redrawing of ordinary persons' mental maps.



As the same time, two processes of regionalization and globalization and the tension between them launch and amplify the debate about the elements that compose classical Geopolitics (mainly physical and natural attributes of the state) and modern Geopolitics (economy, information, culture, knowledge, technology).

Thus, the problem of European regionalization, for example, is placed in a larger international context, the knowledge of which may help a more national approach to Romania's adherence to European structures and the design of a more sound strategy of integration. Recent events, such as the European summit at Nice are interpreted in the context of **European dilemma between deepening and widening**, a dilemma brought about by the fact that Europe itself is caught a "head-to-head" competition with the other two big economic regions.

### **Geopolitics and Political Decision**

The analyses and insights offered by the book "**Geopolitics**" are based on a rich thorough bibliography, offering the Romanian reader access to literature that could hardly be known otherwise. The book also forces the reader to get involved into a genuine dialogue with maps, a dialogue that facilitates access to things and realities otherwise taken for granted: the compact mass of land known as Eurasia, the expansion of the Islamic world, China's strategic position in the South China Sea.

"**Geopolitics**" contributes to the larger debate regarding the connection between research centers and the centers of political decision, regarding the practical virtues of a discipline, its strategic character, of whether a discipline should guide political action or should isolate itself from what happens in the real world and maintain its complete neutrality.

As mentioned before, the signals the consequences of lacking a larger perspective when dealing with the performance of the state, of lacking a long-term strategy and vision, the costs of missing the regional and global context. That is, the consequences that the state may come to bear when lacking a geopolitical approach.

*Dumitru IACOB*

## THE HISTORY AND THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS\*

In the actual geopolitical context of Europe, when the problem of Euro-Atlantic integration is primordial for Romania, there is an acute need for knowing the history and the theory of international relations. In Romanian scientific scenery we notify a publication at Cantes publishing house (Jassy-2000), the volume *"The History and the Theory of International Relations – Studies"* under the coordination of Mrs. Catalin Turliuc. This publication encompasses important studies and researches of reputed historians and analysts of international relations. These were presented at The National Symposium *"Concepts and Methodologies in the International Relations"*, edition IV, 21-22 may 1999, organized by "Petru Andrei" University from Jassy.

Mrs. Emilian Munteanu, defining the "subject" and the "object" of history points out in his article *"The General Characteristics of Policies : status, relations, transformations, predictions"*, the phenomenon of Romania's transformation from *object* of history in *subject* of history in the period of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceausescu communist regime.

This intellectual initiative must be viewed as a defense against the isolationism applied by the *subject* of history, that is the certain agents who influence the way of history (e.g. USA nowadays). Obviously we must not transform ourselves in an *object* of history, meaning a material easily to model by the agent (*subject*). On the contrary we must fight to go out from so-named "gray zone" which represents those nations incapable of being subject of history, but in the same time do not arouse interest for being transformed in "object" of history, just remaining out of the history.

Here a question arises: Which is the leader's role of a nation in guiding his people for becoming a "subject" or an "object" of history? There are few studies that have tried to give an answer.

Mrs. Dumitru Ivanescu, a minute researcher of documents from historical archive, presents in his article *"The Union of Romanian Principates and the Position of Great Powers"*, the importance of a nation chief's verticality in international relations, making a case study of Romanian position at the beginning of A.I. Cuza rule. Although two of the Great Powers of that moment (Ostrich, Turkey) tried to stop the Union, the ruler A.I. Cuza did not hesitate to be firmly decided concerning the interference in internal affairs. He affirmed in front of the time powers: "if Turkey lose the time coming with military forces in Muntenia ... I go in front of my people and if we have to die, i will be the first who offers his chest..."

The rule was conscious that a real war would have been fatal for Principates, as the ambassador of France at Constantinople said, who received the mission to gather information concerning the economical, demographically and military-strategically potential of these-one. Cuza intended to take advantages of France's interest in Principates. It is remarkable the rule ability "to percept" the interest accorded by France in controlling the South Eastern Europe, Bosfor and Dardanele's straits. A war in this area would have affected the interests of France. So, the history underline the role of perception in historical and geostrategical analysis. Mrs. Constantin Hlihor in his study: *"Perception as an Element of Geopolitical and Geostrategical Field in the Analysis of International Relations"* believes that according with the nature of perception the actors adopt a certain type of political, military, economical or other type of comportment. In geopolitical field the perception could be on geographical area, on the place and their role in power equation, on the self-interests or on the opponents too. In geopolitical field the perception is directed through the cognition of sensible or hard points of the opponents in the economical, political or military point of view. In this regard the actors tend to analyze the

\* Edition coordinated by Cătălin Turliuc; Edited by

deficiencies of potential, for occupying a better position in the power equation. During the Cold War this continue correction of perception on self-potential, but especially on that of the enemy, led to the beginning of course of armament among the Great Powers.

The perception together with political, economical or geostrategical interest can determine the way of an actor's action in geopolitical field. Mrs. Liviu Drugus in his study "*Nationalism and Etatism vs. Globalism and Individualism – a Postmodern and Transdisciplinary Analysis*" bring into relief the necessity of interests correlation between any states with his partner. Regarding this point the application of the game theory so-named "The Prisoners Dilemma" is very suggestive. It is the simplest game relies on to actors each of them having two possible actions, no matter if they are economical or political decisions. Let's suppose that the two actors are named A and B. If A cooperates with B, they will have a low profit of 10 monetary units, but sure. That one who is not agreed with such a modest profit tries a way that could bring to him a profit of 40 monetary units. This could happen only if his partner continues to respect the contract of cooperation while he trade him. Of course he assume the risk of loosing, situation that could happen only if his partner makes his mind not to respect the contractual relation. This is the case of the two World Wars in which all the actors had unrecovered damages. So it reaches at the paradoxical formula: everyone depends on everyone, meaning that nobody is capable to impose absolutely free a certain conduit on the international arena. The consciousness of the situation that we are all together in the same boat, led to the idea: any attack against somebody is directly or indirectly an attack against everybody. So, here we have a possible explanation for the globalization tendency.

Trying to give some explanation to the globalization impact on international relations Mrs. Catalin Andronic emphasis in his article "*To 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Models and Tends of International System Evolution*" possible ways of power structure evolution at international level, such as "the planetary village". The global interdependence at economical, technological, informational, cultural and environment level, the increase of corporation's role and transnational firms, the apparition and development of Internet are appreciated as having an effect of diminution of national state role in international relations. The word of 21<sup>st</sup> century viewed through the idea of "the planetary village" will be one in which her main parting lines will not be between civilizations (S. Huntington theory) or ethnic, religious or national groups. On contrary between those who will be integrated in the "network" of global system and those who will not take part from this *network*.

At European level it can be viewed a break into this *network* of global system. Facing with USA hegemony, with the extension of NATO through East and with the increasing investors interests in Caspian Sea, Russia tries to stop these objectives which are viewed as main threats to her security. As follows, Russia proposed herself as primordial objectives for external policy, the integration of Independent States Community (CSI) and to close the relations with China and Iran, posting for being cold with Europe.

Concerning the Russian policy before Europe, Mrs. Constantin Buchet in his study "*Germany and Russian Federation in '90s. Geopolitical, geoeconomical and security perceptions*" says that Germany do not accept the neutrality belt between Russia and East European states eager for integration in euro-atlantic structures (UE, UEC, NATO). Germany insist on the theory elimination affirming that Russia have not to view the integration of east and Central European states in UE as a threats, but rather an increasing area of stability in region.

Bonn tends to spare the Russia susceptibility of isolation in system because of the occidental structure extinction by spoiling this sentiment through financial assessment accorded to Russia, in fact "the bill" for reunification support. I addition as a confirmation of what it was said,

the Germany closes a bilateral treaty with Russia at 9 November 1990 where is mentioned a non-aggression clause: "when one of these parts is aggressed, the other one do not sustain the aggressor".

Russia follows "the non-alignment" of ex-unional republics and east states, by maintaining their neutrality joined with the elimination of unfavorable alliance for Moscow. Trying to stop their "occidentalisation", Russia pose as a stabilization factor of "gray zone" – East Europe and the ex-soviet empire space – giving the impression of mesianism and Russian imperial mentality.

The dispute between Russia and European states has her roots – as Mrs. Catalin Turliuc emphasis in his study "*National Programs in the Great Power Policy – France, Prussia, Russia – and the Extinction of European Order to East*" – even during Petre the Great, from the very beginning of Russian nationalism aparition. Mrs. C.Turliuc believes that the evolution of russian nationalism had three stages: a) the recognition and acceptation of Russia inferiority on the way to European modern development, temporal situated during Petre the Great and his successors; b) the optimistic entrance in competition with European Powers and the ways found for redraw when there was no potential and forces available, the stage characteristic for Ecaterina II<sup>nd</sup> and her successors, and finally c) the cultural relativism and the resentment before Occident and his values, especially at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the new one. These three perspectives had to mark definitively the historical destiny of this great power.

Other opinions regarding similar problems – the political, economical and geostrategical role of Russia at international level – we could meet in the study "*Is the American Message Credible Yet?*" wrote by Mrs. Liviu Marius Bejenariu.

A crossroads moment of 1990's – the disappearance of Soviet Union and unional republic's coming out of Moscow tutelage – leded to a hard fight for the exploitation of natural wealth from ex-soviet space. A divergent problem is the juridical aspect of Caspian Sea, that is the elucidation of property on petroleum and gas reserve, which generates great disputes between riverside states.

Mrs. Marius Bejenariu affirmed that USA have not remained impassible to the Caspian Sea problem. Risking to become a Russia rival, these affirm their selves interests by sustaining the states of region to split economical and political from Russia. This will make impossible a Union directed by Moscow. However in December 1991 immediately after the disintegration of USSR, relying on their economical dependence the setting up of CSI represented an important tramp of Moscow for bringing back to the order of ex-republics.

The most efficient way used by Russia for bringing back "to listen" of ex-republics is the army. In 1992 CSI under Moscow pressure close a security treaty by witch they accorded to the Russian army the defense of their own borders.

Except Baltic states and Azerbaijan, the troops are deployed all over the ex-soviet republics. The official mission of these forces is to defend the borders of these republics and to protect the Russian ethnics, but in reality these are a screen for imperial way of Moscow. The adviser for external policy of president Aliev said that: "Moscow intends to provoke interethnic, interstate and religious conflicts for keeping the region in a continuous instability" just for justifying her interventions and the guardian role of peace in region.

As we could observe, this volume "The History and Theory of International Relations – studies" (Cantes publishing house – Jassy 2000) is a relatively heterogeneous study but very wealthy in historical and geostrategical significances. Considering fulfill the intellectual mission, it remains the hope that this initiative would open other debates on such a complex and incitive domain not only for analyst of international relations but also for public opinion.