VI. Book Reviews

ON PROLIFERATION AND THE LOGIC OF THE NEW MARKET

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Keywords: *nuclear proliferation, supplier cartel, weaponization, thwarters, hedgers, nuclear trade, security rivalry, power politics, competition*

The article authored by PhD Eliza Gheorghe assistant lecturer in the International Relations Department at Bilkent University [*International Security* 43:4, 2019- *Proliferation and the Logic of the New Market,* pp. 88–127], analyzes the current state of the nuclear market, the competition onto it, focusing on *non/proliferation*. It is foreseen that competition will arise among suppliers for the development of nuclear weapons, the author being of opinion that should there be no supplier cartel that would have a regulatory role with regard to transfers of material and technology for nuclear weapons, competition for market share will become fierce. The author enploys two terms for describing the spread of nuclear weapons 'thwarters' and 'hedgers', where the former are the great powers who try to limit the suppliers, thus countering proliferation; the setting for this to happen being unipolarity, with a gradual decrease when entering bipolarity and being least likely to occur in multipolarity; while the latter [i.e. hedgers] are on the verge of weaponry usage. The global picture of the Cold War and post Cold war is used therefter, being known that more countries spent in the arms industry at the beginning of the Cold War than at the end of it. The author posits that in 1991 the USA having become the sole power was in the position to prevent countries from acquiring nuclear weapons, while as the world enters multipolarity, cooperation among the great powers for the market, this leading to nuclear proliferation.

The study starts by defining key terms within the area if nuclear proliferation, it continues with analyzing proliferation at latge in the period 1945-2014. The central part of the study examines the two superpowers – herein identified as 'thwarters'- US and the Soviet Union- influenced the evolution of nuclear market. The study pays special attention to India's nuclear program, then South Korea and last but not least, Romania. The pathway to the bomb is described accordingly to consolidate the nuclear bomb capability. The author states that the nuclear market is a significant pathway to proliferation, which has contributed in varying degrees to the nuclear programs of a majority of the world's

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states on top in terms of nuclear weapons: China, France, India, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan, South Africa and the Soviet Union [E.Gheorghe, IS: 43:4/92].

The nuclear market and its mechanisms are described in a minute analysis, showing how its main protagonists, i.e. *buyers, suppliers* and *thwarters* engage in commercial transactions to trade products used to build nuclear weapons. *Buyers* that are determined to become proliferators, it is shown further on in the article, can have two options as their goals, i.e. becoming a nuclear hedger or a nuclear weapons state, according to A.E. Levite quoted by the author [IS 27:3, p.58-88]. As for *suppliers*, these are countries exporting nuclear technology, materials and expertise used both for civilian and military purposes. *Thwarters* are the great powers, acting as market regulators. What they mainly do is prevent the sale of technology that facilitates proliferation. The measures employed are designed to inhibit, contain and roll back proliferation.

Security is the overriding concern of states, being at the core of countries' endeavours of becoming *hedgers* or *nuclear weapons states,* since posssessing a nuclear arsenal is the highest priority for all states in the international system. Politics or prestige of a country also justify a country's pursuit for acquiring nuclear weapons. Successful implementation of market regulation in order to curb proliferation by the great powers depens to a great extent on the distribution of power among them and on the other hand, on the rivalry between them.

Proliferation is directly influenced by inflexions the great power politics. The rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War had two contrasting waves; it was much more intense at the outset, 1945 to 1974 than at the end, 1975 to 1990, the international system having turned from bipolarity to unipolarity in the post-Cold War period of time, until 2014. Proliferation followed the same pattern of inflexions, accordingly, i.e. increased markedly in the early Cold War period, slowed down in the late Cold War period and levelled off after the Cold War respectively. In terms of numbers a statistics is provided, i.e. seven nuclear weapons states appeared in the I-st period: from 1945 to 1974, wheres in the II-nd, from 1945 to 1990 only two, while from 1991 to 2014 their number levelled off, North Korea being a new addittion while South Africa's decision was that of stepping out nuclearization. Following this state of affairs, the nuclear market ,ebbed and flowed' in accordance with the growth and/or slowdown of nuclear weapons trade. The Nuclear Suppliers Group was created in 1975 by the joint cooperation of US and the Soviet Union, a suppliers' cartel that was meant to curb the sale of ENR technology. The analysis shows that the number of proliferators at the start and end of the post-Cold War period stayed the same, being nine, few nuclear transfers having occurred during this time.

As mentioned before, the US and the Soviet Union entered the nuclear age as thwarters, the perception of the US leaders being that the US should be the only country to possess nuclear weapons [Maddock p.68 in *Nuclear Apartheid*, quoted by E.Gheorghe] and thus adopted the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, having restricted collaboration with Britain and Canada, its two wartime partners. At the other end, the Soviet Union discouraged nuclear development among its Eastern European allies. Apart from the two superpowers, there was a select group of countries: Britain, Canada, France, Norway and Sweden who did not share the two superpowers' plight to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, having possessed both expertise and materials to build nuclear power plants and ENR facilities altogether. It was these countries that contributed to the creation of the nuclear market at the beginning of the 1950s. The two superpowers, being both concerned about the nuclear trade and dissatisfied with the outcome of their efforts to prevent

proliferation, decided to shape the market and to supply nuclear technology themselves, having thus attempted to create a monopoly in 1946 under UN authority, but this initiative having failed, they set up subsequenttly in 1957 an agency called the International Atomic Eneregy Agency. This one, however, had little authority. As an outcome of the two endeavours the market was affected and proliferation spread throughout the world. US and the Soviet Union could not work together, competition of suppliers over the market share became fierce, there being few restricitons on sale.

The case of India. According to the author, India became a hedger in 1964. In 1948, under the rule of premier Jawaharlal Nehru, India created a civilian nuclear program.The Atomic Energy Commission of India was set up at the time. India was in the position to exploit the competitiveness of the market, having had access to suppliers in both the West and the East. India's interest in nuclear energy determined suppliers to see opportunities for business to grow, in spite of US efforts to stop the emergence of the nuclear market at the outset. As a result, nuclear trade negotiations intensified. The US retaliated and defcided to sell nuclear technology to interested buyers, in an attempt to influence the market and prevent proliferation. Thus India itself signed a cooperation agreement with the US in 1955. Technology transfers were being negotiated further on. For fear that India might develop nuclear weapons capability, both the US and the Soviet Union wanted to sell it nuclear technology. This was wisely managed by the authorities in India, in the sense that they secured themselves a profitable financial package, as well as better technology and more favourable terms of use, better than they would have received from the Soviet Union. As a result, India first produced plutonium in 1964 [Perkovich, p.28 *India's Nuclear Bomb* quoted by. E.Gheorghe, p.109]. As to the transactions with the suppliers (Canada, France and Britain, once on the same side during the Cold War), India did play her role very well by manipulating them, [according to the minutes of a meeting held by India's premier in 1960 Jan.16], as there was fierce competition among these states to export nuclear technology. India then made a deal with Britain, which yielded more advantages than it agreement with France, as it gave it more control over the nuclear technology it got. The whole prospect of India's acquiring the bomb by means of transfers from foreign suppliers worried the US, as it weakened their ability to thwart India's nuclear ambitions. India refused to place the facilities that they imported under international security warranties, favouring concluding bilateral agreements with the suppliers. By the late 1960s the superpowers' efforts to stop proliferation had failed, although the relations between them improved. India became a proliferator further to the nuclear technology transfers. The nuclear test it conducted in 1974 was determined rather by China's nuclear test in 1964. Given the failure of the superpowers to form a cartel to regulate the nuclear market, due to the animosities between them. Conclusively, the author states that India effectively manipulated the market to great effect and the message felt throughout the world was that countries could avail themselves of the market in order to become proliferators, in spite of the non-proliferation efforts made by the superpowers, thus a major wave of proliferation swept accross countries, both West (Italy, West Germany, Pakistan, China) and East (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania), these countries having looked for nuclear assistance from the superpowers. The US, the Soviet Union and Britain proceeded to apply the agenda and throughout the entire late Cold War period nonproliferation was the very core of superpowers' uninterrupted cooperation despite their global rivalry.

The study analyzes further on the case of South Korea which initiated a peaceful nuclear program in the 1950s. The country was making efforts to rebuild the country after the Korean War. To this end, foreign suppliers helped South Korea build a nuclear industry.

The situation of the market change as the world system turned to unipolarity, with the US being the sole superpower and thwarter. Iraq developed a clandestine nuclear weapons program in 1991, which had been helped by foreign assistance during the Cold War.

The case of Romania deserves attention, being a country which was an aspiring hedger. Romania, too, started building a peaceful nuclear program in the 1950s. According to the author, Romania received a Soviet-type reactor for training purposes, but the Soviet Union preferred to grant assistance to Central European countries (Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland) on the ground that these countries had the strongest iondustries in the Eastern bloc. Having perceived reluctance from the Soviet Union, Romanian turned to the West, to suppliers, thus plans for enacting an extensive nuclear program took shape, being an indicator to the fact that there were no peaceful intentions, Romania making her intentions of building nuclear weapons clear, provided it did not lack technological capability. This was followed by the openly-declared intention of N. Ceausescu, the then Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party to build an atomic weapon in cooperation with Israel. By intending to secure itself the capabilities to enable her to weaponize shortly make out of Romania a hedger. The Soviet Union became worried about proliferation given China's nuclear test in 1964 and tried to hinder as well Romania's nuclear aspirations, proposing an arrangement that would have conferred it considerable control over Romania's nuclear program, but the efforts failed because until 1978 Romania managed to acquire products from suppliers. It negotiated for nuclear power plants with Canada, Italy, Sweden, US and West Germany. France and the US provided a technology that was crucial for Romania's ongoing nuclear option. By 1976 with the change in the American administration, the situation changed for Romania, opportunities rapidly closing and Romania ended its negotiations with the American firms in the field of atomic energy. It turned to France, instead, for a better price and loose inspection. Once with the end of the Cold War there came the end of the Romanian leader Ceasusescu, as well, who was ousted and sentenced to death in 1989 and Romania decided to focus on a civilian nuclear program. Thus, Romania was able to acquire nuclear transfers at the beginning of the Cold War by "exploiting the competition in the nuclear market"- according to the author. In the late Cold War, however, the picture looked different, having become difficult for Romania to acquire nuclear technology, being pushed off proliferation.

What does the future hold in this respect? Being known that multipolarity has made its way into the international system, wherein China is rising as a great power and Russia is recovering, rivalry at security level mounting among these superpowers, US included and there appears to weaken the NSG. Renewed competition among suppliers is attested by Saudi Arabia's ambitious nuclear plans as of 2018. Worth to be noted is the fact that the US and Russia did have succes in their attempts to slow down proliferation, each developing their own model, on the one hand, the US's "gold standard"of nuclear cooperation agreements , while Russia implemented its own business model that implies control throughout the entire process of a nuclear facility, from construction to waste disposal. It remains to be seen whether China will require similar agreements on nuclear exports. The players in the field wil re-arrange their positions accordingly. Turkey may reconsider its terms of negotiation with Russia, Iraq and egypt might as well be tempted to resume their nuclear weapons program, while Saudi Arabia will want to acquire ENR

technology, it is concluded in the article. At the same time the UAE, no longer bound to the US gold standard, might feel entitled now to enrich.

Conclusively, the article focussed on the evolution and late developments of the nuclear market over time. It was shown that the great powers can limit proliferation by creating a cartel to regulate competition among suppliers as well as to regulate what they can sell and posits that how succesful they are ultimately depends on the global distribution of power and the rivalry among them on security matters. The author posits that the great powers should avoid pursuing foolish policies that could have bad consequences. Security competition will inevitably lead to disputes and that waging possible wars will imply serious costs on proliferation. The cartel is essential to preventing the expansion of the nuclear core. Pathways for future research are identified following the present study as to the relationship between buyers and suppliers, manipulation, diversifying the supply sources being but a few of the issues to be considered. A complete picture of the nuclear market was offered to the reader, highly important for understanding proliferation and last but not least, for preventing it altogether.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAUSES, CHALLENGES, SOLUTIONS, AND BEST PRACTICES IN THE AREA OF PREVENTING, COMBATING, AND ERRADICATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING WORLDWIDE

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Review of: Villegas, Christina G., *Modern Slavery: A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2020, ISBN-13: 9781440859762

The book *Modern Slavery: A Reference Handbook*[1], written by Christina G. Villegas, was published in 2020 by ABC-CLIO in Santa Barbara, California and tackles the issue of human trafficking or, *modern slavery*, as the authors prefers to call it, compiling various information on the causes, challenges, solutions and best practices models in preventing, combating and eradicating this global phenomenon.
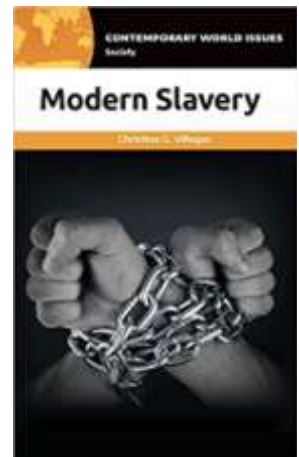
Christina Villegas is a Senior Fellow at the Independent Women's Forum. She holds a Ph. D. in Politics from the Institute for Philosophic Studies at the University of Dallas and is currently an associate professor of political science at California State University, San Bernardino, where she teaches courses in American government, public policy, and political thought. As the author herself states in the *Preface* of the book, the target audience are students and general readers seeking to identify the key issues of the worldwide epidemic of modern slavery and the various abolitionist efforts.

The handbook is organized in seven chapters, as follows:

Chapter One, "Background and History," examines the causes and the defining moments of slavery in the past and how it has continued up to the present, despite significant efforts to abolish it worldwide. The author describes the various geographic, political, cultural, and economic contexts of modern slavery and gives examples of areas and cultures where sex trafficking, as well as labour trafficking are still considered to be the privilege of the elite.

Chapter Two, "Problems, Controversies, and Solutions," deals with major problems defining the issue of modern slavery, some of which are the quantification and identification of victims, the competing legal approaches to prostitution, the need to enhance criminal accountability, with a focus on developing public justice systems, as well as task forces and partnerships between governments, the civil society, NGOs and other organisations. The author dedicates a special section to explaining the root issues of labour trafficking and the solutions that could be implemented to eradicate it. She briefly points to the need of reducing slavery in supply chains and gives a few examples of what

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has already been achieved in this field. Other major problems identified are the urgent need to empower the poor, rehabilitate survivors by focusing on long-term solution to build their future. She mentions the role of the US globally through the TIP Report, as well as the importance of taking action locally.

Chapter Three, "Perspectives", contains a series of articles written by several authors, including policy experts, victim advocates, and survivors, from a variety of viewpoints, on the subject of human trafficking. To mention some of them: *Prostitution: Upholding Women's Rights as Human Rights with the Equality Model* written by Autumn Burris, who is a sex trafficking survivor and legislative advocate. Another essay is *Ending Child Sex Trafficking through Prevention*, written by Carl Ralston, who is the founder and president of Remember Nhu, where he explains the efforts adopted at Remember NHU as the most efficient in preventing and eradicating child sex trafficking.

Chapter Four, "Profiles," details the work of 36 different governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in the fight against human trafficking, offering a wide spectrum of solutions and models of best practices that have already proven to work. Some of them are: A21, Anti-Slavery International, Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking, Deliver Fund, ECPAT, Free the Slaves, International Justice Mission, International Labour Organization, International Organization for Migration, La Strada International, Operation Underground Railroad, Shared Hope International, Walk Free Foundation etc.

Chapter 5, "Data and Documents," offers a few key data source documents, including conventions, laws, executive orders, speeches, and testimonies, to provide readers with first-hand information on the following: the scope of modern slavery, the victims and the patterns of victimization, the causes and the perpetrators, the insights that can be gained from survivors, solutions that can be applied at local, national, and international level to stop the perpetuation of human trafficking, as well as to eradicate and prevent it.

Chapter 6, "Resources," provides a list of selected books, articles, and reports on a variety of topics related to modern slavery, which are useful guidelines for further research.

Chapter 7, "Chronology," marks the defining moments and major events affecting slavery in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The book concludes with a glossary of key terms relating to modern slavery.

Overall, *Modern Slavery: A Reference Handbook,* as the title itself clearly points, is an overview of the widespread phenomenon of human trafficking, offering a bird's-eye view on the most important aspects of this issue and being a useful resource for readers who want to map out the various areas from which they can choose to further their study. However, it does not contain exhaustive information on the issue and the avid researcher will find it to be a mere starting point for an in-depth study on the phenomenon.

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CREATING AND GOVERNING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Review of: Tuuli Lähdesmäki , Viktorija L . A. Čeginskas, Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus, Katja Mäkinen, and Johanna Turunen, *Creating and coverning Cultural Heritage in the European Union,* New York, Routledge, 2020, ISBN: 978- 0- 429- 05354- 2

The European Union started to give greater consideration to the Cultural Heritage in recent years. A considerable change in EU's attitude towards heritage could be observed after the Maastricht Treaty, but starting with 2015 when the European identity was threatened by the waves of immigrants and refugees, the European Union's interest for cultural heritage increased.

This book emphasizes the European Heritage Label's impact and effects upon the economic, social, political and cultural matters of the European Union and presents from a critical point of view the EU's actions towards European identity, culture and heritage. The research is very complex, but well-structured and the information is catchy and very useful, aspects that make this study accessible for both specialists and researchers in this field and for the amateurs or unspecialized ones who want to learn about this subject. The book does not neglect the threating factors for culture and heritage such as populism, nationalism and others challenging aspects for the European Unity and Identity and it is issuing a word of warning by highlighting the importance of European Institutions involvement is this area.

The authors of this book are all researchers in Culture Studies, Sociology and Art, Music and Culture Departments from Finland University, their Academic background having a great impact upon the research process for this book and upon the conclusions they draw. Moreover, I consider their book as one of the most important works in this area of study firstly because in the last years, scholars interest for Cultural and Heritage conservation was very low and this lack of interest can be easily observed in the small number of articles, books, studies launched in the last years regarding this matter.

The book "Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union" is a unique work as it is "the first published scholarly monograph on the European Heritage Label." The main area of interest of this book is actually the European Heritage Label and all the theories and subjects are discussed around this award. The European Heritage Label is an initiative under the Creative Europe Programme, its aims being clearly related to the rise of awareness toward the sites that have a significant European symbolic value

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and represent the common European history and indirectly to promote European values, culture and traditions.

The book is structured in four main parts, each of them being divided into two chapters. The first part – "Governing Europe" is presenting heritage as being a political tool and slightly approach the concept of multilevel governance, while the Part II named "Geo- graphing Europe", takes the reader to the geographical dimension of the cultural heritage and develops an unusual concept, namely the heritage as a geopolitical tool. The third part of the book entitled "Engaging Europe" focus on the concepts of participation, belonging, community, and the negative perceptions regarding heritage, but through the spectrum of EHL, which obviously is the leitmotif of this book. Part IV of the book and the last one - "Embodying Europe" introduce the idea of poly-space, presents a perception of the relationships between time, space, and heritage and it is in the same time a report of the fieldwork experiences' of the authors.

However, this book review is more concerned with the first part of the book - "Governing Europe", as I am more interested of the political aspect of the heritage. In this part of the book are approached more concepts and ideas regarding the European heritage and Commission's role in creating a strong network of actors, such as states and European non-governmental organizations, which are interested and preoccupied with bringing back into the spotlight the forgotten European treasures.

In this regard, The European Commission considers the heritage as being an "irreplaceable repository of knowledge and a valuable resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion", a reason why in the last years, the cultural heritage became an important part of EU governance.

Another important aspect that is emphasized in this book, it is the economic one, specifically the funds that EU allocate for cultural and heritage related actions and organizations. The authors highlighted the idea that even if The European Union has some major projects and ambitious plans that involves cultural heritage activities (cross-border cultural cooperation, mobility between EU member states) the funding assigned for culture is still low.

However, one of the bravest actions of the European Union is the European Heritage Label, an award offered for the valuable sites from a cultural point of view, and a concept that in this book is presented as a heritage brand, following the idea that: "*the EU brands the sites and the sites brand the EU".* The concept of branding the EU is not a new one, as the former European Commissioner Willy De Clerq, in a 1993 report proposed that Europe should be treated as a 'brand product' and since then, the European Union started to implement this idea by organizing he European Heritage Days, Europa Nostra Awards and Creative Europe programme.

The main objective of the European Heritage Label is "to strengthen the sense of belonging of citizens to the European Union based on shared values and elements of European history and cultural heritage", as the European Commission mentions, but no matter how noble it may seem, the aims are purely political and the difficulties are not missing as there are clearly differences between what heritage represents and what the political interest are. Therefore, the gap between the mentalities and aims *("stability versus change, value of history versus economic profit")* have a negative impact on this action, as this European Heritage Label for sites seems to be granted on political and economic criteria.

As a conclusion, I dare to affirm that the book "Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union" is the bible of the heritage in the EU, as it is the best-

written book I have read so far on this subject. The authors came up with a totally new approach, presenting the information, the dimensions of cultural heritage in the European Union by always reporting it to the European Heritage Label, an area that have not been studied by many scholars yet. I consider the information being curdled, easily to follow and understandable even if the concepts presented are very complex and from different areas. In closing, I think that the authors of this book succeed to enrich the academic world with an important study that is and will remain valuable and useful in any future studies and research related to the European heritage, culture and identity.

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ON THE RISE AND FALL OF THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER: JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER

Ioana ALBU*

Professor John J. Mearsheimer's 'Bound to Fail' article **The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order** [*International Security* 43:4, 2019- *Bound to Fail. The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order*] provides the reader with a thorough insight into the *liberal international order at the end of 2019*, the deep troubles it currently undergoes, asserting that it was 'destined to fail from the start', as well as providing a minute research into how the new order will look like thereafter. The study aims at exploring why the liberal order was doomed to destruction whilst envisaging the type of international order to replace it. It has righteously been assumed, particularly by the Western elites-to whose dismay little can be done to rescue it- that this order was and remains essential for promoting peace and prosperity in the world. Who was to blame for that, the question is posed, there having been voices incriminating president Trump for his attempts at tearing it down ever since campaigning for elections.

Three sets of arguments support the analysis, the *first* one referring to the fact that international *orders* the distribution of power are related to one-another. The liberal international order, being in a unipolar system, its leading state is a liberal democracy. *Secondly*, the attention focuses on the misperception of the Cold War order as being wrongly labeled as "the liberal international order", there being made a clear distinction between the former and the post-Cold War [US-led] which was a liberal international one. *Thirdly*, while admitting that spreading liberal democracy around the globe is of utmost importance, building such an order proved to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, ultimately leading to disaster. Nationalism, as the most powerful ideology, hinders democracy, thereto being added the power politics. The support for the liberal order was also weakened and has been ultimately toppled by the globalized economy that has exceeded borders, with the whole array of negative issues: losing jobs, low wages, the

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staggering of the financial system, political problems adding to the dwindling of the liberal order.

Further on, it is illustrated how a highly globalized economy continuously undermines the order in the international system, thus undermining unipolarity to the detriment of the liberal order. The rise of China, the 'rebirth' of powerful Russia are but illustrative to the fact that countries other than the unipolar world gain precedence over the latter, thus ending the liberal order. A new international order is configured with a multipolar world to manage the global economy and the host of common issues of great concern the world is currently confronted with, from climate change, to arms control.

Starting from a thorough insight into the definition of *order* and its importance to international politics, the rise and decline of international orders, analyzing the emergence of the liberal international order and describing the different Cold War orders, the author explains why the liberal international order failed, ultimately leading to multipolarity and a current outlook for the new order.

A complete picture of the international scene is presented in the subchapter devoted to the *liberal international order of 1990-2019*, when at the end of the Cold War, once with the demise of the Soviet Union, the US was the pole of the unipolar world. President Bush, according to prof. J. Mearsheimer, *decided to take the realist Western order and spread it worldwide, turning it into a liberal international order*. It was thus that what the 'new world order' was called, was created, incorporating the institutions that had made up the Cold War era international order (UN and arms control agreements). This tremendous endeavour belonged to the US and all the US leaders starting with president Bush and his successors meant to create an entirely different international order from the one existent during the Cold War. Creating such a transformation implied both creating a net of new institutions with universal membership; creating an international economy wherein free trade and capital markets would dominate, and last but not least, spreading liberal democracy around the world. Liberal democracies in Western Europe particularly and East Asia joined their efforts to this ambitious project. The overall aim to be achieved by the initiators of the order was that of ultimately creating a peaceful world, whilst integrating China and Russia as powerful actors on the world arena. The US policy toward China as well as NATO expansion to Eastern Europe are both examples of the efforts to turn the Western order into a liberal international order, according to various scholars, contrary to the firm belief that eastward NATO expansion was part of a strategy aimed at containing Russia, perceived as potentially aggressive. Illustrative with respect to US's policy of building a liberal international order is the Bush Doctrine (2002). Right after the Cold War, there seemed no viable alternative to liberal democracy, which appeared to be the most proper political order for the world looming ahead of it.

In the years to follow, integrating China and Russia into the new world order key institutions [IMF and the World Bank, WTO, proved to be a successful endeavour for the US and its allies. The world scene seemed to rally itself to the project, Europe and the creation of the EU by the Maastricht treaty in 1992 was seen as a major step in promoting integration. The analysis is extended further, covering the Greater Middle East, where efforts seemed to yield positive results in incorporating the region into the liberal international order, though more slowly. Democracy gained ground throughout the world by late 2000. After this positive spur, the setbacks did not delay to appear during the 1990s. Illustrative in this respect are the events in India and Pakistan, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Iraq, Afghanistan, to mention but the most prominent ones. Coming back to Europe, the EU suffered a major problem by 2010 with the rejection of the Treaty for Establishing

a Constitution for Europe and the Eurozone crisis that triggered a host of tensions between countries and political problems (e.g. the case of Greece, Brexit, a.o.), a wave of xenophobia having swept over Europe. To be mentioned as well that tensions escalated in Ukraine, too, having as a result the deterioration of Russia's relations to the West, leading to a crisis which largely resulted from EU and NATO expansion, besides the efforts made by the West to install democracy in Ukraine and Georgia. What is worrying is that there are signs that the tensions are not going to end up in the near future.

On top of all this sensitive state of affairs, transatlantic relations have worsened once with president Trump taking office, being perceived [J. Kanter, 2017] as a real 'threat to the EU future' .

Thus, the trend of liberal democracies has been reversed, these having registered an acute decline since 2006 fostered by another turning point in the evolution of world order, the financial crisis of 2001-2008 and not last by the fact that the American political system itself looks unstable, questioning the very future of American democracy itself [W. Galston cited by J. Mearsheimer, p.30].

What happened when the major powers relations turned into enmity and discord: Out of realist reasons, China and Russia have resisted US's [unipolar power] efforts to shape their domestic policies, the latter having relied on NGOs towards making these countries embrace liberal democracy. Smaller powers have resisted the same, since it would have been a US-dominated liberal world order that they did oppose, the international system having thus been dominated at economic, political and military level. Another reason for this, provided by the author [J. Mearsheimer, p.34, *Bound to Fail*] is that sovereignty and self-determination matters a great deal to states when nationalism is the most powerful political ideologies.

There came then, the reverse effects of '*hyperglobalization*'-that has become synonymous with '*creative destruction*' quoting prof. Mearsheimer- where the author is of opinion that though it has helped countless of people getting out of poverty in countries such as India and China, it has caused major problems as well having destroyed entirely the economic base of entire regions, that governments do not have the means to counteract 'playing by the rules', the international economy being extremely dynamic, changes in one country having visible effects in another. A series of major problems was triggered, thus undermining the legitimacy of the liberal world order in the states at the core. Job security has disappeared, sectors of a country's economy the same, unemployment rose and incomes of the middle class kept at low level, while the wages of the upper class having greatly increased. Having come at a deadlock with gloomy perspectives ahead, markets not being able to fix the problems but worsen them, the liberal international order fell out of favour entirely. According to the author[J.J. Mearsheimer], given the very fast mobility of capital across borders, more financial crises the kind of the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the world crisis of 2007 will occur weakening the present order. The Euro problem-a particular feature of the liberal international order as acknowledged by the author, does not stand apart either in this respect. Being established with the aim of achieving monetary union among EU member states, came to a major crisis in 2009, producing problems both of economic and political nature. Problems were solved with the help not only of European institutions [ECB], but also from US government. Admittedly though, the problem was fixed temporarily only, there being envisaged more crises to come.

The international system has turned into a multipolar world in which attempts at turning China and Russia into liberal democracies have failed dramatically. The liberal order, however, would not have resisted, on the one hand since orders shift in time in the

international system, and on the other hand, because of it own shortcomings, or, as the author asserts, "the liberal international order was destined to fail being fatally flawed at birth".

Conclusively, various factors and processes have been responsible for the eroding of the liberal international order. Deep political divisions occurred among actors and have yielded irreversible political consequences. What could replace it so that things should find their own path? A less ambitious order, according to professor Mearsheimer, since no kind of liberal order is likely to be maintained in the years to come. The multipower system and great powers are at the core of events. Realist international orders will take shape, in which the US, China and Russia will compete on security matters and the focus will be on arms control agreements. On the economic level, the picture looks different, as there are huge economic transactions between the US and China, the rivalry between them being unlikely to diminish the flow.

Turning to Russia, the analysis questions the position of Russia in the US-China equation. Would it fear the geographic proximity to powerful China, or it would rather become ally with the US, consolidating mutual relations? According to specialists in the field it could well stay aloof as a great power and not align itself with any of them.

Finally, Europe is perceived as a minor power with relation to the poles, not having the capacity to play a major role towards China. US will want EU inside the bounded order created by them, economic reasons being at stake here. US military troops are stationed and will remain in Europe, maintaining NATO (despite president Trump's considering it 'obsolete'), continuing to maintain the role of 'pacifier' in the region.

The world order created by the US during the Cold War and its allies was extraordinary, but its sole purpose was that of keeping an eye on security competition with a rival/order dominated by the other power at the time-the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of the Cold War, the liberal order was a promising one, apparently working in the intended direction, but in 2005, problems occurred, more and more along time, up to the point of disintegrating. In the author's view, it was destined to fall shorter than expected, the end of unipolarity meant the end of the liberal order, unipolarity being a pre-requisite for it. It caused significant political problems within the states, too. Addressing the question of how the US should act losing the goal it had ambitiously set forth, that of ardently working on creating a liberal international order, the author critically asserts that it should definitely resist pursuing a forced spread of democracy around the world countries by a change of regime, no matter how ardently it believes in the values of democracy and in spite of the perennial temptation to remake the world. Maintaining a favourable position in the global distribution of power to come, since increasing its influence in the economic institutions that will make up the emergent international order. Containing China expansion and Chinese domination of the economic institutions and gaining power over the US should be the focus of US policy makers. The rivalry between Chinese-led bounded orders and US-led bounded orders will have both economic and military dimensions. The US will have to engage in the balance of power equation with China and Russia, rather making efforts to integrate Russia into the US-led order, while trying to increase its influence in the key international institutions that will have a word to say in the new configuration. Professor J.Mearsheimer in his study concludes that a realist order is likely to be forged in the times to come, in which managing the world economy, facilitating interstate cooperation and maintaining arms control agreements will be the goals to pursue and that the realist order, whilst leaving behind the liberal international order, must be attuned to the US interests.

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