

political parties it would be really challenging to reach the value-driven future of Europe.

The discussion presented in this rich collection of essays provides many open ended questions that can and will be a good basis to continue this never-ending and very important question for European countries. The contributors to this book and the editor are committed and deeply believe in the human values of Europe. This notion gives confidence to the reader that there is a substantial and solid group of supporters across European universities and institutions dedicated to make this idea reality.

**Hartmut Behr and Felix Roesch (eds.), *Hans J. Morgenthau, The concept of the Political* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)**

Ciprian Negoita  
University of Bucharest

*The Concept of the Political*, translated from the 1933 study – *La Notion du "politique" et la théorie des différends internationaux*, represents a significant contribution for the European public specialized in the field of international relations. While this text may at the first sight seem different from other versions of realism and more related to international relations theory today, in fact, the core assumptions addressed in this study are connected to political realism. The translation of this book represents the first initiative to make Morgenthau's European writings more accessible to students of international relations, particularly to English-speaking researchers. This endeavor both in French and English is relatively little known compared to his major and successful textbook *Politics Among Nations*, published in 1948 and considered one of the leading writings of the realist school. As the title indicates, this book is constructed around the complex and controversial "concept of the political", a concept whose correct understanding Morgenthau, and many others before him, considered essential for any theory of political life. Thus, the purpose of this book is to provide an understanding of Morgenthau's *oeuvre* and worldview and to emphasize the ontological and epistemological commitments of the author, which influenced his later works.

Hans J. Morgenthau, *doyen* of international relations and the most important figure for the development of this discipline, engaged in an intellectual journey by comparing and criticizing different schools of thoughts (Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen) concerned also with this concept, later to provide a general theory about the political, seen as a core requirement for society. The book is organized in two important parts. The first one represents a comprehensive introduction into Morgenthau's study written by the two editors of the book, Hartmut Behr and Felix

Rösch, professors of international relations, specialized in the sociology of knowledge, theories of international relations and international political theory. This general overview of Morgenthau's worldview provides the contextualization of the author's work in the legal and political debates in the moment he wrote the book and presents as well as present debates of international relations and introduces the most important epistemological and ontological aspects of Morgenthau's political theory. In the second part, we can observe the objective analysis of the author, separating the legal from the political sphere which would conduct to a certain isolation of the political deliberations from the legal regulations and the normative conceptualization of the political. More precisely, in order to highlight his own theory the author builds its exposure on the dynamics of these three distinctive concepts: legal disputes, political, and political disputes.

When defining legal disputes, Morgenthau leaves aside the common practice of opposing the concept of disputes of interest to that of legal disputes and argues, from a terminological point of view, that such an opposition is incorrect since the legal disputes are also disputes of interest. In other words, he questions the two schools of thought that manifested themselves as advocates of this theory, and later he creates his own interpretation. He concludes that these disputes are legal because they have characteristics of the concept of legal dispute while the so-called disputes of interest do not. Thus, for Morgenthau the correct interpretation to name the latter is "pure disputes of interests".(p. 95)

The second concept, the political, analyzed through the author's filter of thought is argued in the same manner like the first one. Morgenthau leaves out of consideration the original and etymological sense of the concept applied in relation to non-state actors and individuals and applies it in the sphere of interstate relations where his considerations are solely concerned with the realm of foreign policy. What is worth mentioning here are the two different meanings of the concept; on the one hand, it designates the activity of the state aiming to maintain, increase or assert its power in specific sphere and on the other hand, it distinguishes within the whole group of possible foreign activity spheres of the state certain particular modes of activity which we could be designated as political matters and political activities in the particular sense of the word (p. 119). Thus, taken in general, the concept of the political designates the will of the state to maintain, increase or assert its power, in particular political can define an object that is in the mind of the state deploying a political activity and in a specific sense, and this is Morgenthau's theory: political could be characterized by a particular degree of intensity, which depends on the connection generated by the state's will to detain the power between its objects and the state itself (p. 120).

The concept of political disputes reflects the comprehensive relationship between the sphere of the political and the sphere of the international legal system.

Morgenthau argues that the link between these two spheres is notably observed by analyzing the general position of the state within the international community, which is often considered to be a problematic matter generating particular political disputes. (p.133).

The book, both with the translation and re-publication, along with the historical and intellectual contextualization produced by the editors, represents a significant resource not only for the categories of people mentioned above, but also for anyone interested in the nature of political realism. Furthermore, the study contributes to the understanding of Morgenthau's concept of power – a concept that has always been an important aspect not only for domestic politics, but also for the international arena. Morgenthau gives a special attention to this concept and he meticulously suggests the important distinction between the empirical and normative concept of power. The majority of critics addressed the subject of this particular distinction and a great number of scholars from the field of IR argued Morgenthau's unclear boundaries between empirical and normative concepts of power. Nevertheless, the author succeeded without any doubt in explaining and elaborating his theory about the concept of the political.

Small, but concise, this cornerstone of Morgenthau's intellectual experience presents a innovative theory of the notion of the political, criticizing in the first instance the old theories of Carl Schmitt's conception of "friend" and "foe" and Hans Kelsen's legal positivism and later developing a new theory where the concept of the political is the central factor of any human association and the study of politics. For these reasons, this book provides coherent and excellent arguments sustaining the main theory and represents a benchmark for the general study of the international relations theory.

The elements that make this book an interesting and worth reading study are related to the fact the book combines different methods of research: the scientific research and the personal experience – a mixture that gives originality to Morgenthau's work. The book is the outcome Morgenthau's intellectual journey during and after his doctoral thesis. All the intellectual reflections, knowledge and life experience of one remarkable person has been combined in an unique manner so that the next generations could understand the origins and the dynamics of the Concept of the Political. Even though this book provides original theoretical formulas, the expository writing style reveals an overuse of the specialized vocabulary, which indicates that this study is addressed to a limited range of readers, especially scholars who are studying Morgenthau's thought sociology of knowledge of the discipline of International Relations and international political theory.

Taking everything into consideration, this book represents a significant contribution in the field of international politics. It provides the readers both significant theoretical contributions and critical understanding of different schools of thought in order to create a personal theory about the concept of political.

**Theo van de Klundert** *Capitalism and Democracy: A Fragile Alliance* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013)

Raphael D. Jackson  
Kentucky State University

Theo van de Klundert is a Dutch economist and Professor Emeritus at Tilburg University in The Netherlands. *Capitalism and Democracy: A Fragile Alliance*, was originally written in Dutch and translated into English in order to reach the larger Anglophone audience. This book is the result of Klundert's sixty years of study in the field of economics. The focus of the book revolves around the central question of whether it is possible to combine capitalism and democracy. The book is divided into two parts. The first part emphasizes the importance of technological progress as a main engine for economic growth. The second part highlights what has been described as "the diffusion of capitalism across countries". In this work, the author also sets out to ascertain whether or not such diffusion gives rise to regional varieties of capitalism.

In the first chapter Klundert discusses the genesis of capitalism. In the book, *The Great Transformation*, Polanyi (1944) makes reference to the social and political upheavals that took place in England during the rise of the market economy. According to Polanyi, setting political rulers at a distance is a pre-requisite to establishing a self-regulating economic environment. Polanyi's theory states that it is precisely this distance that ensures the property rights of merchants and entrepreneurs. Chapter two is devoted to an overview of the field of international political economy. Klundert analyzes formal models of political economies. This analysis stems from a theory which states that technological change is the driving force of accumulation and growth in the capitalist system. The third chapter explains precisely how the neoclassical theory was conceived as an exogenous factor in the technological growth theory. Klundert also acknowledges the new literature which offers alternate explanations to technological change, such as learning-by-doing and investment in research and development. Chapter four explores the plausibility of third world nations catching up to the GDP of their first world counterparts. In this chapter Klundert reviews the research of Syrquin (1988) who categorizes the "catching-up" phenomena in three stages. The first stage emphasizes primary production while the second and third phase emphasize both industrialization and de-industrialization respectively. Chapter four segues into the