

BOOK REVIEWS

Stelian Neagoe (editor)

Alexandru Marghiloman, Discursuri parlamentare, novel edition and post-word by Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 2014, 2 vol., 1088 p.

This work sustains two massive volumes, issued recently at Editura Machiavelli, a publishing house of a real notoriety, occasioned by the restitution of several important moments of Romanian modern history, which bring to the fore for the Romanian reader the figure of Alexandru Marghiloman, an important political man, leader of the Conservative Party, whose activity is correlated with the period that includes the last two decades of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century: Alexandru Marghiloman (1864-1925). This Romanian politician was not solely one of the main representatives of the Romanian political rhetoric, in a period named by the common sense still *la belle époque*, found by the reader also in the works of Caragiale, but also a personality full of colour. Alexandru Marghiloman was son of a conservatory politician from the Romanian town Buzău, Iancu Marghiloman, mentioned in Bălcescu's memoirs as an adversary of the 1848 Revolution, became afterwards an advocate of the Union and of Cuza, as well as of Irina (born Isvoranu, from a well-known family of boyars from Oltenia region), whose beauty impressed also the above mentioned Prince of the Union. He was surnamed, not only due to his ideas, but also to his manners, the Walachian Lord. A proof of these English manners is his role of founder of the Romanian exclusivist Jockey Club, whose model one can find in the British capital.

These biographical details are not deprived of meaning as they describe a certain political and cultural atmosphere, and indirectly, they contribute to defining the social framework of the first modernization (and, we believe, the only truly successful one) of the Romanian society, which unfolds until the WWI.

Alexandru Marghiloman was, especially during the first part of his political career, someone close to the cultural current surrounding Junimea, which was led from a political perspective by P.P. Carp and under the cultural aspect by Titu Maiorescu. This fact did not protect Al. Marghiloman, though, from the ironic Eminescian investigation concerning the ethnical origins of his family (see the article entitled ["His Holiness *musiu* Chișu"], in Eminescu, *Publicistică*, edition D. Vatamaniuc, Romanian Academy, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2000, vol. V, p. 865). The Parliamentary discourses of Al. Marghiloman are a testimony of a dense and perseverant political activity, in the spirit of the ideas sustained by the Romanian conservatism (different, under some aspects, from its British model). It is impossible to render here the great variety of the subjects approached by the political oratory of Al. Marghiloman.

Although these were somewhat disparate, when set one next to the other they illustrate well the political mores of the epoch, as well as the guiding lines of the confrontation between liberalism and conservatism and many times we can recognize the influence of the ideas of Carp and Maiorescu concerning the forms without content in the Romanian society. This is one of the major merits of this edition dedicated to the oratorical production of Marghiloman during the period unfolding from 1895 and until 1920 (as shown in a note on the edition, this first part of the oratorical activity of Marghiloman was published even since 1916, during his life).

The Romanian reader will be, undoubtedly, interested mostly in the very much discussed period of the political activity of Marghiloman, the period characterized by his so-called "philo-Germanism". However, how it is known, Marghiloman was not, up to a certain point, alone on this path, as other politicians (P. P. Carp, for instance, or C. Stere, both literate and political figure) followed it, for diverse reasons, undertaking the same direction.

In the Discourses of Marghiloman one may encounter certain details that could provide an explanation for his adversity toward the French type model of liberal democracy as practiced by

the Romanian liberals and which we believe to at least partially account for (next to the political topic of Ardeal region) the adhesion of the liberals to the cause of the Entente.

A significant moment could be identified in the fall of the Carp Government in the spring of 1912, following the well-known “trams’ affair.” In that situation Carp preferred to resign, remaining in solidarity with Marghiloman, ministry of internal affairs in his government. In fact, the “trams’ affair”, which was to last in the collective memory for a long while, seemed to be, actually, a first moment of parting of the ways in the characteristics of the politics sustained on the banks of the river Dâmbovița: the old friend of Carp, Titu Maiorescu, became his adversary (and these aspects are very well construed by the editor, Stelian Neagoe, in a note at page 735).

From here on, the tensions between the political sides were to become more acute, with a reputable resolution, in which light Al. Marghiloman was to pass as a misunderstood of the Romania politics in the epoch preceding the Great Union (the reader should consult, regarding this subject, as well the reflections of the editor from the preface of the volume).

In this respect, the reading of the two toms of the Discourses of Marghiloman offer many more such satisfactions for a reader who undertakes the role of a “detective of history,” shedding light upon several obscure moments of the history of modern Romania.

Ion Goian

Mircea Malița, Dan Dungaci

Istoria prin ochii diplomatului. Supraviețuirea prin Diplomatie, “Deceniul Deschiderii” (1962-1972) și Crizele Lumii Globale, RAO Publishing House, Bucharest, 2014, 380 p.

The volume “History through the Eyes of the Diplomat”, approaches a generous topic through a conversation between Mircea Malița and Dan Dungaci on history of Romanian diplomacy. The demarche comes in the context of the anniversary of more than 150 years of survival through diplomacy. Although the book is divided into three parts, as the subtitle suggests, it can be seen as a whole, whereas the dialogue is coherent. However, we should specify that the three major subjects approached in this volume are *Survival through Diplomacy*, *the Decade of Openness* (seen in between 1962-1972) and *Global World Crises*.

Mr. Dan Dungaci, the Director of the Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations of the Romanian Academy, President of the Black Sea Foundation, Professor at the Department of Sociology from University of Bucharest and coordinator of the Master of Security Studies from the same University, but also an associate researcher in various Western institutions with constant contributions on fields such as international relations, nationalism, cultural or political sciences studies, initiates a valuable written conversation with Academician Mircea Malița, a remarkable personality of the Romanian diplomacy and major contributor for the development of culture, education and prospective studies, former Minister of Education with results in introducing computers and foreign languages in Romanian Educational system, but also, one at the time, Ambassador at UNO, in USA and Switzerland.

The unicity of this volume might be that this approach is not only a record of some remarkable events from a significant part from the history of Romanian diplomacy, but also includes lived moments, details from the diplomat’s life that come with the purpose of sustaining the truthfulness of the mentioned aspects with theories and a detailed context and views coming from both authors.

One of the most relevant theories is presented right from the start, in the book’s *Foreword*, the *Theory of the First Strike*, referring to the possibility of avoiding a nuclear war. Briefly, it was about the possibility of an agreement between the two Great Powers, “which stipulated that any possible nuclear conflict, even in an exceptional case when it cannot be avoided, it should not directly address the two Great Powers. In other words, if one of them would have triggered the nuclear attack, the first strike shouldn’t have been oriented towards the territory of the Great

Power's enemy, but to the territories of its allies! The response that would follow from the other Great Power would have aimed, in turn, also an allied territory of the enemy" (p. 17).

Going further, the volume implies that there are some aspects from our history left aside, without having been given enough credit, which should be known.

In the first part of this book, *Survival through diplomacy* the authors bring into discussion how diplomacy evolved through history. An important number of pages are dedicated to clarify diplomat's status within a nation in the process of assertion. Thus, the reader is reminded that things that are often crucial, usually take place on backstage and after a prolific exchange of views, Dan Dungaciu concludes that a small country has to have diplomats better qualified than an empire (p. 28).

Further, the volume highlights several aspects related to the diplomacy of some former leaders, before, during and after the monarchy era from Romania. In this respect, they remind us about the most long-standing Constitution of Romania, the one that lasted from 1866 until 1923, written during Carol I's reign. That period was a change in the country's climate, due to the fact that during Cuza the romanians were used with relaxed morals and Carol I's arrival, during a cohabitation between France and Germany took a different turn, even after the Franco-Prussian War, Mircea Malița considering it as "*the first modern revolution, the first step towards modernity and civilization of Romania*", the major constructions phase (p. 59). Dan Dungaciu mentions that in the same decade, thanks to his cultural openness, "Carol I's monarchy was the epitome of a modernization process" (p. 65), Mircea Malița saying that this has allowed many Romanian cultural figures to be distinguished, especially figures like Spiru Haret, Mihai Eminescu, Ion Creangă, Caragiale, Hașdeu, Barbu Delavrancea, Coșbuc, Vlahuță, Țițeica, Istrati, Racoviță, Poni or Cantacuzino, culminating in 1866 with the appearance of the Romanian Academy, emblematic expression of these developments (p. 65).

The year of Carol I's death, coincides with the start of World War I and a series of territorial changes and styles of diplomacy, Take Ionescu and Brătianu coming in the foreground. Brătianu was a follower of realism, unlike Take Ionescu, who was a follower of peace and negotiations and of Wilson's 14 Points, for instance. Further, Mircea Malița emphasizes the importance of the Unification from Alba Iulia and other significant but not necessarily well-known events from history and brings to attention the connections between Take Ionescu's and Titulescu's diplomacy strategies.

And after World War II, and more specifically during the Iron Curtain, Mircea Malița begins his career in international relations and the volume starts to have another value added part, the diplomat's remarks, as an active participant on some memorable events and in this regard it is worth mentioning the contribution of Sadoveanu, Maurer and also Moisil in his new path.

Another interesting theory is that Mircea Malița argues that, in fact, the so called Cold War was not a real war, but, "the two sides, US and USSR have created a kind of *pax-atomica*, which functioned on the basis of what I call *proto-agreements*, which continuously adjusted the situation" (p. 169).

Further, authors present us *The Decade of Openness*, as mentioned above, between 1962 - 1972, previously detailed in a volume written by Mircea Malița in collaboration with Dinu Giurescu. This decade was characterized by the opening of foreign policy, strategy that was developed by Dej and Maurer, aiming the weakening of the Soviet Union's influence (p. 191). The following rows are taking us during the implementation of that policy, explains us the means by which this *Openness* took place, and then the authors present us the transition from Dej to Ceaușescu.

The volume continues evoking important negotiations with Arab states, and then reaching Academician Mircea Malița's activity as an Ambassador in some key places, such as Switzerland (Bern), UNO (Geneva), or Washington. These pages bring on the one hand the personal dimension of his activity as an ambassador and on the other hand remind us about the valences of diplomatic missions and enable us to look at our recent history from a different light, an illuminating one.

Another side of Academician Mircea Malița evoked in these lines is that of the Founding President of the Black Sea University Foundation. This foundation has emerged in the context of the "Istanbul Conference of 25 June 1992 when it was adopted by signing of a declaration, the

Black Sea Economic Cooperation Initiative” (p. 326), and a similar measure was considered necessary, but at a cultural level. Mircea Malița mentioned that the Foundation was created in order of developing studies on the Black Sea, as an international center for research and training, and the following pages make a short history of this area, presenting the main influences. Also, it is worth mentioning that Black Sea University Foundation has also developed a Conflict Prevention Center, which at that time was the first of its kind in Romania (p. 334).

In the next pages, the authors make a short foray into the *Global World Crisis*. This part also contains visions on how the challenges of globalizations had evolved, what are the main problems of postmodernism and what triggered them. On the same time, we are made aware of how prospective studies appeared and we receive information about the Center for Prospective Studies from Romania, which appeared in 1962, center which now runs Under the Aegis of the Romanian Academy, at Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations.

How will those from 2050 look at the European Union, respectively at Romania, or how we could implement the anticipative education and approach the technological revolution, are some matters on which we are urged to meditate.

The volume published in order of getting closer to the true, comes with a series of events and personalities which marked the diplomacy’s pursuit. Besides this, we get a perspective coming from the inside; we get a closer look at the scene of foreign affairs, with a detailed context. The book structured as a dialogue, manages to keep us in suspense and to make us feel like we have been witnesses of the most relevant events in history. Also, the volume can be seen as a reminder that many treaties and agreements that were decisive for our history were supported by discrete actions and inspired choices of some remarkable diplomats, which remain behind the curtains.

Cristina-Georgiana Ivan

Sebastian Vaduva, Andrew R. Thomas (editors)

Geopolitics, Development, and National Security. Romania and Moldova at the Crossroads, Springer, 2015, 118 pp.

The innovatory endeavor of the *Geopolitics, Development, and National Security. Romania and Moldova at the Crossroads* volume, competently guided and carefully coordinated from the control tower of academic research by Sebastian Vaduva and Andrew R. Thomas - gathers together analytical interpretations authoritatively offering a review of (still – fragile) semantic concepts of Eastern Europe, as well as an investigation of the modifications-mutations they have recently undergone in the period immediately following the historical crossroads event symbolically marked by the fall of the Iron Curtain. The studies included in the volume harmonize the authors’ perspective with the vision offered by the political commentator / specialist, and the rigorously scientific opinions of researchers and professors.

The premise advanced by the book is the adoption of a clarified and defined concept of Eastern Europe, a methodology characteristic for the 21st century, with incursions into activated *nodal points* within geopolitical, security and development problems, inevitably leading to the observation that *every nation has its unique distinctiveness and unmistakable identity*.

Research is undertaken using a *focus zoom* upon both Romania and the Republic of Moldova, tracing the profile and the clearly unique individualizing status of both states, insisting upon *distinctiveness* mechanisms and the establishment of a personal identity; a nuanced and subdued approach, indebted to the incontestable reality of interdependence between their language- history-culture domains, and testifying to their common origins.

This inlaid vision promotes and stimulates the relation (within a specific frame) between recent theoretical research, practical applications and security policies for the Black Sea region with culturological analyses, organizational developmental studies and risk evaluations, while underlining a vital demand for security. In this sense, Eastern Europe can be considered a

strategically space with decisive role in instituting a complex relationship / program of both *rapprochement* and *departure with regard to the rest of the world*.

It is not by chance that, applying the systematical re-reading and rewriting technique, both Marcel Corniș-Pope and John Neubauer suggest, by re-launching the *node concept* (as it is perceived in various instances: topographically, temporally, figuratively or institutionally) Eastern Europe's availability in pleading (on culturological grounds) for a summation of convergences able to overtake the state of classicist regimentation recharged through the national – ethnic – generic series.

In a first stage of *unknotting* the firm alliance representative of the relationship between administration and government politics (*Governmental Administration and the Security of Romania in a Global Context*), S. Vaduva and Petru Filip reconfirm the dynamic relationship between carefully monitored values; increasing administrative performance, and achieving the objectives of governance and security. The obvious observation is assaulted by the inconsistency, chaos and incertitude belonging to exponential factors of the globalized world, with sufficient deficiencies in the process of reconciling *democracies and democracy*.

If a deficit of adaptation persists today between actual society and the demands of the *saeculum* (blocked within the use and application of classical methods and instruments) then a reconsideration of local specificities / symbols (an already- validated historical model) seems to be the pertinent solution for overtaking (in Romania's case) the hyper- turbulent obstacles of a world in permanent transformation.

Contextualizing (see the theoretical meeting between Huntington and Weber) the labeling sliding of Romanian European post- integration spaces from a normative legal model to a managerial analytical one, the conclusion of the first chapter expresses, in a Farazmandian sense, the imperative of urgently implementing a "new administrative capacity". This should be able to correct and compensate the exclusive emphasis placed upon the use of cultures and traditions seen as impediments in the counter- tradition of modernization, but also to dynamize any opportunities for reclaiming multi-system experiences within an European guidance system. Despite wariness and tectonic movements / replies, the authors are certain that Romania has both the legal space and statute to be declared a natural, constitutive and rightful part both of the European Union (as a figurative and institutional *node*) and the global world at large.

The second chapter (*Geopolitics and Security by the Black Sea: the Strategic Options of Romania and Republic of Moldova*) inscribes the extended Black Sea zone project inside the theoretical strategy of accenting premises and specific *frameworks*, while at the same time representing an opportunity for including the operating registry of geopolitical analysis inside the investigative frame dealing with applied security criteria.

Not trying to avoid the European political context, and still within the fabric of technicalities and predictions, Dan Dungaciu indicates a new direction establishing the sense distinctions between *frontier* and *border*, appealing both to the argument of expanding Euro- Atlantic *borders* towards Central Asia, and to the hypothesis of the Black Sea area seen as a *frontier* space. Geopolitical *directions* – East-West / North-South – are reinvested with the label of *relative concepts*, offering, from the perspective and in the benefit of regional studies, an explanation / clarification of conceptual notions and constructs with high approximation levels – "*high politics*" vs. "*low politics*"; *threats and vulnerabilities*; *objects of security*; *military, political, economic, societal or environmental security*.

If we place actual political contexts under the Euro-Atlantic sign, as a favored image but also under the influence of shocks resounding from within European and zonal mutations (with all assumed precautions towards the export compatibility of the Baltic model, or morphological and geopolitical similarities inside the region of the Baltic – Mediterranean – Black Sea) amplified by any hiatus persistent in the structures of unevenly intensified Europeanization, Dan Dungaciu's warning demands urgent solutions for any frozen conflict, through unmediated appeal to complex Black Sea area strategies (pages 48-49).

Concerned by the interaction between the global and the local, and insisting upon the intensification of local infrastructures and reducing inequalities, Cătălin Postelnicu and Dan-Cristian Dabija (*Transfer and Diffusion of New Technologies within the Supply Chain of Multinational Companies with Operations in Romania – A Contemporary Approach*) comment upon the transfer of new technologies and security endowments, while at the same time monitoring any repercussions

of transfer as they reflect in the *transfer – dissemination – absorption* circuit, and noting that technological revolution triggers and accomplishes economic globalization and facilitates production delocalization at the needed pace (page 62).

Deficient access to new technologies justifies its dysfunctionalities by invoking low adsorption rates for new technical procedures, a consistent lack of human capital, or the absence of specialization and funding. Regarding the process by which the discrepancies between / in poor and rich countries are continuously growing, the present chapter author's conviction is that differences between states can be overcome by applying multinational company strategies, such as using model- resources and guaranteeing a high potential by knowing and implementing them.

Through particular interest shown for cultural nodes, the chapter *Growth, Security and Development in the Romanian Hospitality Industry* values the experimental method, the investigatory and exploratory endeavor, the way in which standards can become functional norms, the differences between cultural norms and interpersonal interests. Authors Joseph Takacs, Sebastian Vaduva and Tiberiu Cerghit unite their initiatives in a paper signaling the involvement of culture into an associative project implemented between service providers and consumers, by offering a redefining relationship for the best practices in any field of work.

Tracing the potential sources for any generic theme – *geopolitics* and *security* – by valuing particular significances identified in semantic transient spaces spotted / located in areas moving from the *node* concept towards articulated *network technologies*, the two above-mentioned sub-chapters mark the authors' appetite for a reticulated restructuring of arguments with impact within the influence and influencing of contexts.

If, inside the volume's economy, these can be seen as mediation elements gluing together the general frame and the focused perspective (see the last two chapters) the analytical content decides the way finished studies will be exposed to the flow; so that any study, while individually consistent and durable, also answers any announced preexisting problems only in relationship with all the others.

Igor Prisac clarifies and defines, in *Between Russia and the EU: the Sociopolitics of the Republic of Moldova – A Transdisciplinary Approach*, the phases and problems of transition, with an accent upon (comparative) studies applied mainly to the Republic of Moldova, but also to Romania, the Ukraine and Georgia. Transdisciplinary approach implies a synergic complex method, used here in conjunction with systems theory, historically- analytical methods and quantitative methods.

In fact, the conceptual *frame* does not allow the whole range of signs and signals of de-totalitarianization and post- totalitarianism to be subtracted from the semiotic circuitry already operating within it.

From a synergistic point of view, the evolution of Moldova's social – political system, referencing the self – organizing principle, can be chronologically presented by the following sequences: the bifurcation phase (1990-1994), the chaotic phase (1994-2001), the crystallization stage (2001-2009) and the consolidation through European integration phase (2009 – present) – page 98. Beyond NATO integration, as a tempting target for any regional social – political process, the European Union remains an organization with active structure status, able to diminish the entropy gathered during the years of independence.

Unable to avoid the trans- systemic / historic dimension of religion- geopolitics confluences, Aurelian Botica (*Striving for Military and Economic Security*) brings to the fore the concepts of military, economic and personal security, offering contrasting forms – Mesopotamian polytheism- Biblical monotheism, involved in the recalibration of the ritualistic sense of "being in control", "manipulating", "protecting", or "guaranteeing" a certain *status quo*.

Without unduly insisting upon a more – than – technical escalation of chapters and certifying the highly – performing level of each study, the volume presents an unitary structure and thematic homogeneity by correctly and efficiently appraising perspectives, dimensions and previsions dedicated to physiognomy clarifications (*distinctivities*) of an area (both *node* and *crossroads*) in the East.

In conclusion, we note an editorial endeavor coming at the right moment and offering the opportunity of re-appreciation and reevaluation of the intersecting East-West registry, an intercessory enterprise positioned between reality and fiction, history and utopia, an *intellectualizing double-bind* impacting the local and the universal in equal measure.

Viorella Manolache