

BOOK REVIEW

Constantin Bușe, Nicolae Dascălu – *Diplomacy in Times of War. From the Atlantic Charter to the U.N.O. Charter* – Editura Universității din București (Bucharest University Press), Bucharest, 2000, 279 pages.

The problems of diplomacy, war and peace, of ensuring the security of states, constitute a constant, as well as major consume for the researchers, analysts and academics of the XX-th century.

This perspective resulted in an ample, diversified and valuable literature concerned with war and peace over the last century, implicitly meaning the mechanisms of ensuring security, in Romania, as well as throughout the world in general.

In the book "Diplomacy in Times of War", written by two of the most prestigious academics in Romania, professors Constantin Bușe and Nicolae Dascălu, brilliantly continues an idea put forward more than half a century ago, at the same University of Bucharest, by Gheorghe I. Brătianu in his volume called "Formulas for Peace Organisation".

Just as their esteemed forefather, the authors of the present volume try to answer fundamental questions about the organisation of peace and security after the Second World War, in Europe and all over the world.

The link between Gheorghe I. Brătianu's work and the present one is not only of chronological nature, but also of scientific affiliation, both having the same views on the approach to history as an instrument that offers the conceptual and methodological background for the study and understanding of the contemporary international relations.

By reading this book, one can discover sensible similitudes to the braudelian approach to the problems of peace and security in the context of international relations, as they are described in "Time of the World".

Although the vision on history, looked upon as a means of studying international relations, is similar to that of the famous French historian, the conceptual apparatus and the methodology of analysis of the two authors individualises them thus making the present volume a reference reading in the domain of international relations.

In the analysis of the constitution of the United Nations Organisation, the authors succeed in accurately depicting the multitude of factors that had a determining role in its genesis in the end eventually appreciating it as the result of the confrontation, but also harmonisation of the fundamental problems of peace and security, as well as of the interests of the great powers that won the Second World War.

Proceeding with a substantiated evaluation of the diplomatic steps of the actors involved in the process of putting the international relations on a new basis, and accurately presenting the political, economic and military causes that determined the adoption of a certain behavior on the international arena, the volume perfectly integrates the research efforts that the specialists make in order to develop and improve the instruments and methods of analysis in the field of international relations.

The book presents pertinently and exhaustively the stages that preceded the elaboration and adoption of the United Nations Charter and analyses them in the dynamics of the development of diplomatic negotiations, this also constituting a model of their objective reflection.

Referring to the new organization set up in 1945, the authors argumentatively think that it definitely succeeded in the solving of the deficiencies manifested by the functioning of the Society of Nations, successfully integrated into the system of the specialized agencies organisms that have previously worked in this field (e.g. The Universal Postal Union, The International Work Organization, The International Drugs Control Organization), the institutional continuity being evident.

In the first chapter, the two distinguished professors present the result of the negotiation mechanism that led to the elaboration of two fundamental documents: the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations. If in the Atlantic Charter the idea is that it constituted the first step preparing the ulterior evolution of events, the Declaration of the United Nations meant the articulation of the background in which the post-war problems were to be discussed, this being the basis for the structures developed after the war and aiming at the international security, economic and financial cooperation, as well as at the colonial problem.

The profound analysis and thorough research effected by the authors, as well as the ardent diplomatic activity aiming at numerous projects of post-war organization of the international relations are made evident in the second chapter.

By exemplifying with only a few documents out of the multitude that the work brings to our attention (The United Nation Plan, The United Nations Protocol for War and Transition Period), they make up an ample picture of the problems on the negotiation agenda of the great powers in their preparations and proceedings of the Conferences in Moscow and Tehran. The two conferences established the bases of the post-war international organization.

The third chapter is constituted of an ample and extremely well documented result of the analysis of international relations that were aimed at the elaboration of the quadripartite proposals for creating an international organization.

The two prestigious academics think that the year 1944 marked the adoption of the first common project of a statute of the future international organization, the reunion in August-October leading to the elaboration of the *Proposals of Dumbarton Oaks*.

The authors succeeded, through a sustained argumentation, in exactly presenting the negotiations mechanisms used by the representatives of the great powers in order to harmonize their positions and points of view. The image offered by the authors depicted in the most precise way the diplomatic gearing in action, a result being the voting system adopted by the Security Council, later on imposed by the great powers to all the participants in the debates of San Francisco.

The last chapter of the book makes evident the multiple, complex and thorough negotiations of April-June 1945 in San Francisco, at the General Conference for the constitution of the United Nations Organization.

The research and analysis achieved by the authors emphasized highlight the huge amount of work necessary to create a new world order and a new system of international relations brought about by the United Nations. The authors consider that even the small states have realistically and constructively contributed to the elaboration of the Charter and in San Francisco there was also the influence of the international public opinion and of their will and aspirations for peace in this respect, the beginning phrase of the Charter ("*We, the peoples of the United Nations*") reflecting the real state of mind.

Through the methods and analysis instruments the authors adopted in writing this book an aspect worthy of remark is clearly protruding.

All along the derulation of negotiations concerning the creation of the United Nations, the Soviet Union did not elaborate any plans of its own for the organization of post-war international relations.

In 1941-1942, the attention of the Soviet diplomacy was caught by solutions for the military problems, acute in those times. Until 1944, the Soviet government limited its actions to expressing its standing concerning the U.S. proposals.

Taking into account President Roosevelt's conception on the role of the great powers, the Soviet Union was permanently consulted, being present in all stages of the organization genesis, but without presenting any great initiatives in this respect.

Getting Moscow's approval to assume responsibility in the potbelly international cooperation was considered a winning point by the United States.

The efficiency of the instruments and methods of analysis of the international relations that were adopted by the distinguished professors in the elaboration of the volume, as well as the methodology of analysis, used along with methods specific for other socio-human domains as: Geopolitics, Geostrategy, Politology, International Law, will lead to an ampler knowledge and understanding of the phenomena of contemporary international relations.

By evoking the United Nations Charter, the authors rightfully appreciate that, although not lacking in imperfections, this constitutes a complex document, having an utmost importance in international relations applying rules, principles, mechanisms and means capable of influencing these relations in a positive manner, as well as the functioning of the mechanisms of ensuring collective security, this being the essence of the stipulations of the Charter.

The assertion of the two esteemed scholars, according to which the United Nations Charter does not create the premises for the affirmations of an ideal collective security is perfectly verifiable in practice by the rule of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council in case an important resolution is enacted, annuls "de facto" the applications possibility of the ensuring the collective security mechanisms to the great powers, too.

Basing its analysis on the profound and solid scientific investigation and on the validity on the arguments in question, the authors' opinion referring to the United Nation Charter, on page 268 is that "the best product of negotiations took two months in the conditions of an ending war in Europe and the seemingly longer one in the Pacific. This situation, as well as the experience of the Society of Nations, leaved its mark on what the Charter contains and that, without any doubt made up a special position for the great powers in the sphere of the security system".

In fact, the international situation in which the Charter was negotiated, elaborated and enacted had an impact on the specifics of the United Nations Organization. Counting both the good things and the bad things, understandable in a document of great length, complexity and importance, the United Nations Charter was faced with the realities of the bipolar world during the Cold War and with those of the multipolar world of our times, thus succeeding in supplying the juridical fundamentals necessary for the derulation of the contemporary international relations.

After critical analysis and thorough research, the authors concluded by saying that, although the reform process of the organisation should begin, one can surely ascertain the fact that the United Nations Organization proved its viable nature through time.

The readers having a passion for knowledge, but mostly the specialists in the field of the international relations have this valuable volume at hand, an instrument able to help them understand and explain the evolution of the political phenomena that govern the international relations in the contemporary world.

Laurențiu-Cristian Dumitru

Dumitru Preda, Mihai Retegan, 1989. *The Collapse of the European Communist Regimes*, The Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, 510 pages.

The collapse of the communist regimes in Europe and Soviet Union was beyond any debate, one of the decisive events of the twenty century's end. The final crisis of the communist regimes is representing today, at one decay from the fall of them, a major interest for the historians, analysts and public opinion. The novel "1989. The domino principle. The collapse of the European communist regimes" written by Dumitru Preda and Mihai Retegan, two of the most appreciated historians from Romania, includes these preoccupations.

The apparition of this work had represented an important event in post-December Romanian historiography. This novel comprise 299 documents from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affaires "Telegrams", containing the period 1989, April 19-December 26. This precious package of documents, carefully selected in accordance with the most advanced archivist ways and methods, is about reports, information and notes of the Romanian Embassies in the capitals of the Warsaw Treaty states: Moscow, Budapest, Berlin, Prague, Warsaw and Sofia.

It is very interesting that the authors of the "1989. Domino principle." considered that is necessary to put together also the documents from the Romanian Embassies of the socialist capitals in which the falling of the communism process was stopped – Pecking, or wasn't started – Belgrade. The authors wanted to emphasize the particularities of the evolution of the communism system crisis and also the identification of other elements and sources for crisis.

In order to stress more clearly the way of the perception of the events from Western states, also at the political leadership and public opinion level, were selected the documents from the Romanian Embassies in France, Germany, Austria, England and U.S.

The central issue of the novel – in which the historians Dumitru Preda and Mihai Retegan wanted to emphasize more in detail, sort out the documents, making the information architecture – is that the Ceausescu regime had a fully image of the new course of actions oriented to the collapse of the communist regimes.

Also, it is important to see the professionalism of the authors who wanted to get the readers' attention in order to know how the Ceausescu regime was annihilated and the Communist Party's nomenclature from Foreign Affaires Ministry exaggerated the information – when all these got to the No.1 Cabinet (Nicolae Ceausescu) or to the No. 2 Cabinet (Elena Ceausescu). These fragments from the telegrams were underlined in this writing by typing them italic. Till the historians will give off opinions about these facts – misinformation, manipulation or the protection of the Ceausescu clan by its nomenclature – the readers can build up its own opinion.

From this perspective, the reaction of the communist regime from Bucharest, of his leader – Nicolae Ceausescu – wasn't encounter or incognizant. The acceptance of the Kremlin regime of the new course of actions – against the deterioration of the internal economical situation and of the first signs of the soviet disintegration – was very promptly observed by the Romanian's diplomatic representatives. So, just before the XIV Congress of the RCP started, the Romanian ambassador in Moscow – Ion Bucur – informed the Bucharest leadership that "in Soviet Union are made different appreciation about the internal situation one of them calming and others alarmingly". There are also extremely radical conceptions, going to the destruction of the actual system (the document No. 137).

Also from Moscow, Nicolae Ceausescu got on the November 4, 1989 information that through the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister – Eduard Sevardnadze – in Poland, the soviet leadership accepted the realities from Poland, and will collaborate with the non-

communist government of the Mazowiecki in the spirit of "all that was good between as after the war" (the document No. 140).

In the time of the celebration of the Bolshevik Soviet Revolution in October, came to Bucharest information for the Romanian communist leaders that the USSR renounced to express the solidarity with the communist parties from the "fraternal states" (the document No. 134). It is obvious that this signal wasn't received gladly by the leadership of RCP. The attitude of the Soviet Union Communist Party – SUCP – had direct and immediate implications in the relations sphere between USSR and the satellite states. The Moscow gave signs that renounced to the "Breznev Doctrine" but Ceausescu still believed in the building of the "grown multilateral communism" under the protection of the "red military power".

The documents that were transmitted by the Romanian Embassies from the capitals of the Warsaw Treaty member states and in which the course of the communism collapse in the 1989 summer was decisively settled were provided clear information about the reaction of the communist leaders and also the dispute between the conservators and reformers from that communist parties.

So, at the beginning of June, the ambassador Traian Pop transmitted to Bucharest information about the events from Hungarian communist party which had the tendency to transform into "a party having as a model the socialist parties from France, Italy, Austria" and this party is not any longer a unitary political formation and inside of it were functioning some currents of opinion and groups (the document No. 24).

After a few days also from the Hungarian capital were transmitted that appeared "the Movement for a democratic Hungary" in order to introduce in the Hungarian political life a new political organization in opposition with the actual communist party (the document No. 35).

Alarming news that produced headaches to the dictatorial couple from Romania started to come from the Polish capital at the beginning of June 1989.

At June 9, the ambassador Ion Tesu informed the Foreign Affair Ministry that in the Polish election the victory was on the solidarity part and "none of the members of the Political Office and the Government didn't get the minimum number of votes (50%)". It is about the following: W. Baka – the Committee Secretary of the Communist Party, K. Barcikowski – vice president of the State Council, S. Ciosek – the Committee Secretary, J. Czyrek – the minister of the national defense (the document No. 36). This is the moment that in Bucharest started to grow the idea of a possible intervention of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in Poland to protect the socialism.

At this position of the Romanian communist leader – Nicolae Ceausescu, the Communist Party's leadership wanted to go in the opposition and to accept the failure and responded very tough. It is the authors' merit to integrate in the document also the Report of the Romanian Embassy in Warsaw that clarified some aspects and stopped the hopes on the Ceausescu' proposition to defense "the revolutionary conquests in Poland".

In the Communist Party's response to "the point of view of the Executive Political Council of RCP and of the Nicolae Ceausescu about the situation in Poland and the formation of the Poland's government" was categorically rejected the affirmation of the Romanian leaders that "through the participation of the Solidarity's representatives supports the imperialists groups" and this is not a Poland problem is also a problem of all socialist states (the document No. 72). It was signaled that "the transformation in Poland didn't affect the other socialist states, especially the interests of Romania, but served to the socialism reconsolidation in world". As a paradox, the real understanding of this situation was from the neo-Stalinist Romanian leader not the leadership of the Poland Communist Party. In only a few month in all ex-satellite of Moscow states the communist governments were supersede.

The documents selected by the historians Dumitru Preda and Mihai Retegan illustrated the position of the Western states beside the evolution in Central and Eastern Europe and from Romania. These documents related the atmosphere in that period, full of tensions on the background of the international political confrontations and of the acceleration of the communist system's collapse – which represented one of the geostrategical bi-polar component on the European continent.

The readers of this novel may find unhackneyed and interesting information about the development of the Romanian revolution. And also the documents that unriddle the enigma about the terrorists (the document No. 267) and about the request of the revolutionary power from Bucharest for an armed intervention from Moscow (the documents No. 291, 296, 298).

It is important to mention that the authors respected the “technical” rules for preparing and edit a document novel. They kept the “spirit and letter” of the telegrams sent by the Romanian diplomatic representatives, interfering only in grammatical way. From this point of view, the novel “1989. THE DOMINO PRINCIPLE AT THE END OF TWENTY CENTURY” is also a useful instrument for the Romanian historians researchers who wants to study a historical dramatic segment of the Romanians evolution at the end of the XXth century.

Adriana Ispas

**Călin Hentea, *Propaganda without Borders*, NEMIRA Publishing House, Bucharest
2002, 320 pages**

The word of *propaganda* has long been in the common language. It is used with the same carelessness by the media, in talks or official speeches, either by the ordinary people or by political leaders. Unlike the people in the West, the Romanians, because of their painful experience in the 50-year right or left totalitarianism, have a deep dislike for this word, to which they attribute the worse connotations. In this context, an approach of the propaganda, either in its historical or contemporary perspective, involves inevitable risks due to conceptual fluidity or perception and political sensibilities. The book *Propaganda without Borders*,* written by Calin Hentea, who successfully merges the officer's discipline and rigour with the journalist's freedom of mind and alert writing, assumes this challenge.

In fact, *Propaganda without Borders* is a follow up of Calin Hentea's previous book *150 Years of Media Wars. The Military and the Media in Times of War** where he wrote about the evolution of the military-media-politics relationship, mainly in the limited conflicts that occurred in the post-war decades (Korea 1950-1953; Vietnam 1965-1973; Falkland 1982; Grenada 1983; Panama 1989; the Gulf 1990-1991; Bosnia 1992-1995 and Kosovo 1999). He avoided dealing with this issue in times of peace when, in his opinion, the three actors (military, media and politics) are playing under completely different rules. The same limitations of the analysis are to be found in the present book, although the presentation of the propaganda phenomenon in times of war begins with Antiquity and ends with September 11, 2001, with a consistent stress on the post-war conflicts.

Mention should be made on the architecture of the theoretic apparatus proposed by the author at the very beginning of his book as a reading-key for the next chapters. Calin Hentea's main idea is that, irrespective of definitions and particularities of the propaganda, media war, PSYOPS, public relations, imagery war, electronic, command and control warfare, web-war are all persuasion weapons that belong to the same informational war (INFO-WAR). Moreover, all these weapons, aiming at the minds and souls, have a large number of common elements, but the

* *150 Years of Media Wars. The Military and the Media in Times of War*, NEMIRA Publishing House, Bucharest 2000, 288 pages

basic conceptual border between them is more fluid and invisible in times of war, than at peace. Clear examples of this are offered by the huge operations carried out with a view to demonise national enemy leaders, such as the Panamanian General Manuel Oriega in 1989, Saddam Hussein in 1990-1991, Somali General Muhamand Aidid 1993-1994, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic 1999. Such operations can be defined as actions of media war (because they were conducted through the media), propaganda (use of various communication skills to inflict changes of attitude or behaviour at the members of a group), public relations (all the campaigns are initiated and supported by official statements), psychological warfare (all demonisation topics were used in, or related to the drawing up of leaflets, radio and TV psychological products), disinformation – as defined by Wladimir Volkoff (because of the obvious exaggerations and inaccurate information disseminated on the established target and used for a well defined purpose).

According to Calin Hentea, the history of propaganda is as long as the history of the mankind: it started 5000 years ago with the Jewish Pentateuch, the Hindu Rig-Veda, Gilgamesh's story or Homer's epic poems, continued with the Assyrian wall paintings intended to intimidate by power and fear, and the impressive gallery of Antique Roman statues, monuments and buildings created only as a public relations action, in the benefit of the Roman Emperor. Propaganda was also used intensively during the Middle Ages great wars, such as: the crusades (Pope Urban's to announce the beginning of the crusade at Clermont, with the slogan "*Deus vult*"), the 100 years war (the brilliant projection of Joan d'Arc – an ideal raw material propaganda), the denigration of Spain by Queen Elisabeth's I minister Walsingham in the 1588 Spanish-Briton war – everything in support of the own soldiers morale, and the demonisation of the enemy. In his turn, Napoleon, the French Emperor Napoleon was a master of propaganda and public relations in all his actions (fine-arts works, event management, famous statements, media control) which all had only one purpose: the glorification of his personal image; the support for his political objectives; the building of an invincible myth for his military skills and forces.

The apparition of the first state institutions devoted exclusively to propaganda issues were established during the WW I. The British Empire, with Lord Northcliffe's multicultural intelligentsia team, located in London's Crewe House, took initiative and wrote an important chapter in the history of propaganda with their first black propaganda and psychological warfare operations targeted at the German lines and military leaders. Maybe, just because the basis of what it will be known as weapons of the contemporary informational war was established and applied in 1914-1918, this part of the history of propaganda deserved a more detailed analyses, similar to the way in which WW II is described. Musollini "new fascist Rome", the power and weakness of the Nazi propaganda industry, the United Kingdom and Uncle Sam's overwhelming propaganda counter-offensives based on truth and facts, the efficiency of the Soviet propaganda machine or the specific cultural limits of the Japanese Sphere of Coprosperity propaganda support, are dealt within a separate chapter, that underlines the specific and the main actions taken by each actor.

Besides the traditional historical frame, there are two main topics in this book that might be of interest of both the public and the specialists: the details of the informational war weapons evolutions in the post-WW II limited conflicts and the Romanian war propaganda in the XX century. The dirty ideological war at the beginning of the Cold War, as it became manifest during the Korean war, the mistakes of the first psychological operations in the Vietnam war, the effects of the media limited cliches in the 1978 Zair crise, the development of American PSYOPS as a self-defined weapon in the *Just Cause* operation in Panama, the birth of informational war during the *Desert Shield* and *Desert Storm* operations, or the total informational war fought both by NATO and the Serbian structures in the Kosovo war are analysed, all of them, under two dimensions: political and informational (with the description of the each specific weapon used such as PR, propaganda, PSYOPS, media-war, etc.). Details are focused mainly on the Gulf and

the Kosovo Wars based on the quotes of well-known specialists such as Philip M. Taylor, Peter Young & Peter Jesser, Peter Goff or media reports, published at the time when the events occurred. Perhaps, just because Calin Hentea could not forget that he basically remains a journalist, he also introduced a genuine chapter dedicated to the september 11, 2001 event. The novelty of these first evaluations is the comparison of the way in which the television live-reported the December '89 Romanian Revolution and the terrorist attacks on WTC: controlling the rumors, avoiding the panic and the violent footages showing bloody images casualties, support of the citizens morale.

For the first time, the Romanian propaganda in times of war is described in this book without any ideological constraints. In Calin Hentea's opinion the Romanian propaganda's main features are: its defensive character (seldom carried out outside the national borders) and his eternal link to foreign power (the Entente, the Axis Powers, the Warsaw Treaty, NATO). It was perhaps, only during 1913 2nd Balkan's war and the 1919 campaign against the Hungarian Bolsheviks (when Romanian Kingdom was a true regional power) that the Romanian conducted some propaganda operations on their own. However, the Romanian propaganda defensive against the powerful German war machine in 1917 was notably effective (as shown by the archives documents published in the book) and the results were be seen in the Romanian peasant-soldiers high morale and strong will to fight. Based on military archive documents, the author describes the Romanian propaganda during the WW II not only in its national specificity, but also in comparison with the German remarkable performances of the Germans and with some strange weakness similitudes of the contemporary Romanian peace-keeping image operations. As the regards of the communist decades, when propaganda was an official powerful institution, only the contribution of the political structure belonging to the armed forces is analysed although many others aspects, deserve to be mentioned and explained. Wishing to remains only within the military, Calin Hentea suggests a complete history (from the mid of 19th century till now) of all the components of the Romanian Armed Forces: newspapers, specialized magazines, radio, film, television. From the author's perspective, the military media played from the very beginning an important part on the national propaganda stage, as an educative instructor, a psychological support, a public relation's tool, its sole goal being to contribute to the achievement of the national objectives and interests.

Because Calin Hentea is also a serious and well-known post-cards collector, his book (like the previous one) benefits of fifty nine attractive and expressive illustrations supporting the topics analysed in the text. Like his illustrations *Propaganda without Borders* is an original, courageous and attractive book, written in an journalistic style. Of course the subject is not finished. A lot of other points and facts are waiting to be revealed and understood and hundred of archives documents (available or not) to be read. Let's hope that it won't take long until we see Calin Hentea's third volume on the weapons that are not meant to kill.

Dana Mineo

ON BOTH SIDES OF THE IRON CURTAIN, Military Publising House, Bucharest, 2001, 451 pages.

Defense and Military History, together with *the Romanian Commission for Military History*, has appeared in the volume *On Both Sides of the Iron Curtain*, a work that gathers the papers, on the same topic, presented during the International Conference organized from 9 to 10 May in Bucharest. The volume includes the opinions of wellknown Romanian and foreign historians regarding one of the most controversial topics in the recent period of European continent and world history, – the “Cold War” – and, implicitly, the evolution of various states during the “Iron Curtain” period. This topic covers a multitude of aspects of the “Cold War”, from political and ideological aspects to diplomatic, economic and military ones. The problem-range of contradictions “on both sides” of the Iron Curtain, and during the Cold War, is seen in its whole complexity, both from the East-crisis on Romanian and world economy, together with the devastating consequences resulted from them, are presented in Ion Vorovenci’s article, entitled *The Impact of the 1970’s Oil Crisis on Romanian Economy*. Regarding *the military aspect*, Romanian and foreign experts analyze, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the ideological confrontation regarding the doctrinal aspects and concepts, the existent balance of forces during the Cold War period and its impact on the sizing and restructuring process of the military body, at that time, in articles, such as: *The War that Was Never Waged. French Operation Plans in Western Europe in the Event of a Soviet Invasion (1945-1969)* by Thierry Sarmant; *Why Turkey Entered NATO?* by Associate Professor Cemaletin Taskiran, Ph.D.; *The Arabian-Israeli Conflict – A Conflict of the Cold War?* by Dragos Ilinca; *The Caribbean Missile Crisis, 1962 – The World on the Brink of a Nuclear Catastrophy* by Captain First Rank (Ret.) Professor Igor A. Amosov, Ph.D.; the enforcement of the Soviet model, with devastating consequences on the theory and practice in the military domain of activity: *Behind the Scenes of the Warsaw Treaty* by Commander (Ret.) Professor Jipa Rotaru, Ph.D. and Colonel Mircea Serediuc; *Changes in the Structure of the People’s Armed Forces from Eastern Europe between 1948 and 1955* by Captain Florin Sperlea. Tackling the aspects regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania, Professor Valeriu Dobrinescu Ph.D. and Professor Ion Patroiu Ph.D., in the article *The Retreat of the Soviet Troops from Romania as Seen by the French Diplomatic Documents*, state that “... whatever the reasons, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Romania at the end of July 1958, allowed the moral author of this achievement, Gheorghe-Gheorghiu Dej, the chance to apply his plan for obtaining economic autonomy, the premise for the political independence of the state...”. Regarding *the informational aspect*, the specialists present the evolution of relations between the Romanian and Soviet secret services and security agencies, stressing the existing disproportion and inequality in the confrontation between those services in an essay by Cristian Troncota, Ph.D., entitled *The Evolution of the Relations between Romanian and Soviet Intelligence and Security Agencies (1969-1989)*. Regarding the communication domain, Colonel Professor Constantin Hlihor, Ph.D., in the article *The Communication Crisis between East and West at the Beginning of the Cold War*, demonstrates, with strong arguments, that after the set up of the Iron Curtain, the East-West dialogue became infected, on both sides, by ideological expressions, by wrong perceptions and misinterpretation of messages, facts that led to crisis, to some dilemmas regarding security. The concrete expression of those dilemmas consisted in an escalating arms race and tensions in international relations. Using, mostly, the historical method of analysis, Colonel (Ret.) Aurel Pentelescu Ph.D., in his article *The Relations between East and West and the Romanian Postwar Historiography. Some Considerations*, states that “...the nations that were ruled by totalitarian regimes also called *people’s democracies*, experienced a deep process of destruction in the field of classical historiography...”. Robert Ehrenberger, in the article “Research Possibilities and Restrictions” in

the *Archival Records of the Cold War Period in the War History Archives of Hungary in the Decade of Openness*, states that "...historical research cannot be done without free access to archives and it imposes an open and free exchange of information and points of view among specialists; that the civil and military historians give different interpretations to the same event a comparison between civil and military points of view being necessary; debating the controversial events, the historians from both sides, during the Cold War period, improve their knowledge and interpretation of the same historical period; that Europe was the main point of interest and dispute in the period of the Cold War". In conclusion, the readers who will lecture this volume will be able to find out the answer to some basic questions, such as: When did the Cold War begin? Are the events that make up the Cold War best viewed as aspects of global politics, or a collection of local and particular events? To what extent could Balkan leaders retain their freedom of action and influence the outcome? Who can be blamed for starting the Cold War? Who has won/lost the Cold War? Firstly, evidence from the Balkans shows that the Cold War "began" over an extended period, as an extension of the WWII, as local and global governments came to terms with the evolving conditions. Secondly, Balkan events support analyses of the Cold War that start with specific, unique, local events that took place throughout the Balkan region, but in different moments. Many studies analyse these events from Moscow's and Washington's perspective, which leads to an ignorance of the existent discrepancies in this area and of the involvement of other great powers in this phenomenon.

Thirdly, were the Balkan states doomed to fall under the Russian control? Once we know something about the present-day events, the question itself has to be substantially revised, because only some of the Balkan states became Russian "satellites", in the traditional sense of the word. On the other hand, the same forces that put the Balkan states under the influence of greater powers in the 19th century were at work in the middle of the 20th, so that the Russian control was hardly surprising.

To sum up, I strongly assert that the volume *On Both Sides of the Iron Curtain* is both a serious academic forum for a deeper understanding of the recent past and an important tool for researchers and analysts who study the phenomenon, called "the Cold War".

Dan-Nicolae Stroescu

THE SECURITY OF SMALL STATES, Ed. Armand Clesse and Mario Hirsch Luxembourg
Institute for European and International Studies, 1999, 282p

Although the book *The Security of Small States* does not know a Romanian version, it is a remarkable book for the international affairs realm. The book, that is a result of a conference that took place in Luxembourg and that reunited 70 experts and government representatives, encompasses, in its first part essays of notorious authors and in the second part, conference proceedings.

The first part of the book – *Essays* – is, in its turn, divided into two chapters in a relevant manner. Chapter One – *Small States and Comprehensive Security* – approaches the issue of the security between theory and practice, with particular reference to the small Eastern European states. It, also, discusses how a variable like the lack of protection of the minority rights can endanger the security of the small states from this region, since security requires certain homogeneity of the population. Within the new post-Cold War framework some new security

plans must be established so that between the regional countries to exist a better understanding in joint actions in responding to the regional security problems. The first chapter approaches also the idea of transforming these states into *European Neutral Zones of Co-operation*.

Chapter Two encompasses case studies on countries from both Western and Eastern Europe. In this sense there are analyzed the defense priorities of the Netherlands in the new international context underlining the commitment of the Kingdom to participate at peacekeeping and peace-enforcing operations. From the group of the Western analyzed countries, Finland is also, included. Contrary to the Netherlands, Finland is not seeking security solutions, because it does not feel threatened and because its main goal is the full membership in the European Union, within which it want to take an active role, including in the security matters. The European Security System is analyzed from the Belarus perspective underlining the difficult situation that this country faces, being situated between an integrated Europe and Russia "a strategic ally and partner for Belarus in any case". Although Chapter Two gathers case studies on Bulgaria, Hungary and Latvia, the research that analyses the case of Slovenia is highly interesting. Starting from the premises that "the national security system should be the foundation of universal collective security", Slovenia wants to adopt a concept of national security that is in accordance with the actual concepts of security, that can be included in the new order and that "ensures a proper balance between the military and the non-military elements".

Part Two of the book presents conference proceedings. It approaches relevant topics such as present analysis and future recommendations on security issues with reference to NATO and to the Central and Eastern Europe. The conference reunited notorious names in the field of international relations and the reproduction in the text of their views makes the book more valuable. This second part of the book is more attractive and completely lacked of monotony just because this second part of the book made room for arguments and counter-arguments, the reader having the impression that is part in the discussions.

To sum up, the book *The Security of Small States* has a heterogeneous content. At a global level it is a succeeded mixture of the issue of security viewed in theory and in practice. The case studies on the small countries, EU and non-EU member states, add more value to the book. The second part of the book, *Conference Proceedings*, subscribe in a relevant way to the context of the book; the manner in which the book is organized is, undoubtedly, the merit of the two prestigious editors, whom I had the pleasure to meet: Armand Clesse and Mario Hirsch.

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