The most important result of the activity of anti-liberal opposition ("national and patriotic left-wing opposition", according to Dugin) after the pogrom of the Supreme Soviet in October 1993, had been the fact that certain ideas of the defeated opponents were adopted by the winners, Dugin described as "liberals", "westernizers" and "oligarchs". They started to speak of Russian, patriotism, national interests and dissimilarity to western civilizations.

A similar process, that is a transition from the negation and ridicule of patriotism to affirmation and disputes who constitutes a greater patriot, could be observed in several Eastern European countries in the first years after the transformation. At that particular time substantial part of uncritical pro-western leaders devoted their energy to fight patriotic behaviour, classifying it as a form of the rebirth of fascism and continued to accuse patriots of xenophobic and anti-liberal intentions and backwardness. This subject matter, both in its

Russian and Eastern-European variants, is still expecting certain research. Since October 1993, geopolitics and the place of Russia in the map of European civilization has become the subject of numerous academic and social debates and a turn to the previously attacked eurasiatism has been observed.

The aftermath of the anti-liberal ideological opposition was this departure of Russian elites from the opinion, so popular in early 1990's, that integration with the West constitutes the only solution for the country. Secondly, the belief that Russian civilization is particularly unique and distinguished from this previously imposed western model of social, political and economic life that was widely accepted. Thirdly, what could be observed was a common disappointment with the West and its political attitude towards Russia. As a result, the pro-western trends, so popular in the first years of Yeltsin's presidency, were replaced with diverse anti-western ones.

A review of the book:

Polityka zagraniczna. Aktorzy – potencjały – strategie, ed. T. Łoś-Nowak,
Warszawa: Poltext, 2011, pp. 575

by Marcin Chelminiak

The question of what will be the shape of international policy in the next decades, especially at the moment, when the Euro-

pean Union (and other regions) struggle with a financial crisis is difficult to answer as a new international order is still in the

stage of transformation. Therefore, the beginning of the twenty first century is a perfect opportunity to sum up the foreign policy of the selected countries including Poland.

Prof. Teresa Łoś-Nowak is an originator and an editor of the reviewed book. She is a head of the Unit of International Political Relations at the Institute of Political Sciences at the University of Wrocław. The publication herein is a result of the survey of scientists which represent different Polish university centres: University of Wrocław, University of Warsaw, University of Gdańsk, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and the Lodz Academy of International Studies.

The work is clear and logical. It begins with an introduction, then a theoretical discussion and three parts, which constitute a proper development of the analysed issues, are presented. The book ends with a conclusion and a bibliography.

The basic part of the publication is divided into four parts, as follows:

1. Foreign policy. Theory (foreign policy in a theoretical space; foreign policy – constant and variable components of the process of defining and performance).

2. Foreign policy of superpowers, powers and *in statu nascendi* powers (the USA, the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, Germany, Brazil, the Republic of India, Japan, the European Union, international corporations).

3. Foreign policy of the middle-level countries (Poland, Ukraine, Turkey, Sweden, Israel, the Republic of South Africa).

4. Foreign policy of small countries and mini-countries (Czech Republic, Georgia, Uruguay, Senegal, Singapore, Lichtenstein, Surinam).

T. Łoś-Nowak indicates in the introduction that the book is a new perspective of the foreign policy issues. "It is new (...) to the point of the process of redefining the components which form the idea of being a power in the international system" (p.14). She presents an analysis of the foreign policy definition, its evolution and different definitions in the theoretical part. When characterising analytical trends, the author indicates that there are three dominating models:

- a realistic theory – the oldest; it was represented among others by Tukidydes, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and presently Hans Morgenthau, Richard Niebuhr and Edward Carr;

- a modernist theories (among others behavioural) – its followers are in favour of the analysis on the level of the international system and they use statistical data more frequently);

- a post-modernist theory, which developed under a strong influence of liberalism and neo-liberalism.

When analysing the significance of different actors in the foreign and international policy, T. Łoś-Nowak emphasises the most important role of countries, although she indicates the fact that "(...) the idea of sovereignty evolves, (...) new, non-state participants appear" (p.32).

Such approach to these issues does not narrow them to the state – centric perspective.

The second part of the book is an interesting analysis of the foreign policy of superpowers, global powers, regional powers and “potential superpowers.” This part begins with a chapter concerning foreign policy of the countries, which have shaped a bipolar order recently. Justyna Zając presented methods, aims and means of the USA policy. She also points at a slow shift in the power status of this country stating that the international order has become multi-directional and simultaneously an American dominance over remaining objects of international relations has become smaller. Whereas, Andrzej Czajkowski analyses the foreign policy of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union. According to him, Russia was forced to redefine its international position after the end of “the cold war” and to adjust its potential to a new role, which it plays in Europe and Asia. The author claims that the future of its power status is not optimistic. He writes, “Russia, in the foreseeable perspective is not able to recover its lost power – which it had in the Soviet time. (...) Neither Russias return to the countries of the Middle-East Europe, nor establishment of military bases in different parts of the world is possible” (p.103).

In this part of the book we will find chapters concerning the powers which have gradually and systematically increased its position in international relations in Asia (China, the Republic of

India), Europe (Germany) and in the region of Latin America (Brazil) for years. A fragment relating to the international position of Japan is a very interesting part of the book. Andrzej Anders indicates that this country is presently in the worst international situation which results from: the weakening position of its main ally, that is the United States, the increasing power of China and a lack of “ally ability” in the region resulting mainly from historical factors.

It is worth mentioning that the analysis of the superpower actors (or potential) was not restricted to only those countries, but also considered the European Union and international corporations. Such approach undoubtedly enriched the book. Despite the crisis, the EU is still a significant element of the international order. Ryszard Zięba writes, “the present European Union plays a significant role as propagator of the European cultural and civilization values” (p. 235).

The third part of the reviewed book presents an analysis of the foreign policy of middle countries. It begins with a chapter devoted to the Polish policy. T. Łoś-Nowak presents its goals, aspirations and directions. She also indicates the pro-American orientation in the diplomacy of the Third Republic of Poland. It resulted in the involvement of Poland in the war in Iran and Afghanistan. Such attitude negatively influenced Polish relations with its European partners, particularly with France and the Federal Republic of Germany. The author asks rightly, whether the participation of Poland in different types

of peace and stabilization missions really strengthens the position of Poland in the international system and builds its image as an initiator and a guiding spirit for activities stabilising international relations. In the group of the middle countries, except for Poland, Ukraine, Turkey, Sweden, Israel and the Republic of South Africa were discussed.

The analysis of the middle countries allows for a conclusion that after the "cold war" the role of these actors of international relations has increased, especially in the local and in the regional dimension. It is visible in the example of the Republic of South Africa, which as Arkadiusz Żukowski writes, systematically builds a position of one of the leaders of the Third World countries and aspires to become a permanent member in the United Nations Security Council.

The fourth part of the book presents the foreign policy of small countries and mini-countries. This group of countries, because of its small significance and a low geo-political potential is frequently omitted in scientific dissertations and in the analysis concerning political sciences. For this reason, this part of the book may be particularly interesting for the readers. Moreover, it may be absorbing because of the policy of such exotic countries as The Republic of Surinam, the Republic of Singapore or the Principality of Lichtenstein.

The book under review was prepared with diligence and its factual content is

without reservations. It may be recommended to all who are involved in current international relations (both theoretically and practically as well) and in the foreign policy of the selected countries. The theoretical chapter is a very interesting part, which may become a basis for further discussion on the conditions of the international policy in the period of transformation of international order. It would be worth adding France in the next edition of the book in the part concerning the foreign policy of the powers, as in the present crisis it plays a similar role to Germany, which were included in the reviewed work, and additionally it is a member of the United Nations Security Council. Unfortunately, only one African country (The Republic of South Africa) was included in the chapter concerning the middle countries. Such essential countries, from the point of view of stabilising international security (in the global and regional dimension), as Iran, North Korea and Pakistan would also be worth discussing.

The book, which is reviewed, because of its cognitive qualities, is obligatory for people, who are interested in international policy after the cold war and particularly for those who are interested in the evolution of the policy of the present powers and those countries which aspire to this role. The book is compliant with the research on the theories of foreign policy.