

fy restricting human rights and basic freedoms?" (p. 299). The way that they are approached leads to a better understanding of their complexity.

In the reviewed book, some dates and names are incorrect, for example, the proclamation of Israel's statehood was in 1948, not 1947 (p. 47) or Six-Day War in 1967, not 1968. Such mistakes are sporadic, especially considering the length of "Global Politics" – 560 pages. A more serious one is calling the Czech Republic Czechoslovakia in the context of 2009. Also, when analysing the perceptions and misperceptions in international relations, Heywood makes no direct reference to the fundamental book "Perception and Misperception in International Politics" (Jervis, 1976). It is only referenced in the bibliography.

A. Heywood's monograph is valuable and interesting reading material on contemporary issues, additionally situated within an interdisciplinary framework. It is worthy of note that the way the book has been written inspires further study. The underlined research problems are significant. Heywood's collection of research topics is valuable not only for students, but also for experienced scientists.

"Global Politics" is addressed not only to students pursuing a programme in political science or international relations, but also anyone interested in various aspects of global politics. The book is a rich and valuable source of information and an exciting read. The book also offers a unique opportunity for a better understanding of the complexity of the contemporary world steering through a variety of opinions, attitudes, and approaches, which encourages creative study.

Radosław FIEDLER

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

**Anna Wojciuk, *Dylemat potęgi. Praktyczna teoria stosunków międzynarodowych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2010, pp. 286<sup>1</sup>.**

Owing to the dynamic development of the contemporary scientific discipline of international relations, studies on their theories enjoy growing popularity. It is also the case in Poland. Despite the fact that domestic scholars specializing in international relations have not brought many original theoretical concepts to the field, systematic attempts to interpret international phenomena can be observed. In numerous cases, they are based on more or less popular views of American researchers, which constitutes a considerable flaw for some scholars. In 2010, the relatively modest, albeit constantly expanded achievements in this field on the Polish publishing markets were complemented with Anna Wojciuk's book entitled: "Dylemat potęgi. Praktyczna teoria stosunków międzynarodowych" ("Dilemma of power. A practical theory of international relations"). It is the first Polish publication which made an attempt at a holistic presentation of such notions as power, force and authority. The author analyses their importance through the prism of selected concepts of international relations – which are often erroneously called theories (it is a mental shortcut repeated in nu-

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dilemma of power. Practical theory of international relations*, Warsaw University Publishing House.

merous publications devoted to theoretical issues). The book is an up-to-date monograph using the state-of-the-art world literature on the issue of power in international relations. It is a publication discussing views on the strengths of representatives of schools which are considered to be the most important in the field of international relations and, which is also important, polemics between them. This book constitutes a specific summary of the domestic achievements in this area and opens the way to further theoretical research. The original attempt at ordering the existing knowledge on the subject undertaken by Anna Wojciuk deserves special attention.

Polish scholarly achievements in this respect, are not the greatest, however, they are certainly worth noting. Roman Kuźniar's book entitled "Polityka i siła. Studia strategiczne – zarys problematyki" ("Politics and strength. Strategic studies – outline of issues")<sup>2</sup> is in all certainty one of the most important publications of Polish authors bringing up the issues of strength and power in international relations. Strength is presented here primarily as the basic tool of the strategy undertaken by the state. Leszek Moczulski's publications<sup>3</sup>, who presents an analysis of the notion of power from the point of view of the geopolitical school, are also worth mentioning Józef Kukułka's<sup>4</sup> and Ryszard Zięba's<sup>5</sup> books, who represent the view that an increase in strength may be considered one of the most important objectives of a state's foreign policy, are also important works from this field. Also Edward Haliżak<sup>6</sup> and Dariusz Kondrakiewicz<sup>7</sup> contributed significantly to the discussion and research on one of the most frequently discussed principles in international relations, i.e. the balance of power. The achievements of Janusz Symonides<sup>8</sup> cannot be omitted here, particularly considering his analyses of legal limitations of the use of military force in international relations. Also, in-depth studies in the research of the long cycle theory conducted by Teresa Łoś-Nowak<sup>9</sup>, Mirosław Su?łek<sup>10</sup> and an analysis of issues connected with system supercycles performed by Andrzej Gałganek<sup>11</sup>.

Polish experience in the research of the issue of power shows that this subject has been undertaken quite readily. Especially after system changes, Polish researchers of international relations became interested in this interesting subject. There are at least two for this. The first of them is incomparably greater freedom of conducting theoretical research and, which is not without importance, much easier access to foreign publications presenting current views on international relations. However, there were studies devoted to quite detailed issu-

<sup>2</sup> R. Kuźniar, *Polityka i siła. Studia strategiczne – zarys problematyki*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>3</sup> L. Moczulski, *Geopolityka. Potęga w czasie i przestrzeni*, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>4</sup> J. Kukułka, *Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne*, Warszawa 1982.

<sup>5</sup> *Wstęp do teorii polityki zagranicznej*, (ed.) R. Zięba, Toruń 2004.

<sup>6</sup> E. Haliżak, *Struktura układu sił międzynarodowych a aktywność zewnętrzna państw*, w: *Państwo we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych*, (eds.) E. Haliżak, I. Prokopiuk-Rysińska, Warszawa 1995, pp. 87–97.

<sup>7</sup> D. Kondrakiewicz, *Systemy równowagi sił w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, Lublin 1999.

<sup>8</sup> J. Symonides, *Sila jako narzędzie polityki zagranicznej*, in: *Co zakłóca współzycie międzynarodowe*, (ed.) L. Pastusiak, Warszawa 1984, pp. 131–150.

<sup>9</sup> T. Łoś-Nowak, *Stosunki międzynarodowe. Teorie – systemy – uczestnicy*, Wrocław 2000.

<sup>10</sup> M. Sułek, *Paradygmat cyklu siły Charles'a F. Dorana a pozimnowojenny ład międzynarodowy*, in: *Porządek międzynarodowy u progu XXI wieku: wizje – koncepcje – paradygmaty*, (ed.) R. Kuźniar, Warszawa 2005, pp. 572–588.

<sup>11</sup> A. Gałganek, *Zmiany w globalnym systemie międzynarodowym. Supercykle i wojna hegemoniczna*, Poznań 1992.

es, not fully or frequently reproductive. The lack of a holistic analytical presentation of the problem was quite pressing, especially one that would include the latest views held in the world in this area. This made Anna Wojciuk's book all the more important. It filled the gap in Polish scholarly achievements in the area of research on the notions of strength and power in international relations.

The analysis of the issue of power was conducted by the author by presenting views of the leading representatives of the individual schools of international relations<sup>12</sup>. This is how she divided her book. Single chapters pertain to specific theoretical approaches: realistic, neoliberal, Marxist, post-modern and constructivist. The last, sixth part of the book has a slightly different character, as it is a case study focusing on France. The author analyses the French discussion on foreign policy at the time of Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency. Two documents constitute the basic sources: "The White Book", pertaining to France's defence policy and Hubert Védrine's "France in an age of globalization", prepared specially on the President's request. The analysis was preceded by a description of the French theory of international relations with a special emphasis on the notion of power. In the case study, the author distinctly showed the dominance of classical trends: realistic and neoliberal and the triumph of their concept of power.

However, Anna Wojciuk starts her considerations by discussing two approaches using classical logics of scholarly thinking, i.e. realism and neoliberalism. These are schools virtually wholly derived from the American tradition, despite the fact that also the scholarly contribution of French researchers and, to a lesser extent, Russian ones can be observed. Statistics show that the largest number of publications in both of these paradigms are created in the United States. Presentation of the reasons for this status quo would require a separate discussion.

The political realism is regarded as one of the most important paradigms in international relations science, despite the significantly decreasing numbers of proponents, still is a view researchers are preoccupied with. Especially because it emphasises the separateness of international relations as a scholarly discipline to which specific principles of research of defined reality apply. Also, it uses the achievements of other disciplines quite reluctantly. At times when research on international relations was primarily dominated by studies on the issues of security, it did not actually have a theoretical competitor. There were also various interpretations and classifications. Due to the views collected within one paradigm, often contradictory to each other, some scholars specializing in international relations think that such views should not be reduced to the common denominator or that the distinction between classical, structural or neoclassical realism should not be used. Anna Wojciuk is of a different opinion. She assumes that realism is a tradition which, nevertheless, more joins rather than divides similar view, at least in the category of basic ideas. Hence the disputes which has been taking place in the realistic circles on a continuous basis concern the same reality after all. Power, as the author claims, is a key notion in the realistic approach. It also translates into the number of works on this subject published by realistic researchers. The author thinks that this is a notion that divides realists to a large extent. Unfortunately, the chances to reach an agreement are scant, as not a single aspect can be found in the interpreta-

---

<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the book does not contained any deeper reflection on the definition of a scholarly theory. Hence, part of the existing views on and concepts of international reality are called a scholarly theory by the Author, which certainly is a mental shortcut.

tion of the notion of power on which the environment would agree. The basic conflicts, in the author's opinion, concerned mostly theoretical concepts interpreting the history of international relations and foreign policy strategies. A large number of disputes within the paradigm are abstract, however, which may be surprising, also their practical side is revealed here. "Following realists' investigations is a continuous up and down movement on the abstraction ladder, during which the imprecision of analytical instruments is revealed on the one hand and the necessity to use these imperfect tools on the other".<sup>13</sup>

The neoliberal approach to the issue of power is, as distinguished from the realistic one, more eclectic. First of all, its approach to disciplines whose scope of research overlaps with international relations is different than that of realism. Considerable openness to influences from political science, economics and, above all, sociology. Neoliberalism was created by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, who came from the realistic tradition. They made an attempt at a thorough critique of realism, which was quite risky at the beginning of 1970, contributing a fresh non-state-centric look to international relations. They decided that the changing international reality requires more than just one realistic model describing it. According to Joseph S. Nye, these views are not mutually exclusive, however. The main connecting factor involves, first of all, neo-positivism scientific standards followed by researchers from both traditions. The fact that neo-liberals increase their spectrum of interest to include non-state participants of international relations, such as entities, social groups and businesses is a distinguishing element. Anna Wojciuk also emphasizes the significant role played by the neoliberal view in the interpretation of the notion of power. Most importantly, according to the author, it posed important questions and significantly complemented the realistic views. Therefore, the view contradicting the thesis about the changeability of power resources is of key importance here. Moreover, the representatives of this trend propagated the position that, similarly to states, also non-state participants are "holders" of power. However, the author considers the permanent introduction of the notion of *soft power* to the discussion of power as it: "Despite the fact that it is not devoid of methodological weaknesses, has the potential of shaping American leadership in international relations".<sup>14</sup> This thesis, despite being very popular, may encounter resistance among international relations researchers.

The three following chapters of Anna Wojciuk's book are devoted to traditions characterized by an approach to international reality which is very different from realism and neoliberalism and, consequently, to the notions of strength and power. Marxism, where the notion of power is of key importance, is the first of them. In the opinion of trend representatives, the world is periodically dominated by hegemonic states holding indisputable economic and military resources. The emphasis on economic factors in international relations is characteristic of Marxism. It means that economic relations significantly determine social relations. Thus, international relations do not focus only on relations between individual states but rather between social organizations at various levels. In this way, the interpretation of the safety category changes. It is understood as the safety of specific social groups. The author distinguishes three basic plots characteristic of the Marxist approach to international relations. First of all, Marxism considers the analysis of relations between the power

---

<sup>13</sup> A. Wojciuk, *Dylemat potęgi. Praktyczna teoria stosunków międzynarodowych*, Warszawa 2010, p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 122.

of states and societies and the power of extra-state participants. Therefore, the power of a state does not depend only on the state itself, but, above all, on international conditions. The relationship between the sources of power, especially the classical source, i.e. the military force and the economic, political and cultural power is another significant issue. Favouring the economic power can be primarily seen, which is a distinctive feature of the Marxist approach. And, finally, the analysis of the power operation, i.e. its formation and fall, is a significant element of this trend.

A chapter devoted to the post-modern approach to the issue of power is one of the most interesting parts of the book. This is Anna Wojciuk's wholly original analysis. This part of the book shows that the author set herself very ambitious goals, which she fulfilled with considerable consistency. From the point of view of the Polish reader, the presentation of the views of international relations theoreticians which are almost completely unknown in Poland is undoubtedly valuable. I think that this chapter may evoke the greatest response on the part of the domestic environment of international relations researchers and constitute an inspiration for broader discussion. The post-modern perspective in international relations is a completely new approach to the international reality on nearly all planes. Changes also apply to the methodological framework of the discipline, which, as a result, meant a thorough critique of positivism. The author presents the diversity of the approaches of the representatives of this trend to the notion of power. Above all, she pays particular attention to its reinterpretation. The post-modern understanding of power does not have anything to do with the classical international power, interpreted as a process of forcing entities to take actions they do not want to take. This also means a change in the understanding of the notion of war which are made at present "against notions or against sets of practices".<sup>15</sup> When describing the post-modern approach, Anna Wojciuk emphasizes that notional categories offered by this trend are not and may not be a sufficient tool to understand specific international reality. Due to the non-scientific character of the approach, considerable deficiencies in the possibility of its practical application in research on international relations can be observed. However, this approach enjoys considerable popularity and it is gaining new proponents on a regular basis. For numerous researchers, who mostly come from the classical trend, it has a negative influence on the condition of the discipline.

An analysis of views on power of constructivism representatives closes Anna Wojciuk's theoretical considerations. And despite being a new approach in international relations, constructivism enjoys growing popularity among researchers. However, there are many critics as proponents of this view. As the author admits, she did not plan on including a description of this trend in the book under review. She only decided to include it in the publication after being persuaded to do so by Jacek Czaputowicz. According to the author, however, constructivism, despite being very revealing in itself, is not creative enough in the context of the notion of power: "it builds an artificial compromise between various traditions of power and this compromise cracks quickly already at the level of internal disputes between various trends of constructivism itself".<sup>16</sup> She notices two basic threads in the interpretation of this notion. Historical research showing a change in the power "formation" are the first of these. The other one shows not only the material side of power but also its connection with ideas,

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 232.

culture and knowledge. Undoubtedly, the notion of power is not of key importance for constructivists. It is more a consequence of identity and socialization of entities in the international system.

In the evaluation of Anna Wojciuk's book, it needs to be emphasised again that it is a pioneer attempt to show views on strength and power in theories of international relations. The objectives set by the author were largely fulfilled. Above all, the meticulous analysis of the latest world literature on the theory of international relations and presentation of views of researchers who are less known and popular in Poland deserve particular attention. It is a pity that so much attention in numerous Polish publications was devoted to American concepts, which are not always free from political influences. The author's research techniques and the excellent language are certainly worth noting. The issues brought up in the book are described in a way that is clear and understandable not only for people dealing with international relations. This publication can also be used as a teaching aid in classes devoted to the theory of international relations.

Katarzyna KAĆKA  
Toruń

***The Arab Spring*, ed. Beata Przybylska-Maszner, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań 2011, ss. 295.**

Year 2011 brought unexpected and profound changes in the political outlook of North Africa and Middle East. A wave of social protests, riots and (in some instances) violent confrontations created a situation of existential threat for the region's authoritarian regimes. The Arab world had been considered largely immune to rapid political change. Many leaders in the region ruled their states for decades (this being true for both monarchs and nominally republican leaders like Hosni Mubarak, Ali Abdullah Saleh or Muammar Gaddafi) successfully withstanding many challenges to their authority. However, at the beginning of 2011 self-immolation of a Tunisian street vendor ignited an unprecedented shift in social attitudes and political activism across the Arab world. More than year and a half later political landscape of the region is profoundly altered. Tunisia and Egypt are in the middle of a political transformation leading (hopefully) to the establishment of democracy. Rulers of Morocco and Jordan have initiated reforms in order to satisfy the expectations of their populations. At the same time regimes in Algeria and Bahrain have been able to suppress social "disturbances" and maintain the status quo (for the time being). At the other pole of this process we can see Libya and Syria, where popular dissatisfaction, met with hostility of the governments, led to civil wars. Yemen experienced a mixed fate of both violent conflict and (tentative) political compromise. All those developments, known under the name of "Arab Spring" (with analogy to the Spring of Nations in 1848 and Autumn of Nations in 1989) have become a subject of rich political, media and academic commentary, as well as analyses.

The Arab Spring had become the subject of a research programme initiated at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. In this framework researchers from several Polish academic institutions (Adam Mickiewicz University, Koszalin University of Technology, Poznań University of Economics, Academia Ignatianum in Cracow, University of Warsaw, Pomeranian Academy in Słupsk, Łódź