

BOOK REVIEW

Gheorghe Buzatu, *A History of Romanian Oil*, republished in 2004 in the collection *The Romanians in World History* (vol. 108) at Mica Valahie Publishing House, Bucharest, 615 pages

In his book Mr. Gheorghe Buzatu presents the history of Romanian oil from 1440 until 1929 but also the international competition for oil. We know now the great importance of petroleum in international relations, as the main conflicting factor in the last 15 years. At an international level, professor Buzatu argues, a real question of petroleum occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, when the derivatives obtained from the extraction of the black gold influenced the war industry.

A History of Romanian Oil retraces the beginnings (with a document written in the chancellery of princes Ilias and Stephen, Alexander the Good's sons and successors to the throne, 1440), the development and the full affirmation of oil industry, it also analyses the oil policy of the cabinets in Bucharest for a period of almost a hundred years (1857-1947).

Professor Buzatu argues in chapter IV of his book that the first World War emphasised the military strategic value of petroleum which influenced to a great extent the development and the result of the military operations, and therefore the outcome of conflict. During the war the two belligerent camps used at a large scale the most modern means of battle whose operations depended directly on the possession of an entire range of oil derivatives in sufficient quantities. Under such circumstances, petroleum was transformed into a *war force* as Paul Apostol likes to say. For Mr. Buzatu it is very clear that each of the belligerent camps made assiduous efforts to obtain the quantities of oil necessary to carry on the military operations.

In 1916, before the evacuation, the Romanian General Staff ordered the destruction of the oil bearing regions in Wallachia, to prevent Germany and its allies from benefiting in any way by the possession of oil fields (The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, fond 71/1914, F2 petrol, vol. 232, ff. 19-23). The destruction of the oil bearing region in Wallachia before the arrival of the enemy forces seems to be requested by the British representative in Romania, with promises of compensation.

The first years after World War I are characterised by the unprecedented intensification of the dispute among the international trusts, seriously supported by the co-interested great powers, for the monopolisation of the oil crude reserves on the globe. It was an age profoundly marked by the oil fever, an age when great hopes were placed in the simple possession of "black gold" and consequently, fierce battles were fought for its ownership. At the basis of the oil policy of the great powers stood the general axiom according to which "the one who is the owner of the energy factor dominates the world." The petroleum question represented only a link in the chain of contradictions, which the war and the peace treaties could not bring to an end.

The author seems to find the premises of conflict into the imperialist camp, giving the economic competition for resources: "in the absence of Germany and Japan from the international scene a strong conflict broke out between the former allies the US and the Great Britain, a conflict that, even though it did not become an armed one, did however take the appearance of a true *war of petroleum*. "In this conflict also participated France, Holland,

Belgium, Italy, but to a smaller degree and mainly as partners of the chief adversaries. Neither of the two great rivals neglected the alliance of these small partners, because their contribution determined more than once the momentary victory.

Just as before the war, after the year 1918 Great Britain gave the most assistance to the trusts Royal Dutch-Shell and Anglo Persian Oil Co. Ltd. The expansion of the oil possessions of the two trusts was considered as serving the cause of the British Empire. Unlike Standard Oil Co., which has concentrated in his hands the crude oil production of the United States and Mexico- at the time the greatest oil producers on the globe, the British trusts chose to go in a different direction, namely to monopolise as many possible production centres and judiciously distributed throughout the world (the Middle East, Latin America, USA and Romania). Acting *discretely and without noise* by 1920 Great Britain managed to create a real empire of oil, which ensured to a great extent its independence in matters of oil derives supply. This fact worried the Americans a great deal. In the post war era, the struggle for the general recognition of the principle of the open doors in the oil business on the globe represented one of the constants of the US government policies.

In the final part of the work we can find a case study: *Economic survey of Romania-1929*, reprinted from *The Economist*, Bucharest 1929, which presents an interesting dates of the Great Romania: the economic policy, the public finance, the national debt, the banking and the agriculture, railways, water transports, forests, oil, industry, labour and social welfare and foreign trade.

Professor Buzatu gives a substantial bibliography, more that 100 pages of guides and historiography and important documents discovered in Romanian and foreign archives (the USA, Great Britain, the Russian Federation, France and Germany) and as annexes interesting pictures of Romanian oil fields from *Steaua Romana* society and Prahova valley.

Ionuț Alexe

Identity and European Conscience in 20th Century, Editor René Girault, Curtea Veche, București, 2004, 253 pages

Identity and European Conscience in 20th Century is the result of the work of researchers. Their work involved transnational researching through many famous universities, especially their History departments. An International Scientific Committee grouped those historians and the project took place during 1990-1993.

The main aim of this book, as stated in preview, is to bring new perspectives, new ideas about a subject which is very seldom studied – at the time when this book was written. They don't try to give definite answers or to allow themselves to think their opinions are singular, but to explore new territories. Printing this book in Romania, 10 years after his first publishing edition in Western Europe, shows the interest and the preoccupation of the Romanian consumer for this long-debated issue. Each group of researchers had their own pace and their own method, therefore the results were different. In order to define the European identity and consciousness, the writers used several sociological elements such as: study of the elite, the relation between national and transnational and the type of this relation that helps different social and economical circles to interact one with the other going further, studying the collective mentality.

This book actually represents the nutshells of the reports of each group of researchers, which were presented at different meetings in Paris, Sorbonne and Luxembourg Palaces (11-13 November 1993). The book is divided in five major sections: *Social Groups and Social Consciousness*, *Economical Groups*, *European Politics and Institutions*, *Images, Imaginary and Europe*, *The Chronology of European Consciousness*. In the first section of the book, they focused on social groups of different countries and their role in developing the European consciousness. Hartmuth Kaelbe, one of the co-authors, in his essay "Living Europe' and 'Thinking Europe' in 20th century. European Social Particularities", presents, from global perspective the benefits of social particularities in Europe versus other parts of the world. Also he brings three concepts of Europe: *Living Europe*, *Thinking Europe*, and *Willing Europe*. Each of these concepts develops on its own, following a unique scheme that shapes up the European consciousness.

Social history facilitates a good reflection of the European identity and consciousness and points out six major characteristics of the European society in the 19th century and also in the 20th century.

Studying family as a major centre in the new European perspective illustrates the urban phenomenon, spending habits. Those lead to the understanding of the contemporary European society. There is a new style for mass consumption that is highlighted as an essential component of the European social and economical identity, which rises from the material civilisation. On a psychological level it is very hard to emphasize that the similarities of European society formed at any level a particular European identity or consciousness. The contemporary conditions allow the author to experiment very easily these concepts.

On the second report of the first section, Pierre Milza studies on five different directions the immigration as a phenomenon and the relation between the international immigration and the birth of a hypothetical European identity.

The first researched direction presents the cultural mixtures created by the variety of population, starting with the second half of the 19th century, then the author tries to explain in which way the migration has contributed in decreasing the national intensity and implicitly the developing of any kind of European transnationality and further leads to a European consciousness. The next two directions are involving the political aspects, particularly the link between the internationalism and the political migration and the influence of international migration over the political circles. The research lay over the mentalities and the feeling of affiliation to a hypothetical European transnational entity.

The issue of an economical identity is approached in the second part of the book.

The study reveals the existence of some economical groups, which are fragile in numbers, despite the fact that the process of the European unification was based on economical reasons, rules them as being European. The authors' suggestion is to initiate a type of new businesses based on their attitude to Europe.

In the section *European Institutions and European Politics*, the line of research was linked with the highlight of the role politics in order to elaborate the European identity and consciousness. At this level, the result wasn't clear. The institutions were presented with a wide range of ideas and not with politological and abstract visions. The essay shows in which way the community institutions were built with a European consciousness and a sense of affiliation to the united Europe. On the other side the essay underlines the fact that political medium expresses a different level of European consciousness. The loyalty for the European bureaucrats belongs on one hand to for the communitarian system and on the other hand to the national structure. The study linked with the elite was limited on a time level and geographical level for the period between 1943-1963 in Western Europe. The study points out

the relation between national elite and new European elite groups. Another issue presented in the book defines was defining the concept of Europe from the geographical point of view and social aspect, too.

The geographical elements evolved and changed through the time, therefore is quite clear that we are presented with a 'variable geographical Europe'. In the third section of this study we confront with a study-case about the intellectuality from South Europe. The major lines of this third section are: images and perceptions over Europe, intellectual elite and ideological debate over Europe, the role of institution as main source and formation network of a European consciousness.

In the final part of this thesis, René Girault tries to bring together the different analysed elements, giving a wide perspective.

The chronological approach of historical time distinguishes the fact that developing a European consciousness wasn't easy.

Europe stays fragile and fragmented at the consciousness level. There is no European history but a sum of national histories, as there are many cultural varieties.

Mihaela Mustăţea

The European Citizenship – *The Citizens, the Foreigners and the Stateless in Romanian and European Law*, by Ioan Muraru, Simina Tanasescu, Gheorghe Iancu, Stefan Deaconu, All Beck Publishing House, Juridical Studies Series, 2003, 154 pages

In the context of the doctrinal debates at European level targeting especially the practical implications that the notion of European citizenship has in the everyday life of its owner, and in connection with Romania's efforts of accession to EU, the Centre of Constitutional Law and Political Institutions has organized a scientific seminar focussed on the European citizenship and on the influence that this could have on the Romanian juridical system.

This publication unites the papers presented at the aforementioned seminar. The first essay is "*The correlation between one's national citizenship and the European citizenship*" by Ioan Muraru.

There are lots of discussions today about rights, liberties, national citizenship, European citizenship, nationality and national identity, but the concepts are not well known and their political and legal dimensions are not entirely apprehended. This may cause, in time, inefficiency in approaching the matter.

Today we hear a lot of expressions like Romanian citizen, foreign citizen, stateless persons. A Romanian citizen is the citizen that has Romanian citizenship. A foreign citizen is the citizen that lives in Romania but has another citizenship. A stateless person is one that has no citizenship at all. As far as concepts like citizenship and nationality are concerned, at the beginning, the word that pointed to the relation between a person and a state was *nationality*, but once the modern state developed and in parallel with the development of the principle of nationalities, this word was replaced with *citizenship*. Because the word *nationality* expresses the relation with a social body created on a different basis than the state, only the concept of citizenship can express the legal relation between a person and a state. The French doctrine is

at the origin of the distinction between citizenship and nationality, although today it is the same doctrine that uses these two concepts as synonyms.

Which brings into discussion the issue of the correlation between the Romanian citizenship and the European one. There is a draft of the European Union Constitution which refers to the European citizenship in article 7, which stipulates that any person having the nationality of a member state of the European Union is citizen of the E.U. But there is also the Maastricht Treaty, which completed the Treaty of Rome, and which includes a chapter on the citizenship, thus creating the concept. A European citizen is anyone who holds the nationality of a member state. According to the Treaty, the European citizen has also some fundamental rights, which belong to him/her exclusively as a consequence of this particular status: the right to vote in local member states, the right to petition in front of the European Parliament and the right to address petitions to the European Ombudsman.

Within a different European structure this time, there is also the European Convention on citizenship, adopted in Strasbourg in 1997 and ratified by Romania in 2002. The Convention provides an explanation and not a definition, but it is significant that the citizenship is the legal relationship between a person and a state and does not indicate the ethnic origin of the person. Also the Convention declares that stateless person situations have to be avoided.

The paper "The legal status of the stateless persons and stateless status" by Gheorghe Iancu presents the international regulations in the field of stateless persons and the legal status of such people and gives and thoroughly analyzes them, considering the fact that Romania has not ratified any of these legal instruments and the legal Romanian doctrine has never paid attention to them. Despite this, the Romanian legislation is harmonized with these international regulations, even more so since many of the international documents, and the legal practice in our country is in full accordance with the requirements included in the international regulations.

After terminological clarifications regarding the concepts of the stateless person and stateless status, there is a detailed presentation of the Convention regarding the status of the stateless persons and the Convention on reducing the cases of stateless persons, as well as the rights and duties of stateless persons. Finally, a debate is provoked on the possible reciprocal implications between the status of stateless persons and the double nationality.

The paper "The citizenship in the Romanian legislation" by Stefan Deaconu presents the historical evolution of the concept of citizenship in the Romanian legislation, making the distinction between the concepts of citizenship, nationality and nation. Nowadays many Constitutions and laws use the concept of citizenship to express the relationship between an individual and a state. The quality of being a Romanian citizen had not existed before 1865, when the concept of citizenship was regulated through the Civil Code.

This had an influence on how law was implemented at that time, as the legislation had to consider conferring the quality of citizenship to various inhabitants on the country. There were (and still are) several ways to obtain citizenship, following the principle of *ius sanguinis*: birth, naturalization, marriage and repatriation. A person could lose his/her citizenship by being repatriated in a foreign country, by being named in a public function by a foreign Government without the authorization, of the fatherland authorities, military service without the authorization of the Government of the fatherland authorities and by marriage to a foreigner, in the case of women.

Some of the principles introduced by the Romanian Civil Code still govern the legislation on citizenship and the interpretation given to some provisions is the same even today. For example, the regulation, which provides that "any child found on Romanian

territory is considered a Romanian citizen", is interpreted even nowadays as it was back in 1865: the child has Romanian citizenship because there is a strong possibility that at least one of his/her parents is a Romanian citizen.

The laws regulating the Romanian citizenship, adopted in 1924, 1938, 1948, 1952, 1971 and 1991, have been important legal instruments in the evolution of the legal concept of citizenship.

The text emphasizes the terminological and legal differences between the concepts of citizenship and nationality in the Romanian law. From the legal point of view the difference between citizenship and nationality depends on the association of the concept of nationality with the territory (as a constituent element of the state) or with parentage (descendants of a particular person). In the first situation, nationality means allegiance to a country. In the second situation, we speak about nationality in terms of parentage, defining the spiritual affiliation of a natural person to a nation.

The first situation is met mostly in Western Europe, where nationality and citizenship have the same meaning. The second stands mostly for Central and Eastern Europe, including the Balkans, where the distinction between nationality and citizenship is still made. A possible explanation is that all modern states were constituted on a national basis. However, this process ended sooner in Western Europe and therefore the national element diminished earlier there. On the other hand, in Central and Eastern Europe, new states have appeared during the last years (such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, or the new independent states that were once part of the Federation of Yugoslavia or of the Soviet Union) and this process developed on the basis of nationality, which induces the differences between nationality and citizenship. Consequently, in this part of Europe, foreign citizens are considered to have their own national state and therefore they are treated not as individuals, but as members of a community.

The prospect of realizing a large United Europe and creating a European citizenship makes us believe that, in the future, there will be no more distinctions and nuances between nationality and citizenship.

The legal framework of each state establishes ways for each individual to participate in the life of that society. Among the means for participation there are the fundamental rights of citizens, some of them also regulated through international documents. Currently Romania is a representative democracy, like many other countries worldwide, meaning that those who hold the State power at a certain point in time are elected to represent the citizens, who do not have direct influence on decisions taken. In fact the only way citizens may directly influence the political life of their country is by voting. This system is getting more and more criticism and it may not be long until it becomes a thing of the past – at least in Europe. An alternative solution is considered to be the participative democracy, a system where a wide range of decisions are taken directly by citizens, not only those of local interest, each individual being encouraged to participate actively in the governing of his/her country.

In our opinion, the reason for this transformation is constituted by the profound changes undertaken by Europe as a result of the European Union. While EU was initially conceived as only an economic union, the political impact over the European citizen was negligible. However, over the last decade the European Union looks more and more like a super-state, being on the verge of becoming a federal or confederal state. From this perspective there was a growing feeling among Europeans that needs would not be fulfilled by the leaders of the new entity for the simple reason that they could not be heard through so many levels of bureaucracy. Also, different communities throughout Europe have different needs and it may be difficult, if not impossible, to take a centralized decision that will not

only be applicable everywhere but will also be operative. Thus, decisions have become – or rather will become – a localized but globalized matter.

The next logical step is to ask ourselves why would certain rights would be reserved only for citizens of a certain state since most decisions are not a national matter any more. Besides, what would be the relevance of the European citizenship if it did not confer any fundamental right outside one's country of origin? The obvious answer is that, since local communities are in charge of taking their own decisions, adopting their own rules, all members of a community must be allowed to take part in this process. Of course, the right cannot be accorded indiscriminately to anyone who happens to be in a certain place at a certain moment, he/she must be really integrated in that society. Thus a minimal set of requirements should be adopted and decisions regarding national issues may still be reserved for citizens of that state.

Romanian legislation establishes two important sets of rights that guarantee and provide for effective means of participation in the democratic life: electoral rights (right to be elected and right to vote) and the freedom of association. Traditionally, in Romania the first category of rights mentioned above belongs exclusively to Romanian citizens. The freedom of associations refers to political parties, association in trade unions, associations in NGO-s. Following the principle according to which all political rights belong only to citizens, Romanian legislation forbids non-citizens to be members of Romanian political parties, but proves to be very liberal in what concerns the other forms of association.

The essay "The participation of foreigners in the democratization process of society, essential component of a united Europe" by Stefan Deaconu, Mihai Horia Cuc – intends to present a brief overview of the Romanian legislation in the matters mentioned above, as well as a Romanian point of view on the future of Europe. In this paper, several legislative changes are suggested, together with their social, historical and legal ground and justification, aiming at becoming starting points for further discussions on what the future of all European citizens may be.

To sum up, this is an essential research work for all those who want to be informed about one of the most important issues of our time – a matter which affects us all.

Vasilica Mucea

Mădălina-Virginia Antonescu, *Un nou imperiu al secolului XXI-lea?*, Cartea Universitară, București, 2004, 593 pages

European Union has become one of the dominant issues of recent times, but few attempts have been made to define the European integration from the feminism point of view.

The book *European Union, a 21st Century Empire?* examines the European assembly as a post-modern empire and analyses its civilisation's elements in the futuristic way. Studying the concept of modern empires doesn't include the project in a rigid scheme or in statistics but describes which the specifically masculine methods are, for analysing its personalities and its behaviour. Written in an analytical-advanced style, the book tries to create theoretical markers for understanding the future. The new European trend caught the author's imagination, allowing her to explore in a unique way the new vision of the European Union. This volume of interdisciplinary fields provides a detailed picture of the controversial, innovative role

played by women and gender issue in the future of European Union. Breaking away from traditionally analyses, the author offers a sense of the variety and complexity of cultural and civilisation aspects across Europe.

The study is organised around six thematic chapters: "The super-state legislative order", "The social-politics order in the European Union", "The ethics-religion order in the European Union", "The Union civilisation", "The spatial Europe", "The spiritual Europe". This book takes the reader deep inside the benefits and the cost of this process of integration and suggests strategies for reconciling with the interests and aspirations of the European Union's people. The author reveals European integration not as a uniform process that should be praised or condemned in its entity, but as a complex phenomenon that can and must be shaped and steered towards socially desirable goals. Some arguments of the book present a variety of feminism positions, with the empirical methods of the research.

In the first chapter, the author examines the forms of transnational citizenship – European citizenship. Active citizenship involves more than simply voting – it also entails the capacity to organise politically in order to promote certain ideals and interests. Achieving such mobilisation at a transnational level involves different techniques and skill to those required at the local and national level.

In the second chapter Ms Antonescu discusses about the new social-political order in the E.U. The main subject includes the new order of social classes. Her approach over a new perspective of Europe in the near future determines her to believe that Europe could become a sort of a modern empire. This community named by the author 'supra-legal state' has certain properties that can lead to major damages for the individuality of national European states. Her own interpretation in a unique way of *Pax Europe* should make us believe that pacification will be made at higher levels of determination of each council. Her debate goes further to emphasise the identity of European citizen.

The third chapter provides extensive details about the ethics and religion in the new European mentality. The writer's beliefs are based on a fundamental relationship between God and humans, which allows humans to develop and experiment in many different ways what is permitted by God. In this context we are presented with a post-modernist Enlightenment featuring a new model of civilisation and permitting any citizen to long to any values of any state.

The third millennium is a time for new re-shaping of societies and a time for respecting the human resources and their unique source of inspiration. Very often is mentioned that the new Europe looks like a place where cultural diversities are encouraged and experiences become a way of living. The more you experiment the more appreciated you become. In this modernist Enlightenment the female role has a decisive input. Ms Antonescu found a very creative method to explain the new tendency of the world to allow women to become decision-makers. The aspects rose by the author in this book make us to witness a very dramatic view of Europe, quite poetic but where fairy tales are not allowed.

This book will make an important contribution to the way the EU is analysed and studied, it provides both comprehensive coverage of all aspects of EU integration and a new way of conceptualising the EU, integrating a much wider range of theoretical and empirical material.

Mihaela Mustăţea