

## BOOK REVIEW

**Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: the Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*, Profile Books, 2018, 240 pp.**

Francis Fukuyama is the author of numerous writings which due to their value, but also due to their controversy (e.g. *The End of History and the Last Man* – a volume that raised significant debate among several schools of thought) might be considered a priceless legacy for the literature dedicated to the study of political sciences, international relations or political economy.

Among his most recent books, we have to mention the two volumes: "*The Origins of Political Order*" and "*Political Order and Political Decay*". In those two volumes Fukuyama tries to explain the institutional evolution in certain areas of the globe, throughout different periods of history.

The author describes this evolutionary process of societies borrowing from sciences such as history, economy, sociology, archaeology and even biology.

The first volume starts by presenting the transition from the tribal organization to the statehood formation and ends with the causes and consequences of the French Revolution from 1787.

The second volume continues the trend, starting with the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and ending with the Obama presidency in the United States. The most captivating chapter of this second volume is the one describing the institutional decay from the US.

In the author's vision, this institutional decay is due to the fact that the institutions were "captured" by external interest groups. Fukuyama highlights the fact that most of the debates within the Congress are directed towards the activist audience (lobbyists, etc.) and not towards the fellow Congressmen<sup>1</sup>

We wouldn't be wrong in saying that those two volumes might be considered a treaty of political sciences/political economy, that tries to explain issues such as the origins of modern political institutions, the institutional differences between Eastern Europe and Western Europe, the causes of institutional decay, or the crisis of democracy.

The mentioning of the above volumes is important, due to a certain connection between those books and Fukuyama's latest work – "Identity: the Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment".

The volume starts with a brief presentation of those "groups from the outside" who captured the state's institutions. In fact, the book was written as a consequence of the 2016 presidential elections, as Fukuyama mentions, the incumbent president Donald Trump, being the triumph of white nationalism<sup>2</sup> and trying to focus on a state identity built on issues such as ethnicity, and highlighting several nonconventional enemies for the state, such as "the deep state".

Not only Donald Trump's policy stands as an example of this type of identity. Central and Eastern Europe also provides several examples. Let us take for example, Viktor Orban's Hungary. Emphasizing on a nationalist discourse built on anti EU rhetoric and identifying external enemies he managed to consolidate an authoritarian regime. Orban depicted Brussels as "the new

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay*, Profile Books, 2014, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Identity: the Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*, Profile Books, 2018, p. 6.

Moscow," and emphasized on the idea that he builds a new model of democracy labeled "illiberal democracy" , which in fact turned out to be an autocratic regime where judiciary is under pressure and mass media, to a large extent is controlled by the politic<sup>3</sup>.

More than that, the Hungarian P.M., identified several other foreign enemies such as the immigrants – presenting Hungary as a defender of Christianity, the billionaire George Soros – presented as an instigator of Europe's refugee crisis. The civil society came next. All those entities who received money from the West, were presented as "serving foreign interests"<sup>4</sup>.

Jaroslav Kaczynski's approach to politics is similar to Orban. There is an authoritarian tendency in Poland, accompanied by a Euroscepticist discourse, with the biggest controversy being the Government approach towards the judiciary law. This is considered in Brussels as a major departure from the European acquis, and a step towards the consolidation of an authoritarian regime.<sup>5</sup>

However, growing Euroscepticism in Poland does not mean that Warsaw will be one step closer to Russia<sup>6</sup>. This might be on the one hand due to the past relations between the two countries but also due to the fact that "PiS voters may secretly admire strong, Putin-like leadership and criticizing Putin's decisiveness won't win PiS as much support as it used to"<sup>7</sup>.

The case of Romania is also similar to Poland and Hungary. The political elites from Bucharest emphasize on a nationalist discourse, with anti European

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<sup>3</sup> John Shattuck, "Viktor Orban's Rise and the power nationalist politics", Pacific Standard, in <https://psmag.com/social-justice/orbans-rise-to-power-is-a-product-of-nationalism>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> Dariusz Kalan, "Poland's New Populism", in <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/05/polands-new-populism-pis/>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

Union messages, especially in the area of justice affairs, and a strong accent on national capitalism. Besides the EU and other foreign enemies such as Soros, the political elites blame the so-called "deep state" for the bad management of public administration, as being a force who opposes government measures.

Fukuyama's theory might explain the reemergence of an old fashioned and dangerous nationalist discourse in the above mentioned cases.

The author starts his presentation, by explaining the etymology of three ancient Greek words: *thymos*, which is that part of the souls that thrives for the recognition of dignity, *isothymia* meaning the demand of being respected as an equal among other subjects, and *megalothymia* which is the desire to be recognized as being superior to others.

Furthermore, the author makes a distinction between the rational theories put forward by economists and this idea of isothymia. Building his explanation on Plato's Republic, the author concludes that there are three parts of the soul : the desiring part, the calculating part and the spirited part – thymos -, who acts completely different from the first two, being "the seat of judgments of worth", or today's seat of identity politics.

While the economists emphasize on rational choice, arguing that the individuals are interested in maximizing their material interests, the concept of isothymia puts forward the idea that non material issues, such as the desire of being respected, are more important.

"Thymos is the seat of both anger and pride...Human beings do not want things that are just external to themselves...They also crave judgements about their worth and dignity"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Identity ...*, p. 18.

Thymos therefore, is that part of the soul that yearns for dignity. Isothymia, on the other hand, might be considered a modern term connected with the evolution of democracy. One such classic example might be the American Declaration of Independence, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or even the Euromaidan movement of 2013 -2014, from Ukraine.

Megalothymia on the other hand, might be problematic. For every person recognized as superior, far more people are seen as inferior and do not receive any public recognition for their human worth<sup>9</sup>. The Brexit supporters or Donald Trump are examples of megalothymia, who oppose classical concepts of the western democracy such as international cooperation or multiculturalism.

The switch to identity politics might fragment the society by dividing its people in numerous groups focused on their specific identity.

In an interview for *The World*, Fukuyama further argues that „by identity politics (some leaders) are shifting the conversation away from economic policy to these identity issues, where essentially your identity is fixed by your birth.” Moreover, the leader establishes a personal relationship between himself or herself and the people. And that makes them anti – institutional”, which is a threat to democracy.

As the author argues “the fundamental defect of our modern, prosperous democratic world ... was its failure to address the problem of thymos”<sup>10</sup>. The modern liberal democracy promised recognition of the dignity of its citizens, but frequently failed to deliver on these promises (social problems, marginalized groups). This can also be expanded to the European Union as a whole. Some states consider that they are marginalized. Nationalism for example, as it results

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Fukuyama, “Identity and the End of History”, *The American Interest*, 2018 in <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/08/23/identity-and-the-end-of-history/>

from the book, can be described as a demand for recognition that might turn into megalothymia.

Nevertheless, as Fukuyama further argues we should not see identity politics in a bad light. The above mentioned problems are not due to identity per se, but rather to the narrow minded identity vision based on ethnicity, lack of tolerance, aggressiveness, and an interpretation of national identity in the most illiberal terms.

There are several positive aspects of a strong identity such as: the offering of a feeling of physical security; the quality of government – meaning that if the elites identify themselves with the state, the public interest will be put on the first place; the facilitation of economic development – if citizens do not feel proud about their country, they are not going to work for their development, but rather for their own enrichment, citizens will tend to trust among each other which on the long run will make liberal democracy possible.

According to Fukuyama, national identities have been created by four main paths: the first was to transfer population across the political boundaries of a particular country (by sending settlers, by forcibly evicting people who live in a certain area, or by killing them), the second path was to move borders to fit existing or cultural population, the third path was to assimilate minority population into the culture of an existing ethnic or linguistic group, and the fourth path was to reshape national identity to fit the existing characteristics of the society in question (such as in Gandhi's India).

"Identity" is the theme that underlines many political phenomena today, from new populist nationalist movements, to Islamists fighters, to the controversies taking place on university campuses. We will not escape thinking

about politics and ourselves in identity terms”<sup>11</sup>. To surpass those problems, in the author’s vision several measures should be taken: the promotion of a creedal national identity, build around the foundational ideas of modern liberal democracy, the *jus sanguinis* rules should be changed to *jus solis*, in order not to privilege an ethnical group over another (this is for the European Union case).

In conclusion, the author mentions that there is a need for a universal understanding for the term “human dignity”, otherwise there is a chance for conflict among different identity groups from the society.

**Bogdan Popescu**

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<sup>11</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Identity ...*, p. 82.

**Andrei Marga, *Schimbarea lumii: globalizare, cultură, geopolitică*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2013, 256 pp.**

We are the creators, followers and addicts of the product called “globalization”, a complex phenomenon that puts its mark on all aspects of life, his impact being intensively studied by specialists around the world.

A book that aims to structure and analyze this far-reaching subject is the publication “The World’s Change: Globalization, Culture, Geopolitics”.

This volume belongs to Andrei Marga, one of the well-known romanian politicians, an eloquent philosopher, former Foreign Minister of Romania, also former Minister of Education, having other important positions in the Romanian society.

He is the author of a large number of books on political science and political philosophy, such as: *The Destiny of Europe, The Pragmatic Reconstruction of Philosophy, Challenges, Values and Vision*.

In 2005 Andrei Marga received a Herder Prize from the Alfred Toepfer Foundation (Alfred Toepfer Stiftung F. V. S.), for his contribution to the cultural understanding of European countries.

The core of this study is a topic of actuality, namely the phenomenon of globalization, presented from several angles, targeting both beneficial points and uncertain aspects of contemporary society.

The author himself is aware of the fact that “globalization must not be judged by the distinction: good – bad, because it represents a comprehensive



historical process anchored in the structure of civilization”, and all this has favorable consequences or less beneficial depending on the given background.

Released in 2013 at Romanian Academy Publisher, this volume (containing 256 pages) provides a variety of changes that the increase of interdependencies has brought between states. The author is talking about a new concept - *planetization*, it means *the maximum ceiling of global interdependencies* and it is closely linked to the national principle. Everyone can see that the national concept has been reshaped, this principle was not removed but reborn.

It is remarkable how the author merges instruments in the field of economics, philosophy, sociology and history, adding the optic of discursive rationalism, which announces a complex, strongly argued analysis, an analysis that satisfies a number of criteria proper to both humanist and economic domain.

In the era of globalization there is the matter of redefining the universal notion of space, beyond the physical coordinates, this socio-cultural construct makes us reconsider now its dimensions.

The author argues that it is no longer enough for a state to hold a strictly geographically defined territory, but it becomes imperative that the state transforms it from a cultural and social point of view. So it is not about quantity, but about the quality of space, and technological advances are those that offer advantages to nations in relation to others, in brief, it matters in particular how societies manage to dominate the geographic space. Equally important is the premise of state security in the nuclear age, and constant battle for the acquirement and preservation of a key role on the international scene, which is shaped around a strategic consciousness.

Thus, these interactions between “great actors” can injuriously modify the conformation of life in societies from around the world.

The political scientist did not fail to point out that the information has high valencies in relation to the swift evolution of communications and technology, "the culture taking on the role of mediator in achieving any major performance".

At the level of metamorphosis in the political sphere, Andrei Marga opens a frequently debated discussion in the academic circles, about the new role of democracy.

It is obvious that nowadays liberal democracies are regarded by many as "the only truly and fully modern societies", those states that have adequate internal policies will maintain leading positions in the "globalization game".

All this liberalization has outlined economic growth, but there are areas where the phenomenon had a reverse direction, leading to inhibition of development, in those states in the early stages of the transition, such as countries in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia.

Quoting Amin Maalouf, the author mentions a paradox that has become problematic: "mais plus on avançait plus on était déboussolé", it refers to the simultaneous disorders of several domains of the world in which we live: intellectual, financial, climate, geopolitical, ethical disorders. Without notes of pessimism, the author claims that it is important to take into account more possibilities in the current context. Humanity faces dangers, needing "global solutions", in the absence of which the beauty of the civilization in which we live will be lost. Europe has lost its benchmarks: she has come to question more than ever about identity, borders, institutions, her role in the world, without being able to give coherent answers. And the list of paradoxes continues: the strategic victory of the West, which should have made its supremacy comfortable, actually accelerated its decline, the triumph of capitalism precipitated him in the worst

crisis of his history, the end of the “balance of terror” led to the birth of a world obsessed with “terror”.

Speaking about the challenges in this approach to the evolution of globalization, Andrei Marga points out that pluralism, rather than occasioning the mobilization of new energies, it often paralyzes decisions and anonymizes responsibility. Instead of being the tool of finding better solutions, democracy is widely practiced as a sort of periodic selection technique for representatives, which then escapes from public control. He also says that the future is colonized by fear, and the negative futurism, coagulated around the notion of “not to change what it is, for it may be worse”.

In a world overwhelmed by the new purposes of life, according to which “living” is equal to “working”, then “consume”, the conjunction between the “high volume” rule and the “high value” rule is fundamental, the second being marginalized due to the change in the competence and quality validation milestone.

The components of the complex phenomenon of internationalization are hard to structure, given the large proportions of the subject matter, but Andrei Marga has the ability to compose a unity based on solid and comprehensive sources, which make the work acquire those attributes that fit it among the reference studies in this field. Inside the thesis, are mentioned well-known political scientists like Samuel Phillips Huntington, who brought a prophetic analysis in his work *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, but are also quoted Hilary Putnam, Larry Jay Diamond, Marc Plattner, with representative works on “world’s change”.

The volume of Andrei Marga outlines visionary perceptions, especially in the final part of his study, discussing some of the changes that the world faces in

the medium term. He mentions bringing innovation in science, technology, such as: finding cures for different types of cancer, identifying alternative energies, sustaining an environment favorable to life, climate stability being very important. Metamorphosis exists especially in the collective mind, which will continue to face the reverse of the medal, namely the risks that converge from the dynamics of global interdependencies, risks in the sphere of economy, ecology, security.

The author points out the imperious need to change the human consciousness, which should be able to adapt more easily to possible transformations over time, taking into account the permanent fragmentation and decentralization of society.

In the final part of the thesis there is a particular point that is placed under the spotlight, a broad and abstract thought: the human, as the author stresses, is programmed from the very beginning to be self-seeking and aggressive. It needs to overcome this stage, because contemporary realities involve the interaction between individuals and beyond that, the ability to empathize and embrace the idea that we are different is vital. On the contrary, above all, human is a social being by its nature, despite what Andrei Marga stated. And so we can see that the old polemics about the meaning of life seem to be currently suggestive, but reshaped by the need to live in a "Plato's fortress" with updated content.

Ultimately, the relevance of "Changing the world" makes it possible to place this book in a reference spectrum of political sciences, international relations, being essential both for students and for the professionals in the named area. The author convinces us that it is necessary to observe and try to penetrate into a problem like globalization that is more than a dual phenomenon, it is the

new nature of life in which we continue to carry on our activities, an eternal war around the “trick-of-the-trade” concept.

**Octavia Brînzan**

**Stefano Allievi, Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna, *Tutto quello che non vi hanno mai detto sull'Immigrazione*, Roma-Bari, Editori Laterza, 2016, 152 pp.**

If in the early 2000s, almost all the Italian media presented the migratory phenomenon in alarming notes, and especially with titles that highlighted the link between immigration and crime; now, although there seems to be some prudence, the press does not miss the opportunity to put the sign equal between immigration and terrorism. No doubt, in Italy, migration has become perceived as a mass phenomenon, having been in the center of political debates for many years, as well as in the researchers' concerns.

The published papers dealing with this subject are in part the result of journalistic investigations, while the present book, although of limited size, is an exceptional sociological research done by two teachers of the Italian academic environment, one being a sociologist, the other one, a statistician.

It is an attempt of an experiment that focuses on the cause-effect relationship, namely the impact of migrants on the Italian society and economy.

Starting from the statistical data, the paper presents the reality of the phenomenon of migration in Italy, a country that in the past was perceived as a

monocultural and emigrating generation, turned into a multiethnic and multilingual state within several generations, living within five millions of foreigners (we must remember that almost 25 millions Italians left the country in the first century of national unity, and the surplus of the Italian labour force could only be solved during the "economic miracle" and the great migration that preceded it in the 1950's and 1960's, leaving the country the most important destinations the neighbor states ).

The book was published in a period of extremely European uncertainty; moreover, the period elapsed since the publication of the paper and so far has shown what the authors have intuited, namely that lack of cohesion and solidarity within the European Union has not remained unanswered.

Right now, we have Brexit, a growing popularity of extremist parties, an unprecedented frequency of Islamic bomb attacks, thousands of migrants waiting inside and outside of Europe, a new approach to the immigrants issue by the government of Rome.

At the same time, the concerns of the European member states related to this phenomenon are different, Italy seems concentrated in northern Africa which sends a huge wave of economic and political emigrants across the Mediterranean Sea, while France and Belgium are rather focused on their own Muslim communities, in part radicalized and generating a dangerous and militant Islamism.

It's no doubt that the migratory waves bring new forms of conflict, such as cultural, religious, behavioral, ultimately, a structural problem of Western societies. Without being new in history, the impact with these migratory waves has changed the society as a whole, and has generated a new population, a more dynamic society, in any case, a different society. However, it should be stressed

that the term of conflict used by authors is not equivalent to that of violence and confrontation.

The book brings to the public attention the foreigner's stereotype, namely that the migrants contribute to the Italian economic decline; the invasion of the economy with large masses of foreigners who not only "steal" the jobs, but also the resources of the welfare state now directed only for their security (amounts that are certainly higher than those that they would receive in their country of origin) ultimately lead to the stagnation of the entire economy. So they become the main source of the economic crisis.

In fact, the authors say, for the most part, the Italians refuse immigration jobs, counting on alternative income, the so-called "reserve salary," a widespread situation is that of a young Italian, supported by the family.

Without being a general phenomenon, the sectors occupied by immigrants escape the fiscal control of the state, this being another aspect for which natives are unwilling to accept work done in black (in any case, much less than foreigners who perceive their stay in Italy as a temporary one and therefore the uselessness of paying contributions to the national pension system).

Then, the massive presence of foreigners in a certain sector, whose availability and flexibility is almost limitless, being permanently at the discretion of the employer, makes Italians no longer looking for employment in that area of activity.

The opinion of the authors is that the willingness of immigrants ready to do so-called *ddd jobs* (dirty, dangerous, and demeaning jobs) has allowed the Italians to focus on better paid jobs and, in this way the gender gap in the labor market to be reduced, allowing to Italian women to get jobs. At the same time, statistical data show that the income of a family whose family member is a

migrant is less than about one-third of that of an Italian family.

The statistical data presented show that in the labor market, foreigners are a complementary and not a competitive labor force to the local one, countries with high influxes of immigrants such as Great Britain, Germany or the United States have had extraordinary economic growth, compared to Italy, where the level of immigration was much lower.

A barometer showing poor integration is represented by the poor linguistic skills that in turn generate difficulties and gaps. Thus, there is a close link between the level of immigration training and its level of integration in the adoptive country (as it is integrated earlier in the local education system, the foreigner presents fewer elements of diversity and equal opportunities are thus ensured). Otherwise, there is a phenomenon with different forms of ethnic self-isolation, immigrants continuing to live in societies parallels, for example the Chinese and Moroccan communities in Italy, which translate into specific behaviors, the most visible being the religious ones ( it's a new concept of European Islamism) but not only. What is important is therefore primary integration. At the same time, without finding resources to enable them to better integrate in the scholastic system, these communities could generate hostile attitudes towards the adoptive country and serious forms of self-exclusion.

At the end of the book, the authors offer a number of solutions, namely changing community legislation on refugee distribution, providing additional financial resources to those countries that receive more refugees, developing and implementing European programs to operate in countries and regions emigrating generators, such as the case of Libya and its maritime shoreline; at local level, the solutions could be to initiate mechanisms and procedures such as obtaining citizenship in a shorter time than is foreseen in current legislation,



being considered as one of the instruments that accelerate integration, the granting of residence permits for longer period of about six months and the possibility for the immigrant to benefit just almost immediately from the right to work in the labor market. Last but not least, a change in school strategy, so rather than direct enrollment in school cycles, it would be more appropriate to offer language courses to minors who arrived in Italy.

The current demographic situation in Western countries is extreme. Decreased birth rates, assistance to pensioners, along with increasing life expectancy, imbalances between new employees and new retirees on the labor market make it necessary for foreigners to contribute to the well-being of the economy. In order to steadily increase the number of workforce (20-64 years old), 325,000 potential workers should enter Italy each year, according to this study, being thus an engine of economic, cultural and social development.

**Mihaela Mustățea**

**Tim Kirk, *Nazi Party*, (Longman Companions to History), Routledge, 1995, 286 pp.**

The history of Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazi Party represent a topic of interest for both historians and people who found the twentieth century a permanent source of fascination and contradictions.

The vast topic of Nazi Germany makes almost impossible to cover it in several hundreds of pages. Moreover, it is almost impossible to present the subject's extensive historiography in an accessible manner for every reader, regardless of his/her informational background. However, the next book is a challenging reading, which combines the numerous primary sources with an adequate critical way of writing.

Tim Kirk is a professor of European History at Newcastle University and his studies offer a holistic perspective about the rise of National Socialism, the culture, society, the political system and the racial policy of Nazi Germany. Among Kirk's best known related papers we mention: *Opposition and Accommodation in Nazi Germany: An overview of perspectives*; *Film and Politics in South-East Europe: Germany as 'Leading Cultural Nation', 1933-45*; *The Policing of Popular Opinion in Nazi Germany, Antisemitism in the Third Reich*.

The book we are going to analyze is entitled *Nazi Germany*, published in 1995, in the *Longman Companions To History series*. The historian Tim Kirk aims at answering some of the most frequently asked questions regarding interwar Germany. Although the author gives special attention to Hitler's rise to power,

he also offers a rich introduction in order to give his readers a better understanding about the interwar German nation contrasting reality.

It is essential to say that the book's content highlights an obvious and direct link between the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany. Even if the title establishes the chronological parameters between 1933 and 1945, Kirk provides an excellent synthesis, fixing the landmarks of the German political life and providing clear and concise arguments for the failure of parliamentarianism.

The book is organized on themes according to interwar Germany peculiarities. We distinguish five main coordinates: the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazi Party; the Third Reich; economy, society and culture 1918-1945; diplomacy, German rearmament and the outbreak of WWII; antisemitism.

Being an introductory study, the laconic explanations, which are mapping the most important events in German historiography, are accompanied by extensive chronologies.

Having quantitatively restricted chapters, Kirk set out to provide an overview of the topic and also a starting point for further research. Moreover, the book includes specific aspects such as: the structure and institutions of the Weimar Republic, the structure of Hitler's cabinet, the ranks and insignia of the Nazi Party and of the Schutzstaffel (SS).

The book has also a chapter which contains a succinct presentation of some of the Nazi Party leaders and economic, cultural and military officials.

The division of Kirk's book suggests the target group – the students. The concise chapters and the extended chronologies represent a starting point of a thorough study of the Third Reich period. The bibliography section incorporates further reading suggestions, according to the approached topic. Given the

scholarly apparatus, the readers can easily identify other reference books and studies.

After examining topics such as the economy, the culture or the political aspects of Nazi Germany, the author inserts tables which contain primary sources and information for a better in-depth overview. These tables should be doubled by explanatory notes, in order to assure a correct data interpretation.

To sum up, Tim Kirk's Nazi Germany is an essential synthesis for studying the Interwar period of German history, the key elements are emphasized in order to understand the political and ideological transition from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich, as well as the main characteristics of the Nazi regime.

**Alexandra Cojocaru**

**Dana Dumitru, *Revizuirea regulilor războiului: de la intervenția umanitară la atacul preventiv*, București, Institutul de științe politice și relații internaționale „Ion I.C Brătianu”, 2016, 355 pp.**

The field of International Relations is a complex one, with references to its historical component but also to the legal one – namely the International Law. In the Romanian dedicated literature, we can find multiple books or articles that refer to these specific fields as two independent entities without taking into account their dependence. I find this an essential topic because those two aforementioned subjects are more or less interdependent when we speak about humanitarian intervention - which must be sustained by instruments of International Law to prove their legality.

The book *Revizuirea regulilor războiului: de la intervenția umanitară la atacul preventiv* (*Rewriting the Rules of War: From Humanitarian Intervention to Preventive War*) focuses on the transition from normal intervention - always endorsed by the UN and the Security Council resolutions - to 'preventive war', a concept newly introduced in the international terminology after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States.

The book's author Dana Dumitru unveils the importance of mutual recognition of sovereignty by states and also the necessity of shaping the present set of rules regarding intervention according to a post - 9/11 society - when new types of threats are defined by the Security Council. On the other hand, she adds and explains the 'responsibility to protect' concept and how the sovereign states do indeed enjoy several rights yet they also must assure their citizens' security. If

this does not happen, the international community has the right to intervene to stabilize the situation.

A variety of cases are being analysed - Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo, Bosnia, Darfur, and Libya - all being presented with a comprehensive historical background. Moreover, it has a thorough study on how the world order is maintained through resorting to military interventions in situations that can endanger the international peace and security - whether there are humanitarian or preventive ones.

Ms. Dumitru has three main objectives in her writing: the political and military context, analysing the norms that represented the legal basis of the interventions and the typology of the new wars carried out by the international community since the 1990s.

The author argues that states' practice has brought a change in mentality regarding the humanitarian and preventive military interventions, thus introducing two other terms - the idea of pluralism and solidarity.

What sparked my interest for this book was not only its uniqueness in this area of study but also the way case-studies are explained and their relevance is emphasized from the perspective of International Law.

Each case was presented within its historical context and then it was approached from the international community perspective over the situation. Moreover, the author established a well-argued parallel with international law and finally introduced legal instruments such as the UN Resolutions.

Another aspect worth noting is the substantial bibliography. The author includes links to the documents used in the research, offering the reader the opportunity to further explore them in their entirety.

The book is reminiscent of one of Anne Orford's works, "*Reading Humanitarian Intervention*". Yet Ms. Dumitru's book is more accessible to the audience for being written in Romanian and not that detail-oriented as the above-mentioned one.

While Mrs. Dumitru's book is mainly based on a quick revision of the vital cases that changed the history and the understanding of International Law, Anne Orford's book is theoretically rich and engaging.

Both authors draw freely from customary analytical fields and they soon start to be multi-dimensional, trying to comprehend so much different information in a single phrase that the parallelism sometimes may become overwhelming. Unfortunately, in her book I didn't find information about what had happened in East Timor and, unlike other writers, her approach to Kosovo wasn't as critical as expected. On the other hand, the author keeps a safe distance from Oxford's and other known authors' tendencies to reinforce the West's self-depiction as the "Great White Saviour" who arrives just in time to stop the primitive violence of underdeveloped civilizations.

After reading this book one can understand why some influential states may decide not get involved in a particular crisis and why some humanitarian interventions have done more harm than good in some communities. It also helps the reader to understand why African states such as Somalia or Sudan are considered to be failed states regardless of the involvement and aid received from the international community or why terrorism has especially spread in Arab and underdeveloped African countries.

**Bianca Elena Tudor**