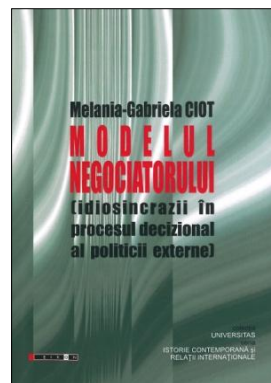# VI. Book reviews

LEADERSHIP AND NEGOTIATION IN FOREIGN POLICY

Mircea BRIE[*]

Melania-Gabriela Ciot, *Modelul negociatorului (idiosincrazii în procesul decizional al politicii externe) / Model of negotiator (idiosyncrasies in foreign policy decision making)*, EIKON, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, ISBN: 978-973-757-694-1, 413 p.

The work is remarkable for at least 4 components: methodology, contents, documentation sources, and stylistic / language component. The author's merit is with the idea and the subject of great interest and currency, and with her knowledge to use theory in order to explain the particular and vice versa, the use the particular for explaining the theory.

Mrs. Melania–Gabriela Ciot structures her work in 7 chapters: introduction, developments in the international system after the Cold War, foreign policy decision making – recent approach, alternative models of decision making, idiosyncrasies in foreign policy decision making, idiosyncratic analysis process in the process of negotiating accession for Romania to the EU (case study) and conclusions.

After a generous *Introduction* that places the subject matter within a theme (in the wider context of studies on decision making), there is a presentation of the methodology, assumptions and premises of research; the author proposes a logical demarche that implies an approach from the general to the particular, and in an explanatory manner, from a case study to the solving of paradigms formulated as hypotheses. The author is interested in the psychology of decision making applicable in foreign policy. Her study focuses on the factors that have generated actions and events in foreign policy, not just the action of states and their leaders. The author's intention is to „get inside the leaders' minds", the decision-makers. The psycho-pedagogical training of Mrs. Gabriela Ciot proved extremely useful in terms of the conceptual and methodological approach.

The author proves an advocate of dialogue, communication and cooperation through negotiation to develop a space of security and understanding.

Methodologically, in the study of decision making a particular emphasis is placed on the elements of subjectivity, of idiosyncrasies. The methodology is qualitative: the case study aims to investigate the extent and the manner in which idiosyncrasies, as elements of subjectivity, especially of the psychological type, manage to put their mark on decision making (the research itself refers to the analysis of interviews, media representations, public and political speeches of Romania's chief negotiator with the EU, Prof. Vasile Puşcaş) (Ciot, 2012: 16).

The theoretical part of the paper begins with a thematic and conceptual contextualization. Chapter *Developments in the international system after the Cold War* is

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a modern complex analysis of recent changes in the international system, made through the transition from bipolar to the unipolar and later multipolar systems. The author makes a radiograph of the post-crisis situation, a description of the evolution of the international economic framework at the end of the first decade of the XXI century. Also the author makes a portrait of international policy framework in the post-Cold War. In this context, as the author shows, the Europeans want to define their own political agenda, while the U.S. has a structural power in the world that followed the collapse of the two antagonistic blocs. The American power, the author believes, will continue to play a catalyst role on the world stage if it is based on smart power and not on political-military power (Ciot, 2012: 35). By analysing the two international forums, levers of global governance, the G20 (forum of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors) and the G7/8 (its parents), the author attempts to discern how to ensure global economic stability including through the stable international banking market. The author identifies in this chapter all the contemporary international system actors who are „nation-states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), transnational corporations (TNC), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and stakeholders – networks" (Ciot, 2012: 41) and their contribution to global economic stability. The author argues for restructuring the post-Cold War international system. A first factor that can bring changes in the international system is „limiting the role of some international institutions", the author citing NATO whose role has increased after the Cold War. Another factor that can cause changes in the international system is its continuous balancing, the national capacities of the state being subject to constant change. The international system is unipolar and the polarity is uncertain – this is the third factor-driver of change (Puşcaş, 2012; Brie, Polgar, and Chirodea, 2012). If Europe returns to the system of international relations is a matter of speculation, believes the author, after two world wars ended any European supremacy (Ciot, 2012: 54). In the subsection *Concepts and theories of contemporary international system restructuring*, the author starts from the concept of Professor Nye (defined in the context of 1990) which defined the current order as a world of interdependencies where the greatest power should rule, otherwise the system stability would be in danger (apud Ciot, 2012: 57). The same Professor Nye talked about three categories of power: soft power (co-optive power), hard power (the traditional power, the military forces) and „smart power" that he considers the ability to combine hard power with soft power. Other theories consider global civil society as a future world political order. Stefano Bartolini's theory (apud Ciot, 2012: 61) considers that the political structuring under the territorial boundaries change. The author talks about the power of diversity that reduces the gap between communities and values joint projects. Mathias Albert brought to the reader's attention by the author, talks about the modern theory of systems. Here, the existing global society is closely linked to communication by any means that the society has. A recent theory mentioned by the author is that of Benjamin Miller's regional war and peace by which he assumes the existence of conflict and cooperation among the great powers. Doran's power cycle theory, cited by the author, takes into account the development of France during three centuries, examining the factors that determine a power to become hegemonic. States changes their role in the system simultaneously with changes in the system, shows the author. Regarding the current state of the international system restructuring, the author believes that this has been waiting for more than two decades to be restructured. The present era is a world where „global interdependence do not manifest themselves in the economic area only, but also in the areas of political, social, cultural and communication realms" (Ciot, 2012: 68). These interdependencies are products of historical evolution and not accessories of the crisis, are the shared opinions of professors Puşcaş and Modelski, as cited by the author. The events

of „9/11" 2001 and the global economic crisis signalled the need for change in the international system. It requires the concept of the *New World Order* that supposes both cooperation and conflicts so that decent stages of human dignity are achieved.

In Chapter 3, *Foreign policy decision-making process - recent approaches*, the author presents mechanisms and traditional models of decision making. The use of methods pertaining to cognitive psychology in the areas of economics, political science and management has raised new problems and new approaches were found. The author defines the scope of her interrogations and research: „Why is it important to study decision-making in foreign policy? Because thus we can cover cognitive processes that lead to a decision and "we can enter the minds" of leaders who take decisions. Also , we can identify individual and general patterns of decisions and we can generate views on leadership styles and personalities of leaders who cannot be revealed through a systematic approach to foreign policy analysis . This approach to foreign policy analysis has the potential to bring a bigger, better contribution to the study of international relations" (Ciot, 2012: 85). Then, the author identifies various considerations on the decision-making process approached from a psychological perspective. Mintz refers to factors that influence decision making. (apud Ciot, 2012: 86) Leaders' uncertainties are due to factors related to the motivations, beliefs, intentions or opposition calculations, shows the author (Ciot, 2012: 87). After Elizabeth Brigham and Christopher Hill there are two components of decision-making, i.e. development and implementation (apud Ciot, 2012: 88). Regarding the existing types of decisions in foreign policy, they are: singular, interactive, sequential, sequential-interactive, and group decisions. Singular decisions are rare in international relations because it involves a single decision maker, the interactive decisions involves two players; then the author mentions sequential decisions, which are in fact a series of decisions that link between them, see for instance the sequential description of the U.S. to attack Iraq. The sequential - interactive decisions are common in international relations, the example provided here being the arms race. The author mentions that there are three levels at which decisions about foreign policy follow sequence: individual, group, coalition (Ciot, 2012: 95). There are three levels of analysis of foreign policy: the systemic level (e.g. power distribution), the nation-state level (e.g. government), the individual level (individual entities). Foreign policy decisions are taken by environmental factors such as: time constraints, informational constraints, ambiguity, familiarity, responsibility, risk, stress, dynamic frames vs. static frames, interactive teaching (Ciot, 2012: 101). For the analysis of foreign policy decision making, the author identifies three models: the rational actor model, the organizational behaviour model, and the government policy model. The rational actor model, as shown by Goldstein involves the following steps: setting clear goals in the given situation, placing purposes in order according to importance, establishing alternatives to achieve goals, investigation of the consequences of each alternative and choosing the best alternative. The second model shown by the author is the model of organizational behaviour that the author defines as a "classic model [that] emphasizes the benefits of division of labour, of hierarchy and of centralization associated with expertise, rationality and obedience" (Ciot, 2012: 146). The third model is the model of government policies which assumes that it is based on a "negotiation process" in which individuals compete for power. This model is based on several actors (players).

In Chapter 4, *Alternative models for decision making*, we are proposed new models, "more flexible and more dynamic", with a focus is on the psychological approach. The first alternative mentioned by the author is the cybernetic model. The author states that the "cybernetic model of decision making states that the uncertainty is minimized by the use of feedback information loops." In this case the rational model is not used in the absence of the

necessary skills. The decisions to be taken in this case are simple, requiring no additional processing means. A second alternative model of decision making is the prospective theory, a psychological theory used to study decision making. The key to predict international phenomena "is to understand the nature of risk-taking behaviour in international politics" (Ciot, 2012: 183). Risk appears in uncertain situations. This theory takes into consideration the individual predispositions of a leader to risk, and the leader's decision-making and reasoning. A third alternative model of decision making is the polyheuristic theory. According to Mintz, this is a combination of cognitive and rational schools of interpretation of the decision-making mechanism (apud Ciot, 2012: 194): "the polyheuristic theory agrees with the cybernetic model, in the sense that the options seemed that had seemed based on the principle of non-compensation, used in the first stage, are subject to cost-benefit analysis of normative rationality" (Ciot, 2012: 197). A fourth alternative model of decision-making model is the multiple-flux model. It is a proactive model used in the analysis of researcher Ramona Saikaly in the areas of domestic policy and foreign policy. The changes in are caused by changes in ideas. The political flux includes ideas expressed by communities, researchers, members of the academic staff, groups of analysts. Here at this level, we deal with producing ideas that will shape the future policies. A fifth alternative model of decision making is the psychological approach.

Chapter 5, *Idiosyncrasies in foreign policy decision-making*, is also a theoretical approach to the idiosyncrasies understood as "deviations from established theoretical models known as rational"; this does not mean that the decision maker is irrational, but he, under the influence of subjective factors, escapes from traditional patterns. The negotiation takes on a separate psychological dimension separately.

The rational model of decision making is no longer sufficient, having to deal with idiosyncrasies that the author defines as personal and social factors and which exists at the moment a potential decision is taken. A personal mixture or blend that the leader brings forth when making a decision, the idiosyncrasies represent the leader's subjectivity in relation to an objective reality (an event). There are cognitive idiosyncrasies, idiosyncrasies of social perception, motivational idiosyncrasies, and emotional idiosyncrasies (affective). The cognitive idiosyncrasies are deviations from the rational model, for example, when the negotiator suffers a wrong perception when assessing a risk or a given situation. The second approach derives from cognitive structures (schemas, maps, models). The author groups cognitive idiosyncrasies in five different categories: perception, memory of recovery, integration of information, reasoning and behaviour. The idiosyncrasies of social perception perceive social objects, events and people. They consider the perception of the leader on social entities and social situations. The emotional (affective) idiosyncrasies consider the wrong perceptions and inconsistencies between feelings and actions, and feelings and judgments.

These four categories of idiosyncrasies in the sixth chapter, *Idiosyncratic analysis of Romania's EU accession negotiation process (case study)*, transposed on Romania's EU accession negotiation process, namely on the personal characteristics of the decision maker. It consists of a schematically rendered procedure for accession of a State to the European Union (Puşcaş, 2007). During accession to the European Union, Minister Vasile Puşcaş was involved in the negotiations as the Chief Negotiator of Romania to the European Union. The author specifies that: "The substance of the accession negotiations is the *acquis*, divided into chapters, 31 for the fifth wave of enlargement, 35 for the acceding negotiations with different degrees of difficulty and the candidate countries relate to them according to their internal preparation stage" (Ciot, 2012: 294). Accession negotiations are based on the win-win formula. In the process of Europeanization are internalized values,

laws of the European Union by the candidate state. The author cites Hermann's theoretical model which includes three sections: the nature of the situation, personal characteristics and filters, model that she adjusted by introducing the 4 types of idiosyncrasies: cognitive, of social perception, motivation and emotional (Ciot, 2012: 309) This model was used by the author in public and political discourse analysis, media representations and interviews with Romania's chief negotiator, Professor Puşcaş in 2000-2004.

The *Conclusions* show that out of this research a model of the negotiator might come off, a model for foreign policy decision-making successfully illustrated by Minister Vasile Puşcaş. The author discusses two major axes of analysis: one of the idiosyncrasies and one of the situational factors. The idiosyncrasies manifested at individual level, shows the author, have retained a national character. Also in the conclusions, the author summarizes the four categories through examples of existing speech idiosyncrasies in the case of Romania's chief negotiator. Thus the cognitive idiosyncrasies were "placing, anchoring, availability, usefulness, perceptual/cognitive frameworks, task perception, cognitive consistency, idiosyncrasies related to cognitive contents, idiosyncrasies related to cognitive process, the evoked set, conceptual complexity, integrative complexity, idiosyncrasies of verbal style (...) the presentation of events (explicative optimistic style)", constructs that influence the decision making style, images, historical analogies, etc. (Ciot, 2012: 371-372). There were also identified idiosyncrasies of social perception, such as transparency, perspective approach, prioritizing own interests, knowing the other party (Ciot, 2012: 373). In the motivational idiosyncrasies area, the author identifies the following: self-realization (self-exceedance and use of resource), coherence and balance, cooperation and responsibility (Ciot, 2012: 373). Regarding emotional idiosyncrasies, the author identifies positive and negative emotions which have influenced Romania's chief negotiator with the EU.

We can conclude that the work *Model of negotiator (idiosyncrasies in foreign policy decision making)* is a well-written book that summarizes the most important works in political science and psychology of decision making, whose working methods must be known in order to achieve a complete understanding of the present study.

The reader is invited to discover this analysis that gives substance and consistency to this work

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CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES IN WORLD POLITICS

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Review of: Daniel Biró (coord.), *Relaţiile internaţionale contemporane. Teme centrale în politica mondială,* Iaşi: Polirom, 2013, 335 p., ISBN 978- 973-46-2227-6.

The volume coordinated by Daniel Biró entitled *Relaţiile Internaţionale Contemporane. Teme centrale în politica mondială (International Contemporary Relations. Central themes in World Politics)* contains articles signed by the authors such as: Daniel Biró, Simona R. Soare, Radu – Sebastian Ungureanu, Olivia Toderan, Bogdan Ştefanachi, Mihai Zodian, Şerban Filip Cioculescu, Octavian Milevschi and Stanislav Secrieru, Paula Gângă, Valentin Quintus Nicolescu, Victor Negrescu, Diana Andersson Biró, Mihaela Răileanu, Diana Elena Neaga. The topics approached cover a wide variety of subjects: From the theory of international relations to central themes of world politics; transition of power, Identities and political communities, Diplomacy, International Economic System, the Transfer of arms, proliferation of weapons of mass distruction; terrorism as an ancient phenomenon but in the same time new and surprising, "frozen conflicts" in post- Soviet space; Energy in international relations, Failed states and state construction. The radiography of some concepts and practice contested; Global governance; the Third World; The international development: between politics of development and international public relations; Religion in international relations; On ethics of climate change, The problem of gender in International Relations.

Daniel Biro, in the article *Introduction. From the theory of international relations to central themes of world politics,* asserts that the topics approached in this volume can offer an important perspective of the evolution of the domain. The approach of the time is in function of time and space; if time can offer some central topics, the space makes the author to interpret facts according to his geographical position[1]. The volume, asserts the author, tries to offer an image of the dynamics of political process of the international system (Biró, 2013: 14). It is a "pluralist" text, one that continues the process of continuity in international relations. In the last years, shows the author, on Romanian book market, appeared a few good translations from Anglo- Saxon literature. Then he makes a brief portrait of writings of the present volume, offering interesting details about the papers.

The next work is *Transition of power* written by Simona R. Soare. The author starts with the statement that the discipline of international relations developed at the beginning of 20th century offers predictions and adequate explanations. The author raises the question of transition of power defining the theory of transition of power developed by

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[1] For seeing the ellements of continuity in the field of international relations from XVII, XVIII and XIX century, a good start is the book of Mircea Brie and Ioan Horga, *Relaţiile internaţionale de la echilibru la sfârşitul concertului european (secolul XVII- începutul secolului XX)*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2009.

A F.K. Organski. Thus the theory of transition of power defined by Organski has at its base an important premise: that international anarchical system is constructed on an international order that is not anarchical, but hierarchical, organized in a similar way and after rules similar with internal political order of international actors. (Soare, 2013: 21) The author defines transition of power as being different from the model of balance of power and having at its base competition. The change of system appears as a consequence of a general dissatisfaction with the view of global order. The author mentions revisionist powers that are not satisfied with the general order. (Soare, 2013: 22) When a rival that is an important power in the system is searching to have a new place in the system, the peace is undermined. (Soare, 2013: 22). Then the author gives the example of the theory of the hegemonic transition of Robert Gilpin. This theory offers an answer concerning the causes of apparition of system change. (Soare, 2013: 23) Gilpin offers an explanation to system change and that is the rise and decrease of power of international actors. In the global system, there is always a competition for power and this power is easy to conquer and difficult to be maintained, is the opinion of the author. At the basis of change of international system are unique events, says the author. (Soare, 2013: 24) International order favorizes the states that contributed to the system development, but it will be contested by the powers that are in a process of continuous development and look for a place in the system. These powers tend to contest the static order of international system that doesn't adjust to system translation of powers. In the same the classical big powers that put the basis of the system tend to fight to preserve their power (hegemony). The most important power in the system, the hegemonic state, tends to fight to preserve the system that protects its interests. Simona Soare defines the factors that conduce to change in the system according to Robert Gilpin. These are: stability and equilibrium at the beginning of systemic order; if the benefits of the changing the system are higher than the costs, a state will try to change the existent order; that a state can change the international system by territorial, economic and politic expansion; a state of lack of balance can follow because the status quo is harder to maintain; if it can not be maintained system can be changed. (Soare, 2013: 26) This theory can generate hegemonic war, an armed competition between states that determine which states will govern the international system. The author offers another example, the theory of hegemonic cycles of George Modelski (Soare, 2013: 29). Modelski presents the perspective of evolution of international system, and introduces the concept of cycle in this process. Cyclical evolution is on the base of systemic change thinks Modelski. If hegemonic power loose from its power, the system tends towards multipolarity. Modelski defines the relative duration of systemic translation of power: "The theory of long cycles indicates the fact that international system tends to change at intervals of approximatively a century (hegemonic change) and about two times in each millennium – moment where it exists significant premises of system change". (Soare, 2013: 31). Then the author refers to the theory of long cycles of Joshua Goldstein. Goldstein delimitates five long cycles delimitated by a series of changes in modern international system. The long cycles are for Goldstein delimitated between productivity and war.

Immanuel Wallerstein and his approach of world system are also analyzed by Simona Soare. Wallerstein's approach is a leftist orientation approach. Wallerstein talks about a succession of world systems. He divides the world economy in three categories: a) the center of world economy that is formed from the most powerful states including the hegemonic state, b) semi- periphery that comprises both great powers in decline and in ascension and c). the periphery that comprises the less developed states in world economy

that depends on the centre. The author remarks the systemic transition of power at the beginning of 21th century, that is a transition from single-polarity to multi-polarity[2].

In the article of Radu – Sebastian Ungureanu entitled *Identities and political communities,* it is defined the international relations field as a study of the way in which interact sovereign political entities. The author considers that Neorealism can not offer answers to important political problems. For Neorealists, asserts the author a small political power can be regarded as insignificant, and this is not always the case. Referring to the identities of the actors, the author asserts the change of identity can explain the change of Romania's identity. The new identity of Romania pursues the purpose of democracy, then of a credible member from developed identities. Then the author focus on defining the political community: „Identities of nature would define political communities could have extreme diverse origins –ethnical, linguistic, ideological, religious, racial, related to gender" (Ungureanu, 2013: 44) The author approaches the problem of national political community. In the opinion of the author, the nation is a community in which member individuals acknowledge each other as equals. Their members share sovereignty and unity. There is a nationalism of elites and one of the masses, thinks the author. Another chapter is dedicated by the author to the assertion of national principle that appeared in Europe at the end of the Middle Age. The concept of nation was formulated and spread in Europe after the French Revolution. In the chapter *The End of Cold War: international security and the problem of identities* the author asserts that at the end of cold war, national tensions appeared in the public sphere. The author offers as a case of the wars from former Yugoslavia. Then he dedicates a chapter to a new trend in modern society: globalization and definition of political communities. The flow of economic change, ideas, migrations, technological unification is not a new process, shows the author. A reaction of anti-globalization is the expression of contemporary nationalism (Ungureanu, 2013: 52). Towards globalization, shows the author in the part of conclusions, it appeared violent manifestations of particular groups which want to preserve their particularities.

In the article of Olivia Toderean, *Diplomacy*, the author considers that although diplomacy plays a central role in international relations, it did not capture the attention of specialists. (Toderean, 2013: 61). Then the author presents the main currents existent during time in diplomatic world. She talks of idealism or idealist liberalism, of classical realism for whom „diplomacy is one of the instruments of manifestation, preservation, eventually even of increase of state power to the extent it is based on other attributes of power (especially military force)" (Toderean, 2013: 63). The author also talks of Neo-realism promoted in Waltz's book, *Theory of international politics.* For neo-realism diplomacy is not relevant not even as institution of international system and also not even as an instrument of external politics of states. (Toderean, 2013: 63) Also the author draws the picture of neoliberal institutionalism or neoliberalism, a systemic theory having a few implications for the diplomacy. Neoliberalism puts in its centre the importance of international institutions. Another school of taught is constructivism. Constructivism

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[2] See the article of Dorin I. Dolghi, *Geopolitics and security in the European Neighbourhood*, in *Eurolimes, volume 10 (The Geopolitics of European Frontiers),* Oradea University Press, 2010, p. 181-190 in which the EU is a factor of stability, but also Russia has a strong influence at the Eastern border of EU. EU tries to become a global actor, but there should improve the security governance at its Eastern borders. See also the article of Ioan Horga and Dana Pantea, *Europe from Exclusive borders to inclusive frontiers. Introduction* in *Eurolimes,* volume 4, *Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers,* Oradea University Press, 2007, p. 5-10 taking about the current (then) of European crisis, underline the importance of European borders who can evolve, not generating the actual crises, because markets are interdependant anyway.

identifies the complex processes from international relations field and the consequences of these interactions that are under continuous construction. Another school of taught is postmodernism. The author concludes about postmodernism „in consequence, it sees in diplomacy an extremely important process by which political communities give an answer to the need of mediating complex processes of alienation (of territories, of political power, of economic resources, of personal security, of interstate existent order". (Toderean, 2013: 64) After making a portrait of diplomacy process in the past, the author focused on contemporary diplomacy. In the opinion of the author, democracy is a process of continuous change. According to Hamilton and Langhorne one of the factors that influences the process of diplomacy is the progress in technology and science. The information became the new tool of diplomatic process. The functions of diplomacy are representation, exchange of information, negotiation, protection of citizens' interests, the protection of commercial interests, elaboration of recommendation for a good external policy. In the part of conclusions, the author offers details about the perspectives of diplomacy. After a period of decline of diplomacy, the post 1989 diplomacy had to face the great expectations concerning the creation of a new open diplomacy. In a society in which the interferences between political and economic are very dense, diplomacy has an important role in establishing the welfare of society. (Toderean, 2013: 81)

In the article of Bogdan Ştefanachi, *International economic system* shows that this system is more integrated than ever (Ştefanachi, 2013: 86). The economic crises demonstrated the complex interdependency of global economy[3]. The author allocates a space to the constitution of global economy and the two world wars. In the opinion of the author, the interdependancy of economies could not stop the rise of First World War. In spite of official predictions it followed the crisis from 1929-1933. A total and global war, the Second World War consacrated United State of America as a super power together with Soviet Union. The economy that followed after the Second World War was characterized by liberalism and multilateralism. While industrialized states look for economic expansion, the countries found in the process of development seeked for protectionism to protect their economies. After 1989, we can talk of the „end of history" and liberal values won in Eastern Europe. In economic world prevails globalization and economic liberalism. Then the author brings into discussion the benefits of liberalization at macroeconomic level by diminuation of tariffs, transport and communication costs as a consequence of technologic development. (Ştefanachi, 2013: 92) Also at microeconomic level, these benefits are important shows the author. In order to face competition, companies must search for innovation and to apply new technologies, the rise of imports elliminate the distorsion of monopolist power, when commerce is liberalized, productivity is increased, productivity increases when business environment has to face international demand and best practices of international competitors, shows the author. (Ştefanachi, 2013: 92). But, there is a trend that appear during globalization process that is fragmentation or regionalization (Ştefanachi, 2013: 93). The author defines globalization as the way in which culture, economy and politics is transformed because of the existance

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[3] See the article of Luminiţa Şoproni and Ioan Horga, *The Economic frontiers of Europe- Introduction*, in *Eurolimes, volume 8* (*Europe and Economic Frontiers*), Oradea University Press, 2009,p. 5-6 when during the economic crises the authors are confident in future progress and success of global governance: „Nowadays regions have become bridges between local and global models of economic progress, offering new opportunities for development strategies.

The globalization phenomenon turns frontiers more permeable and confirms the „vision"of Thomas Friedman, who argues that „the world is flat" (Friedman, The world is flat, 2007). At least in the economic world, uniformity represents one of the aims of development" (Şoproni&Horga, 2009: 5)

of interdependencies (Ştefanachi, 2013: 94). The author allocates a space to the institutions of the system from Bretton Woods. The system of Bretton – Woods was establish in 1944 when it took place the monetary and financial conference of United Nations. With this occasion it was created International Monetary Fund. Later on, several institutions were created FMI (International Monetary Fund), BM (Mondial Bank) and GATT (OMC) (Mondial Organization of Commerce).

The article of Simona R. Soare entitled *The transfer of Arms* the author makes the specification that this kind of survay ussually belongs to Security Studies Field. The author starts with some teoretical approaches of arms transfer. Thus a first approach of liberal nature regards the arm transfer as a fundamental limited enterprise from a legal point of view and of capacity of production. (Soare, 2013: 104). The second approach is a realist one sustains that this represents a coagulator factor of social and industrial development (Soare, 2013: 104). The author emphasizes the structural causes of arms transfer that are: the change of system, revolutions in military affairs, changes in models of economic production. Then he allocates a space to the tipology of arms transfer and to arms transwer in international contemporary system.

Mihai Zodian in the article *Proliferation of arms of mass distruction* considers that this phenomenon represented one of the most important threats in security field since the beginning of XXI century.

Şerban Filip Cioculescu in the article *Terrorism, an old phenomenon, but a new and surprising one* asserts that terrorism is the present day threat and not the war. After the events of September 11, 2001 terrorism became subject of research. Then the author tries to see the phenomenon of terrorism in perspective trying to find out its origins, definition, prototipes and implications. Probably terrorism appeared in Antiquity with the massacres of emperors against civil unarmed population. (Cioculescu, 2013: 137) The phenomenon was present in the French Revolution, in Russian Empire mentioning its proliferation in XIX century, then the present day terrorism of Islamic extremism. Then thre author talks about the character of new terrorism. The author identifies in the existent literature different kinds of terrorism. The first would be ethnical and nationalist terrorism, the second type of terrorism is ideological terrorism (there exists left wing groups that militates for the change of regime, passing to communism, break of the alliance of Western states with United States of America, shows the author). Then the author raises the question if Al- Qaeda is the prototype of successfull terrorism also in the future? (Cioculescu, 2013: 149). The opinion of the author is that in the future is will exists beside terrorism for religious grounds also a terrorism with social and economic basis as a consequence of the discrepancies between rich and poor.

Octavian Milevschi and Stanislav Secrieru in the article *„Frozen conflicts" in post-sovietic space* defines "frozen conflicts": "A frozen conflict is considered that conflict in which armed confrontation had stopped, but a real politic solution was not accepted yet, nurturing a Security environment where violence can start anytime" (Milevschi; Secrieru; 2013: 161). He analyzes the concept of frozen conflict at individual level, intra- statal level, inter-states level, global level. He offers a few study cases of "frozen conflicts": Nagorno- Karabah, Southern Osetia, Abhazia, Transnistria, offering in the end of his survey a synthetical analysis of "frozen conflicts".

In the article *Energy in international relations: perspectives and solutions* of Şerban Filip Cioculescu, the author acknowledges that all the states in the world protect their energy resources. Oil and gas are very important for modern economy, starting with the century XIX and XX. There are two kinds of energetic resources: non-regenerable (oil, gas, coal) and regenerable (alternative energy). The author dedicates a space to European

Union and Energetic security, than to NATO and energy, to Russia as a European energetic superpower and to Romania and its energy. In what concerns the situation of Romania, starting with 20th century it has reach resources of oil. But during the two world wars, Romania lost these resources in favor of Germany and USSR. Romania imports from abroad over 32% of its energetic potential. (Filip Cioculescu, 2013: 201). The author mentions the document „Energetic strategy of Romania for the years 2007- 2020" that mentions that in 2010 the need of energy of Romania from external countries will increase at 33% from the total necessary amount. (Filip Cioculescu, 2013: 201)

In the article of Daniel Biro, *Failed states and statal construction. Radiography of some contested concepts and practises*, the author considers that international intervention is very encountered in the process of state – building. (Biro, 2013: 205) When international state assistance is not manifested, the potential state has all chances to fail. The process of state –building as opposed to state failure takes place around the process of nation building, shows the author. (Biro, 2013: 205) After the Second World War it takes place a process of consolidation of institutions of nation – states in Europe, and at global level. Among other aspects, the author refers to the relation between terrorism and failed states that is very encountered. The politics of the years 1990 was a politics of containment and humanitarian intervention, and the author considers it inefficient. What it followed after 11 september 2001, was the fact that the concept of securitization was applied to the whole international system. (Biro, 2013: 223)

In the article of Paula Gângă, *Global governance* the author considers that for global problems are important global solutions. (Gângă, 2013: 232) On international agenda, the problem of global governance is more and more important. The present paper starts by describing the evolution of the phenomenon of globalization. In the opinion of the author, globalization is not a new phenomenon, but it existed from Antiquity. Globalization had no important consequences in the past, but in present times it can lead to global economic crises such as the financial crisis from 2008. (Gângă, 2013: 233) The author allocates a space to global governance and international relations. According to global governance the state is as important as non-governmental organisations, transnational corporations or civil society actors. (Gângă, 2013: 237). Non-governmental associations signals state – abuse. International Organizations also play an important role. In the end of his study, the author makes the critic of global governance.

In the article of Valentin Quintus Nicolescu entitled *Third World*, the author starts with the celebration of independence of 193 state acknowledged by ONU in 2011, Southern Sudan. After two civil wars Southern Sudan separated from Sudan becoming a new state with strong resources of oil. The author points out that in this new state it exists five ethnical groups: Dinka, Nuer, Bari, Azande and Shilluk. Then the author tries to find a definition for the third world. After 1991, there exists first world, the capitalist state stable in terms of political institutions. The Second World is formed from state that benefits from a medium infrastructure with institutions find on the way of consolidation (Nicolescu, 2013: 249) The Third World is formed, in the opinion of the author, from states with very limited resources with an economy of subsistence with a very destroyed infrastructure. Harry Truman in 1949 elaborated the Four points plan separating underdeveloped Third World from the prosperous area of the world. Then the author talks about a few characteristics of the Third World that is characterized by economic, politic, social and cultural particularities. The third world is characterized by economic, social and cultural, political peripherality (Nicolescu, 2013: 254). Then, the author offers a few theories concerning the third world: the theories of modernization, respectively the theories of dependency.

Victor Negrescu in the article *The international development: between politics of development and international public relations* asks himself if poverty at global level can be eradicated. The author assumes this could be a difficult task as 85% from world population lives in modest conditions and generates only 1/5 from global production. (Negrescu, 2013: 265) European Union would like to offer assistance to states found in the process of development, shows the author. A chapter of this study refers to the *role of the countries found in the process of development on international scene.* During the cold war, shows the author, Great Britain and France tried to continue domination in their former colonies. Presently geopolitical interests dominate the relationship between the countries that are developed in their relation with the countries that are in the process of development. (Negrescu, 2013: 268). The author allocates a space to cooperation for development in the theories of international relations. A chapter refers to the realism of development and national interests. The realist approach, shows the author, states that internationally there is a state of anarchy and the states that are international actors act according to their selfish interests. Starting with the concept of soft power the developed states extend their influence diffusing by peaceful mechanisms their own model of development. Then the author approaches the humanitarian liberalism. By offering certain liberal institutional approaches, the author considers that cooperation for development implies both states and individuals (Negrescu, 2013: 274). Having at its base the democratic model, cooperation for development spread democratic model in other states and contributes thus to global stability. In the part of conclusions the author raises the question if Romania is ready to assume a role in international development. And the conclusions of the author are that Romania did important steps in this sense by joining NATO and European Union and implementing the acquis communitaire.

Diana Anderson Biró in the article *Religion in international relations*[4] dedicates a chapter to *Secular mentality and postsecularism in international relations* that separates religion from politics. Religion, still remains an important factor in modern societies. Mihaela Răileanu in the article *About the ethics of climatic change* shows that until the industrialization process began, the nature dominated the life of individuals. Human civilisation goes hand in hand with climate evolution shows the author. Starting with the year 1970, the mankind, shows the author, started to be aware that the climate is changing (Biró, 2013: 298). The evolution of the climate can not be predicted, but it can be a problem for future times, shows the author. Diana Elena Neaga in the article *Problem of gender in international relations* says that although international relations are involving more men's approaches, feminist interpretations are relevant. The author considers that, in Romania, women continue to play a marginal role in society, being very low represented in top structures and very present in casual activities.

The papers grouped in the volume coordinated by Daniel Biró, *Contemporary international relations. Central themes in world politics* bring into the spotlight the latest problems from the field of international relations being an interesting lecture for the readers interested in this field, offering interesting interpretations and helping them to formulate future conclusions in the field of international relations.

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[4] See the article of Ioan Brie, Mircea Brie, *The interreligious Dialogue in the context of the New Europe: The European Ecumenical Movement*, in *Eurolimes,* volume 5 (*Religious frontiers of Europe)*, Oradea University Press, 2008, p. 95- 107 in which the authors emphasize the necessity of interreligious dialogue and of ecumenism of religions in the perspective of building a „New" Europe.

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MEDIA AND EUROPEAN DIVERSITY

Mirela MĂRCUȚ[1]

Review of: Ioan Horga, Luminița Șoproni, *Media and European Diversity,* Bruylant Publishing House, 2010

Keywords: mass-media, intercultural dialogue, European Union, identity

Comprised now out 28 states, the European Union has indeed chosen a representative motto, "Unity in diversity". If the unity part is still a bit problematic for the European Union, no one can deny the massive diversity of cultures, nations, religions, ethnicities and social landscapes of the European Union, which has indeed shaped EU's priorities in the past 50 years.

Managing and creating a balance between such a diversity of cultures can be challenging, but one way to do that is by building bridges of communication between different communities of the European Union. Enhancing intercultural dialogue is done by offering minorities the chance to freely express themselves and the chance to work together to build a better society.

In a borderless Europe, communication between different ethnic, religious communities is encouraged or it should be encouraged by the mass-media, which assumes the role of a shaper of public opinion. The research regarding the role of mass media in society in general is vast and almost exhaustive, but the role of media in conveying diversity, namely European diversity, is still under thorough research, because mass-media acting as liaison between the social and the political and also as a shaper of public opinion can truly convey the importance of intercultural dialogue in building a stronger and more united Europe.

In this context, it is important to take into consideration the publication entitled suggestively *Mass-Media and European Diversity,* edited by Luminița Șoproni and Ioan Horga and published under the auspices of Institute of Euroregional Studies Oradea-Debrecen, a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence. The volume published in 2010 is comprised out of papers presented at the International Conference „Media and European Diversity", held at the University of Oradea in October 2008.

The main theme based on the conclusions of the research presented in this volume is that the role of mass-media in the European society should be based on the process of building connections between different communities. Moreover, in the challenge of building and maintaining European identity, mass-media plays a crucial role, due to its power to influence its audience. The volumeis divided into four distinct sections, namely: *Mass media and local/regional/European identity. European citizenship, Diversity versus convergence in European economic integration, European visibility in the world. Mass media and the image of Europe* and *Managing the European Diversity. Regional*

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disparities. The volume focuses largely on issues such as identity, intercultural dialogue, European integration and European identity

Identity is a key concept in the connection between media and diversity. But what kind of identity? Local, regional, national or European identity? The impact of media in identity is analyzed in the first section of the book. As a starting point for the analysis of the conclusions of the authors, we must provide a background related to this relation. For instance, Ioan Horga concludes in one of his studies that the media still focuses on national aspects, on national identity, rather than on transnational /European aspects (Horga, 2007: 44). As stated above, media influences the way in which we see the surrounding reality, which is, from a social point of view, built inherently in Europe on the relation between majorities and minorities. The media creates representations of identities, which sometimes are one-sided, considering the fact that mostly it is concerned on presenting majority opinions. This argument is supported by the article written by Natasa Simeunovic, entitled *Media Representation of Roma: Exclusion or Inclusion?* in which she analyzes the media representation of the Roma in Serbian press and concludes that their image is more often negatively presented. Media attitudes towards minorities, especially the Roma minority, as largest minority group in the European Union, are largely one-sided. Based on the theoretical analysis, the author assesses that the voice of the Roma population is not heard. Alina Stoica also handles the delicate situation of media representations of the Romanian immigrants, mostly of Roma origin, in Italy. In a similar analysis to the one of Natasa Simeunovic, Alina Stoica shares the belief that media bias is extremely dangerous, as it clearly influences the general public opinion and the civil society, concepts which are analyzed in connection to the civic spirit in a psychological approach applied to Romania, by Dragoş Dărăbăneanu in the article entitled *Determining Factors Of The Civic Spirit And Of The Social Participation In The European Context.* He concludes that the liberal democracies, based on transparency, legitimacy and control are dependent on the notion of public opinion, which is usually the majority opinion. Mass-media can help with the expression of social minorities and are the tools for social control of the public opinion. However, as specified above in the case of showcasing identities, they can distort reality, such as is the case of Romania during the transition to democracy, or the above mentioned case of media bias regarding the Roma minority. Mass-media was just a tool in the dissemination of demagogy. Instead of helping develop a civil society, mass-media was a tool for manipulation.

Despite its negative conotations analyzed in the aforementioned articles, the relation between mass media and diversity is considered to be instrumental in the development of intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding of one's differences. Intercultural dialogue is defined by the Council of Europe as "an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other's global perception." (Council of Europe, 2008). The key term we need to take into consideration is "communication", which can be defined as well as an exchange of views and opinions. Mass-media, as a channel of communication for the population, public opinion or civil society, can be the distributor of the views and perceptions of different cultures. In her article entitled *Memory and Identity in Intercultural Dialogue,* Dana Pantea explains the mechanism of identity and its connotation and underlines the fact that communication is the key to surpass the hostile attitude towards the other. Culture, as a result of the interaction between people and environment, is an exhaustible source of identity, according to Dana Pantea. Despite the fact that the role of media is not mentioned, it is mentioned that the emphasis on communication between different communities is most significant at the borders, which

have been dilluted due to the influence of globalization. Borders have thus become an important source of intercultural dialogue, as they help connect different identities, operating as "bridges" in Europe's cultural archipelago, seen as a shared European cultural area, but with different disruptions (Brie, 2010: 90).

Due to the transformation of mass-media in today's 24/7 news cycle and globalized world, new meda have developed, since the development of the Internet and new forms of communication. In the need for ratings and audiences, the media can become an obstacle to establishing an authentic European cultural citizenship, which is actually based on the maintenance of the European diversity. This point of view is detailed in the article entitled *Mass Media and European Cultural Citizenship.* Starting from the basis of the establishment of a European identity, such as the Greco-Roman tradition, Reinassance or the Enlightenment, the author studies the viability of an EU public sphere, which might serve as a basis for a true European citizenship by emphasizing the fact that the European citizenship, as we understand it today, namely based on the freedoms and rights given to every citizen living in the European Union does not justify the use of the term "cultural citizenship". According to the author, cultural citizenship implies cultural pluralism, which can be cultivated with the help of a healthy intercultural dialogue built on a common foundation. Considering the media's influence in the establishment of a European cultural citizenship, the author concludes that the transformation of the media due to globalization inhibits the development of a public sphere and the cultural citizenship.

Moreover, this transformation has converged to the level of language, a genuine marker of identity, a trend which is analyzed in the article entitled *The Presence of English-Loan Words In The Written Media: The Case Of Two International Women's Magazines,* and written by Simona Veronica Abrudan Caciora. The excessive use of English as a marker of globalization can be a sign of the dillution of a language, and this statement is proved by Mrs. Caciora's analysis with a special focus on glossy magazines, as she states that English, the new universal language, is infiltrating itself in the media language. This might be a sign of promoting diversity, but the author argues that some *anglicisms* which are used seem to be rather redundant.

The challenge of maintaining linguistic identity in today's globalized world is analyzed in Mariana Buda's research regarding multilingualism in the European Union. As a concept aimed at protecting cultural diversity, multilingualism can be difficult to defend if we consider the many accounts according to which English has become an universal language. The EU's attempts at preserving its linguistic identity and diversity are analyzed in Mrs. Buda's articleentitled*L'application Du Multilinguisme Dans L'union Européenne – Un Problème Sans Issue ?*But the reality of the matter is more complicated than it seems. Several solutions are taken into consideration in the article, the most interesting of which could be the creation of a new language or the establishment of three official languages, namely English, French and German.

Today's media is still sensitive to the shaping of identities that lost their exclusively cultural roots, according to the author of the article entitled *Media, Identity and Legitimacy: The First EU-Brazil Summit in the Portuguese Press.* The study case reflecting on the way in which identity, be it national or European, and legitimacy is conveyed in the media takes into consideration the first EU-Brazil summit that took place under the Portuguese presidency of the EU in July 2007 in Lisbon. The cultural and historical links between Portugal and Brazil are mainly exploited in the Portuguese press, thus proving that national rather than European identity and actors are given more importance in the media.

Media can also help build an identity, especially when we take into consideration the similarities between identity and branding, which can be conveyed as a instrument to help build an identity for a target group. This need to build a regional brand is emphasized in the study case by Maka Khvedelidze, entitled *Creating Regional Identity – the Strategy of Promoting a Region.* The regional brand of Georgia is conveyed in this article, considering its socio-economic landscape and advantages regarding regional development. The SWOT analysis presented in the research provides a clear starting picture for the development of a regional brand or identity to Georgia. Contrary to the trend of globalization, regions have become more and more important, but they indeed require an identifier, and that's why a clear brand could become useful in the battle for investors. This point is also presented in other studies (Şoproni, 2008, Şoproni, Popoviciu, 2006, Şoproni, 2006), that consider a case study from Romania, namely the Northern Transylvania region.

The second section of the book is devoted to analyzing socio-economic aspects related to the European integration process, namely *Diversity and Convergence in the European Economic Integration.* This collection of articles focuses rather on socio-economic aspects of the European diversity model. The educational aspects in Oradea are analyzed in different researches, such as *Social Dimensions of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) - Consideration on the International Mobilities of the Students enrolled at the University of Oradea,* or *Communication in the Educational Triangle in Post-Accession Romania,* or *Education without Borders in Europe. Case Study – University of Oradea, Romania.* Also, within the article *Place, means, perspectives of the Romanian vocational educational system so as to provide competitive manpower at a European level* the authors combine the necessity of an effective educational system in Romania with the need to provide competitive workforce on the European labour market.

The role of communication in the learning process is taken into consideration, not only between the teacher and the student, but also between the parents and the school. The educational system in Romania is undergoing many changes, many of them being introduced by the European Union. Some of them are analyzed in the case studies of the borderless education implemented by the University of Oradea, namely the international mobilities and how students benefitted from the Erasmus programme. One of the most successful initiatives of the European Union, the Erasmus system wherein students can study or work in a different university has also proved to be successful in Oradea, also because it helps in the fostering of a sense of Europeanness, as well as in the building of a true intercultural dialogue.These are initiatives of fostering cooperation, mutual understanding between different communities and they also help people experience other forms of education which can translate to a better educational environment at home (Horga, Brie, 2007:)

No economic system could survive without education. However, the EU's economic system has suffered in the past years, due to the globalization of finance and the contagion effect. Consequently, the labour market also suffers. The causes of the current economic crisis are explored in the article *The American Depression Impact on Economical Relations between the European Union and the United States of America,* with special focus on the contagion effect of the American economic crisis in the European Union. This article discusses the contagion effect between the US and the European Union and provides several possible solutions to surpass the economic crisis, such as mergers between economic-financial structures, reducing the interest rate, a measure which has been already undertaken in the European Union, or to set up public or public-private funds to support financial institutions in distress.

In times of financial turmoil, social assistance programs are put under pressure due to austerity measures put in place by states. In recent times there has been a clear clash between the social and the economic aspects of business. More often than not, profit has been in the forefront of business, while private companies have ignored their social responsibility. Corporate social responsibility is a tool through which companies can use their influence to improve the society. This policy is studied in George Tsourvakas' article entitled *Corporate Social Responsibility and Media Companies,* where he argues that media companies, responsible especially for correctly informing the public, should introduce social responsbile practices in their policies. Indeed, companies are socially responsible, especially in times of crisis. In order for CSR policies to benefit both the companies and the society, it is necessary for them to act in a sustainable manner, a measure which is encouraged by the EU (Büchner, 2012: 52).

The mass-media bears a big responsibility, as the distributor of information to the masses. CSR and media companies should be closely linked due to their commitment for the good of the society. Media companies are responsible for upholding freedom of expression, a concept which is analyzed by Adrian Popoviciu in connection to the European jurisprudence. The author catalogues several important cases related to infringements to freedom of expression in European law.

The third and fourth sections of *Media and European Diversity* relate the concept of European diversity to two divergent tendencies, the global tendency, as well as the regional tendency. Globalization, as a phenomenon that has caused profound changes in the way we view the world, both politically and economically, has met the powerful match of regionalization. The third section focuses more on communication aspects with global outreach, which have impact on Europe, such as the need for the EU to develop a stronger communication strategy in order to reduce the communication gap between it and its citizens. This aspect is analyzed thoroughly in Dorin Dolghi's study entitled *Legitimacy and the Communication Strategy of the European Union.* The so-called democratic deficit can threaten the Union's legitimacy in front of its citizens if communication is not enhanced and the citizen in not engaged. This point is detailed in another study entitled *Legitimacy, Institutions and the Communication Strategy in the European Union,* where the author analyses the EU's communication strategy and postulates that better EU-citizen relation could be achieved if the citizens' level of understanding would be better communicated. The media plays an important role in engaging the citizens, both at a European level, as well as at a national level. Such responsibility can be surely sidetracked and pressured if democracy, debate and dialogue are not transparent in a state. This aspect is studied in the article entitled *The Press Strangulation Phenomenon in Moldova and Its Political Implications,* where the authors paints a rather different deficit, in comparison to the EU's deficit, namely the deficit of democracy, as she explains that the independent press is put under pressure both economically and physically by the political establishment in Chişinău.

While Dolghi's study focuses on the European aspects related to communication, other studies analyze the influence of the media at a national level, namely the following ones: *The Source Of Information About The European Union Among Hungarian Pupils: School And Media* by Kalory Teperics and Gyula Szabo, *Polish Student Radio in an Era of Changes* by Urszula Doliwa, or *The Most Important Characteristics Of Slogans And Symbols Used In Hungarian Tourism Communication Activity* by Gabor Kozma,. Media's role in education is paramount according to the first two studies, which analyze two very different age groups, but reach a very similar conclusion, namely that media, as a primary source of information, is essential in education and builds a sense of community. This argument is illustrated by the fact that, according to Karoly Teperics and Gyula Szabo,

everyday life is more influential in a child's education than teaching material. Likewise, the case study of Polish student radio emphasizes media's important role in superior education, where it can help strengthen the foundation, because it places the subjects (the students) in the double role of communicators and recipients of information.

Tourism nowadays works hand in hand with the concept of brand identity, namely the need to create a clear picture for a tourist location so that customers can clearly separate it from the crowd. Slogans, symbols and other instruments work perfectly in this instance. But they are not enough. A clear communication and promotion strategy is needed. Gabor Kozma's article on slogans and symbols in Hungarian tourism can be analyzed in tandem with Luminița Șoproni et al. In their article, they emphasize the need for Romania to develop a coherent and clear international brand and relate to the past and failed brand strategies to conclude that Romania's national brand must be "sold" firstly on the inside and it must be more dynamic.

The regional disparities reflected in the fourth section offer the regional perspective to the concept of diversity. The fourth and final section builds on the foundation of intercultural dialogue and diversity to provide an alternative perspective, namely the disparities, which were present in history and are still resilient. The historical perspective is depicted in the study on the Alba Iulia Treaty of 1595 and its political and religios implications by Sorin Șipoș and Laura Ardelean, as well as the historical perspective regarding the Jews' image in Romanian collective memory or the Hungarian historical perspective on Trianon (see also Polgar, 2011). Other studies ellaborate on culture as an agent of reducing disparities, of bringing people together, as Martin Hoffman's study on cultural mediators, or the perspective on the European Ecumenical Movement by Mircea Brie (see also Brie, 2009a; Brie, 2009b; Brie and Brie, 2008) or Ştefănescu's view on historiography as a form of memory. Other means of reducing disparities are Lifelong Learning Policies, cross-border cooperation or the perspective of EU enlargement, as some of the main tools that the European Union uses to build regional identity and strenghten regional identity. The reality of the border in today's Europe brings a lot of challenges as well as opportunities for border communities. On the one hand, they can be considered peripheral, but they benefit from cross-border cooperation, which is indeed a means of reducing disparities, as well as fostering a common sense of European, rather than national identity. This opportunity can be analyzed more clearly in studies, such as *Sociological Research. Thinking the Future Together, Debrecen-Oradea Cross-Border Agglomeration* ,(Țoca, 2009)*, or *Perspectives for a Development Strategy of Debrecen-Oradea Cross Border Agglomeration,* (Țoca, Horga, 2008).

The majority of the articles in the present volume deal with the challenges of European diversity and intercultural dialogue in today's European culture of cultures. What role do the media play in this scenario? In the hunt for audience and profit, mass media may have forgotten its role as an educator of the masses, but its role is still instrumental in shaping the prospects of intercultural dialogue.

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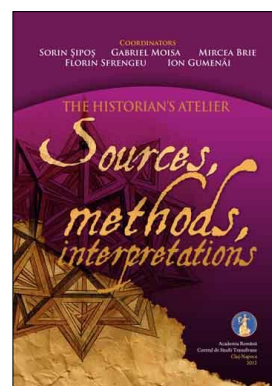# FRAGMENTS OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Anca OLTEAN[*]

Review of: Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Gumenâi (coord.), ***The Historian's Atelier. Sources, methods, interpretations*,** Cluj-Napoca, Editura Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2012, 278 p., ISBN 978-973-7784-84-1

Keywords: *history, historian, methods, interpretations, sources*

The volume *The Historian's Atelier. Sources, methods, interpretations* pleads for the cause of real historian who is called to write a genuine history for the next generations. Authors such as Ioan-Aurel Pop, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Eremia, Igor Şarov, Barbu Ştefănescu, Roxana Ivaşca, Antonio Faur, Gabriel Moisa, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Igor Bercu, Sergiu Matveev, Elena Arcuş, Radu Românaşu, Egry Gábor, Jean – Marc Moriceau, Bodo Edith, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, Ion Gumenâi, Laura Ardelean and Mihaela Cioca, Florentina Chirodea and Gheorghe Palade offer to the readers a series of particular histories from Antiquity, Middle Age, Modern Times and Contemporary period, demonstrating their capacity to be historians, to reveal the past as it was and not the phantasies and literary creations revealed by non – specialists around the notion of history.

The topics are of a large variety focusing on archeological discoveries from 8th-11th centuries in North-Western Romania, the terminology of Tara Moldovei and moldovans in Russian historical sources, Bessarabia in Russian historiography (1812-1823), the system of values of the rural world, the history and identitary construct in Romanian literary Romanticism, historiographical sources with regard to the actions to save Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in 1944, Politics and History in Romanian postcomunist historiography, the cultural frontiers of Europe, religious situation in *re'âyâ-lele* led by Ottomans on the territory of Moldova, the legislation of patrimony in the Russian Empire in the XIXth century and its impact on Basarabia province, then a research of Romanian Cultural Religious Meetings from Bihor County in interwar period time, a study around the concept of *everyday ethnicity* and *national indifference* in interwar Transylvania. Jean – Marc Moriceau describes the story of the wolf and its impact on humans in France during XV-XX century, Bodo Edith refers to documents with economic character enacted by Roman Catholic Bishopric from Oradea, Ioan Aurel Pop talks about publication of latin medieval documents after late copies from XIXth century, Sorin Sipos wrote about the Morlachs of Dalmatia in a Memoranda of Colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806), Ion Gumenâi describes the national, confessional and social composition of the city of Ismail, Laura Ardelean and Mihaela Cioca talkes about

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documents concerning the provenance of the Society of Archeology and History from Oradea and Bihor County's Collection reflected in Documents, another paper deals with study documents of the Academy of Law from Oradea and, last but not least, a study based on documents concerning the repressive regime from Bessarabia (1940-1941).

Ioan Aurel Pop asserts that the present volume pleads for professionalism of the historian in a world of amateurs, a very superficial world (Pop, 2012: 7). Ioan Aurel Pop pleads for an accurate history of the past, being aware that every generation has his own history and writes the history according to their values, being unavoidably influenced by the present. The author pleads for the access of historian to primary sources, first hand sources which are so important when writing about the past realities. The author considers that universal knowledge can not be possessed any more by individual personalities, so it is important to delimitate the knowledge in fields of study. A historian must know how to work with methods specific for his domain, although sometimes we need interdisciplinarity (Pop, 2012: 10).

Florin Sfrengeu in the article entitled *Historical interpretations of archaeological discoveries between 8 and 11th centuries in North-Western Romania* asserts that most archeological investigation concerning the realities of North-Western Romania during 8 - 11th centuries were developed after 1970. In these archeological investigations conducted in North-West Romania several institutions were involved such as "museums of Arad, Carei, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Satu Mare and Zalău". (Sfrengeu, 2012: 15). In 1949, at Vărşand took place excavations and were discovered 58 inhumation tombs from 11th century. In 1954, there were continued investigations in Biharea by M.Rusu, considering that the cemetery did not belong to Hungarians. S.Dumitraşcu continued the invastigations of M.Rusu in Biharea. He based his research on local archeological discoveries, but also on archeological discoveries in the Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. He shows that „the Slavs penetrating the South and West during the sixth and seventh centuries bring with them a pottery different from that of the Roman and non- Roman population in the areas where they settled". (Sfrengeu, 2012: 19). During the last four decades several specialists approached the problem of archeological discoveries between 8th-11th centuries in North-Western Romania such as M. Zdroba, D.Băcueţ- Crişan, M. Blăjan and E. Dörner, V. Boroneanţ, P. Hurezean, P.Hügel, N. Chidioşan, M. Comşa, C.Cosma, I. Crişan, P.Iambor, Şt. Matei, N. Iercoşan, Al.V. Matei, J. Nemeti, E.D.Pădureanu, I.Stanciu. (Sfrengeu, 2012: 22)

Ion Eremia in the article *Ţara Moldovei şi Moldovenii reflectate în terminologia surselor documentare ruseşti – Observaţii preliminare (The Moldovan country and the Moldovans reflected in the terminology of Russian documentary sources – Preliminary observations)* analyzes the Russian terminology "used to describe Tara Moldovei, its inhabitants and the spoken language" (Eremia, 2012: 29). Soviet historiography pursued the existence of a Moldavian people, separated from the Romanian one. Although in the documents of the time, it is reflected the unity of Romanian people, the Sovietic politic factor influenced the translations considering a fact the existence of a Moldavian people with a Moldavian country, having an independent origin.

Igor Şarov in the article Basarabia în istoriografia rusă (1812-1823): De la Kuniţki la Svinin/ Bessarabia in Russian historiography (1812-1823): From Kuniţki to Svinin shows that after the Russian's conquest of Bassarabia in 1812, many foreigners, travelling in Bessarabia published "memoirs, notes or historical works". In consequence, there are a variety of writings about Bassarabia of those times. And not all of them were written by professional historians. Sometimes the writings showed an official character, considers the author, as most of the works published in Russia at the end of XVIIIth

century and at the beginning of XIXth century were pursuing the expansionist character of Tsarist regime.

Barbu Ştefănescu in his work *Teme posibile în atelierul istoricului: Elementele sistemului de valori al lumii rurale/ Possible themes from historian's Laboratory: The Ellements of the Rural world's system of values* approach the peasant society "in Transylvania from the beginnings of modernity through the value system it relates to" (Stefanescu, 2012: 73). Barbu Stefanescu analyzed the writings from the history books, secondary issues, important for observing the popular sensibility, a world characterized by the author as having very few written sources to describe it (Stefănescu, 2012: 74). Other sources he utilizes are analysis of Church paintings and ethnological and anthropological observations. The Church appears as the principal promoter of moral values assumed by the society at all levels. The group cohesion is assured by priest and judicial authorities. There is also a group cohesion given by common values and the ones who don't act or behave in consequence are severely judged. The work continues showing different circumstances where peasant world's morality manifested.

Roxana Ivaşca in her article, *Întemeierea necesară. Istoria şi constructul identitar în Romantismul literar românesc/ The necessary beginning. The history and the identitary construct in Romanian literary Romanticism* has a topic of research the stage of Romanticism in Romanian literature, an essential lirerrary current of the Romanian society. The author allocates space to pre-Romanticism and Romanian Romanticism. The Pasoptist generation was a generation of historians who wrote literary texts in the same time. Pretty often, considers the author, Romanian writers from XIX th century felt inferiour to the ones from Western world creating an ideal picture of the past or adopting themes from western literature. The Romanticism looked also for an educative contribution, to a critical re-evaluation of values and institutions. But the realities of the time were different than the literature and there were a class of peasants, illiterates, whom were not sufficiently educated by school or Church who were not sensitive to literary creations. It was necessary a reform of the Romanian countries that will follow up later by the Union of Principalities and the instauration, in a few years, of monarchy.

Antonio Faur in his work *Study on different interpretations in works focusing on the actions to save the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in 1944* identifies a few important historiographic works, published in the years 1986 and 1989, referring to the actions of saving Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania. A few of the authors recalled by Antonio Faur are Elie Wiesel, Adrian Riza, Raoul Şorban, Oliver Lustig, Moshe Carmilly – Weinberger, Itzak Artzi. Showing that some Jews were saved from deportation by this *networks of humanity*, Antonio Faur ends his study with the memorable words of Talmud: "Whoever saves one man, saves the whole world".

Gabriel Moisa in his study *Politique et histoire dans l'historiographie Roumaine Postcomuniste. Quelques considerations* shows his opinion that in these times there was a continuous dialogue between society and historiography. The author thinks that also democratic regimes "are not entirely disinterested in the writing of history, yet they have a more nuanced approach and the means by which they influence historiography are finer and more subtle" (Moisa, 2012: 99).Totalitarian regimes had a special wish to control the past. In post-communist period, the historiography reflected the image of society. Also democratic regimes are interested in the writing of history, not only the totalitarian regimes.

Mircea Brie and Ioan Horga in the study *Le frontiere culturali Europee: Tra l'identita dello Spazio Europeo e le Politiche Comunitarie* talks about the notions of people, culture, history, territory. They identify a local area influenced by European culture: "The paper is a survey on the European cultural space in two aspects: 1. Europe

with internal cultural border areas 2. Europe as external cultural – identity border area"
(Brie and Horga, 2012: 107). The European culture reached the level of regions by
multiculturalism. Cultural diversity, pluralism and multiculturalism are elements specific
to the European area. The European integration process is complex; it does not impose
and is not conditioned by the idea of cultural unity, or the existence of a common culture
including all Europeans (Horga and Brie, 2010a: 158). Specificity and diversity are
precisely the means of intercultural dialogue between European peoples. Each European
society has to find their own integrating solutions depending on traditions and institutions
(Brie and Horga, 2010a: 128). The researches from this domain of the two authors are
more complex, being made reference to epistemology, specificity and tipology of the
European states (Brie and Horga, 2009; Horga and Brie, 2010b; Brie, 2010b; Brie and
Horga, 2010b), to cultural dimension of European space (Stoica and Brie, 2010; Brie,
2010a), cultural cooperation and university cooperation at the Eastern frontier of EU
(Horga and Brie, 2009; Horga and Brie, 2008).

Igor Bercu in the study *Confluenţe religioase în "Re'âyâ-lele" Otomane de pe
teritoriul Ţării Moldovei* mentions the fact that these administrative units were created by
the Otoman Empire at the end of XVth century. The number of these units increased in the
following centuries in the Principality of Moldavia. The population of these units was very
diverse. After the Ottoman conquest the proportions of Muslims increased in comparison
with the Christian population. The Otoman gate imposed through these units its
administrative, political, economical and fiscal system while reflecting the Otoman
religion both in internal and external policy. The ones who did not belong to the Muslim
religion did not have the same priviledges as the Muslims. There were cases when the
Christians converted to Islam for having the same priviledges as the Muslims. A Christian
could not pay the taxes <djizya> if he passed to Muslim religion. In turn there were
granted the protection of Allah, they had to pay a tax for the help of the poor, they were
forced to participate to the Saint War. Although many Christian churches were turned into
Mosque, the author remarks the spirit of tolerance of the Ottoman Gate towards other
religious minorities.

In the study of Sergiu Matveev and Elena Arcuş entitled *Legislaţia patrimoniului în
Imperiul Rusiei în secolul al XIX-lea şi impactul asupra guberniei Basarabia/ the Legislation
of patrimony in the Russian Empire in the XIXth century and its impact on the Basarabia
Province* shows that the administration of the time accorded much attention to the treasures. In
1823 at Odessa there was created a Museum of Antiquity. In Odessa too, in 1839 it was
created the Society of History and Antiquity. In 1846 at Sankt-Petersburg was created the
Archeological Society, all these organizations having as purpose the valorization of treasures.
Bessarabian people were recommended to sell old objects at a smaller price to amateur
collectionaries. The negative consequence of the Russian rule was that Bessarabian treasures
arrived in the Museums of Russian Empire, as the authors emphasize.

Radu Romînaşu in the article *For a systematic research of the History of the
Romanian Cultural- Religious Meetings in the interwar period. The Case of Bihor County*
talkes about Romanian cultural and religious meetings from Bihor County in interwar
period which helped at the development of society. The author defines Bihor county
region as a „Western region of the unified Romania integrated to the common flow of the
national culture, fact that both men and institutions worked together in an ardent startup
towards progress and European syncronization" (Romînaşu, 2012: 150).

In the article of Egry Gabor, *Between past and present: the notion of everyday
ethnicity and national indifference in Historical Research. A case study from Interwar
Transylvania,* the author considers that identity is a main concept in social sciences that

was put under criticism. Etnicity appear as a feature of groups. The topics approached are identity, etnicity and national awareness as they were important topics that influenced social and historical sciences in the last years. The author looked for the concept of dayly ethnicity and national indiference in the interwar Romania's past.

In a very interesting article *Le Loup et L'Historien: La Réalité des Attaques sur L'Homme. Un bilan a L'Ēchelle de la France (XVe – XXe siècle)*, the author Jean – Marc Moriceau analyzed cases when humans were victims of wolfs focusing on the negative role of the wolf in the collective mentality. The author finds 573 cases of attacks of wolfs during the years 1571- 1890. Then he furnishes a map with series of attacks coming from wolfs during the years 1578-1887. After a period when the wolf disappeared from France, it reappeared in 1992, coming from Italy.

Bodo Edith in the paper *Actele Economice ale Episcopiei Romano-Catolice de Oradea. Sursă pentru istoria economică şi socială a judeţului Bihor/ Economical Acts of Roman-Catholic Bishopric of Oradea. Source for the Economic and Social History of Bihor County* shows that the archive of Roman – Catholique Bishopric from Oradea is the most important written source for knowing the history of Bihor County, containing many documents from the end of XVII century, but also from XVIII and XIX century. The author offers a space to economic acts enacted by the Bishopric, considered as a very important source for the history of the region. An important source of information is given by urbarial conscripts which offer information concerning land culture and agricultural production, number of animals detained by the peasants, vineyards, work obligations, taxes. Also there are informations about small enterprises constituted on the territory of Bihor County such as glass manufacture from Beliu, the iron factory from Vascau, the Beer factory from Seleuş. The registers for tax collections are important sources of information of the Roman – Catholic Bishopric from Oradea.

The Academician Ioan-Aurel Pop in the work *Despre publicarea documentelor latine medievale după copii târzii (din secolul al XIX-lea)/ About the publication of Latin medieval documents after late copies (from XIXth century)* defines the historian as a man capable to reconstitute the past of an epoch or of a century. A lot of medieval documents got lost but they could have been preserved in late copies from XVIII and XIX century. The publication of the volume of Ioan-Aurel Pop (coord.), *Diplome maramureşene din secolele XVI-XVIII, provenite din colecţia lui Ioan Mihalyi de Apşa* brings an important contribution for the history of Romanians. The texts are mainly in latin, not an accurate language. Probably the mistakes belonged to the authors of copies. The simultaneous use of Latin, Hungarian and Romanian in the same text makes the form more difficult to understand, asserts Ioan – Aurel Pop.

Sorin Şipoş in the work *A Forgotten Minority: The Morlachs of Dalmatia in a Memorandum of colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806)* talks about a Manuscript Memory of colonel Zulatti on reforms and reglementations of Morlaques in Dalmatia written in 1806. The memorandum was describing the situation of Morlaque society that was missing ethnic identity, but also linguistic identity: „We think here of frequent thefts, conflicts with political authority, violation and destruction of property and crops, the difficulty of being integrated into a system because of transhumance. Also, we mention the vindicative spirit, the pride and rebellion, the courage and generosity towards the weakest and the faith of God, often speculated for the benefit of the powerful". (Sipos, 2012: 212)

An interesting paper is the one written by Ion Gumenâi, *Un izvor inedit privitor la componenta naţională, confesională şi socială a oraşului Ismail la 1816 (a New Issue concerning national, confessional and social componence of the city of Ismail in 1816.* Another interesting study is the one of Laura Ardelean and Mihaela Cioca, *Some Aspects*

Regarding the Provenance of the Society of Archeology and History from Oradea and Bihor County's Collection reflected in documents, emphasizing the importance of the Society of Archeology in Oradea and, last but not least, the study of Florentina Chirodea, *The Study Documents – Sources for a history of the interwar Higher Education in Transylvania. Case Study: The Oradea Academy of Law,* focusing on documents enacted by the Oradea Academy of Law in interwar period time and furnishing illustrative tables. The study of Gheorghe Palade, *New documents about the Repressive Soviet Regime in Bessarabia (1940-1941)* when the author analyzes the victims of this regime and their conditions of life under communist rule. The volume reveals actual trends in modern historiography, pleading with honesty for the job of genuine historian, successfully assumed by the authors.

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