

REVIEWS

Michał Kosman, *United Germany and the Process of European Integration (1990–2002)*. Adam Marszałek Publishing House, Toruń 2004, pp. 205

by Iwona Hofman

Michał Kosman's book is worthy of attention not just within the context of the ongoing discussions regarding deteriorating Polish-German relations. It deserves to be read for a number of reasons, in order to verify widespread opinions on the role of Germany in European politics in the final decade of the twentieth century. The most important of these reasons are: high competence of the young researcher (affiliated with universities in Bydgoszcz and Poznań), his balanced opinions and comments formulated on the basis of German-language publications and magazine articles, and thorough factographical presentation.

The book consists of six chapters which successfully strive to present united Germany's directions of engagement and areas of diplomatic activity on the European scene. The use of historical mode of narration allows the author to engage in a parallel discussion of internal and external affairs, with emphasis put on the influence of social and eco-

nomical consequences of unification on the evolution of German attitudes towards institutional reforms of the European Union and the accession process. In that sense, the closing date of the analysis is determined both by the presentation of the official position of SPD and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder on EU expansion (November 2001) and the creation of the European Convent (December 2001). It needs to be pointed out that in the closing parts of consecutive chapters, as well as in the conclusion, the author consistently tries to expand the political perspective to the following years, e.g. by referring to the signing of accession acts in Athens on April 16th, 2003 and their ratification by the Bundestag, controversies surrounding the provisions of the Treaty of Nice, and debates on the European constitution.

The complex subject matter has been organized around six specific issues, with one chapter devoted to each: I – "The Treaty of Maastricht", II – "Germany and the Eco-

conomic and Monetary Union”, III – “Germany’s Role in the Process of Formulation of European Union’s Security Policy”, IV – “Germany’s Participation in the Development of European *Freedom, Security and Justice Area*”, V – “FRG as the Advocate of European Union’s Eastward Expansion”, VI – “The Federal Republic in the Debate on Reforms and the Future of the European Union”. While reading, it is clearly noticeable that questions posed by M. Kosman reflect European concerns raised by the reunification of Germany. At the same time, the researcher deliberately focuses on political aspects, while limiting the discussion of economic matters (Economic and Monetary Union) to explanations necessary to recreate the background of changes taking place in Europe.

Having determined that European integration remained a priority of FRG’s foreign policy after the reunification, the author draws up a list of objectives of German foreign policy and characterizes them within the framework of EU pillars (second and third). Thus, he discusses German efforts aimed at putting the Monetary Union into effect (the role of the Bundesbank, the Stability and Growth Pact), origins of the German vision of its participation in European security policy (Volker Rühle’s tactics, the 1994 verdict of the Federal Constitutional Court, German-French European Corps project), initiatives focusing on the justice system, asylum laws, etc. For example, M. Kosman notes that up until 2002 Germany promoted the idea of keeping the balance between European and Atlantic security dimensions, and consequently treated Common European Security and Defense Policy as a European

pillar of NATO. Further on, however, he notices a clear reverse trend appearing, more similar to the French strategy of dealing with the USA. His conclusions regarding German involvement in the formulation of new policies on visas, immigration, etc., based on the notion of “Europe without frontiers”, also seem valid. The researcher presents pragmatic reasons for German engagement in that area as well, i.e. the desire to alleviate the Germans’ fear of consequences of EU’s eastward expansion. The chapter devoted to these issues is particularly interesting because of the aforementioned German-language sources. The juxtaposition of statements made by e.g. President Roman Herzog, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Volker Rühle, the significance of treaties quoted (including the ones with Germany’s neighbours), the analyses of the accomplishments of German presidency, the Weimar Triangle initiative and the “Agenda 2000” project clearly show the Eastern dimension of German foreign policy, mentioned in the title.

In his objective discourse the author, unlike some other Polish researchers, manages to avoid delving into historical disputes when discussing the realistic policy of Chancellor Schröder who successfully argued in the Council of Europe for the equal distribution of costs of EU’s expansion. It is also worth noting that the book presents Germans as bold reformers of European institutions and supporters of a stronger European Parliament.

The complex study is concluded by the presentation of federalist ideas of the German Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, President Johannes Rau’s vision of the

future, and the declaration by Gerhard Schröder, tellingly entitled "Responsibility for Europe".

Michał Kosman's book is a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the policy of Germany towards integrated Europe. The author skilfully combines a calendar of events with a review of official documents, enriching his exposition with interesting political observations. Well-planned composition is aug-

mented by a lucid style. The only suggestion which could be taken into account before the second edition is published, is that the author should extend his study to include the years 2002–2004.

The book deserves to be recommended to political scientists, historians, lawyers, experts in international relations, as well as journalists interpreting the contemporary Polish-German dialogue.

***The Faces of Terrorism*, edited by Sebastian Wojciechowski, Institute of Political Science and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland 2006, pp. 216**

by Wojciech Stankiewicz

Terrorism in a contemporary world plays a vital role. It becomes more and more dangerous due to technical development and access to information on terrorist means and methods allows better communication between terrorist groups. Contemporary political terrorism characterises variety and difficulty far more developed now than centuries ago. Terrorists are able to interfere into politics of different countries, using terrorism actions to achieve particular goals. The increase of conflicts and tensions on ethics, religion, ideology or sociology made it possible for terrorism to appear in new forms and become a solution for current global issues.

Terrorism is a planned action with a psychological connotation and political relation on account of its goals and motivations. It exceeds beyond direct victim or goal. It is used by different organizations in a conspiratorial way together with violence, which

threatens society with an infliction of force. The fear includes the fear to an enemy, which is an ethnical or religious group, a whole country, the government or a political party, public opinion. Terrorism aims to achieve the power of influence and its goals are local or global political changes.

In the book 15 texts are presented in the following order: 1. Maria Tomczyk, Evolution of International Terrorism; 2. Sebastian Wojciechowski, Global terrorism; 3. Noemi GAL-OR, Has the Third War Broken Out? Reflections on the Place of the Terrorism in International Conflict and Its Impact on the Transformation of the Law of War; 4. Artur Wejksznier, Countering terrorism at the Onset of the 21st Century – Through Chaos to the New World Order; 5. Anna Potrykała, The Impact of the Global War Against Terrorism on the International System of refugee Protection; 6. Filip Jasiński, Piotr Rakowski,