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Sometimes people have to retire although it is their personal feeling that the moment chosen by the legislator is untimely. Dutch regulations contain such a provision: 65 years is the official borderline between activity and non-activity. Our colleague Frans Alting von Geusau, who holds the chair of Professor of International Organizations at Tilburg University, definitely belongs to those who don't want to leave their university. They prefer to stay within the academic world. And what is more: everybody who has observed him during the last few years will agree: this man is becoming younger and younger, a picture which is supported by a person sitting on a bicycle or speed-skating.

Thinking about Frans' activities, and trying to find a unifying thread running through it, the editors of the present book decided to give it the title 'Realism and Moralism in International Relations'. The combination of realism and moralism is typical of almost everything Frans Alting von Geusau has done and probably will do in the near future. As Lincoln P. Bloomfield puts it so nicely in his contribution to the present book: Frans Alting von Geusau is a man 'who has long inspired others with his insistence that political realism be matched with a sense of ethical purpose'.

In the book before you, a collection of essays is brought together, written by people who belong to Frans Alting von Geusau's inner - academic and non-academic - circles. We should add here that several colleagues, for different reasons, were not able to hand in their contributions in time. So be it.

Although it was not easy to divide the book into parts, we finally opted for the following four chapters:

- * **Past, Present and Future of Europe**
- * **International Organizations**
- * **Moral Issues in a Globalizing World**
- * **Autonomy, Religion, and Multiculturalism**

In the chapter on **Past, Present and Future of Europe**, several contributions have been put together, dealing with different aspects of the European continent as a whole. The chapter opens with an article by *Laszlo Bartalits*, on a topic that has always had a central place in Frans Alting von Geusau's work: the rise and fall of the 'socialist confederation of states'. The article describes the early years of Soviet communism, the Cold War, and the approach taken by successive Soviet leaders, such as Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko. In Bartalits' words, the last one had as his major task to reform 'the stagnating state under Brezhnev that was ruled by a corrupt totalitarian party'. In addition, the author deals with the Western reactions to the Soviet reality, discussing the approach of the American Presidents Carter and Reagan, before turning to Gorbachev, the Soviet leader who saw 'that the regime, of which he formed a part, had its back to

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the wall' and 'that the era of the two superpowers was over'. As Bartalits says: 'The world has much to thank Gorbachev for (...)'. He adds, however, that due to Gorbachev and his contribution to the end of the Soviet system, 'it tends to be forgotten (...) that the postwar success of democracy is due largely to a combination of Western socialism, capitalism and social market economics, which resulted in welfare states. It is important to our political and social stability that these states are maintained, albeit in a less complex form'.

As a logical follow-up to Bartalits' contribution, the article of *Ferdinand Feldbrugge* on the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has been selected. In his article, Feldbrugge describes the emergence of the CIS, starting from the 1991 Minsk Agreement, which established a Commonwealth of Independent States, be it only between three states (Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine). Later on other parts of the Soviet Union followed. Feldbrugge then mentions that the CIS-concept immediately raised serious problems, for instance, as to its legal nature, especially given the fact that the participants had totally different aims and reasons in mind when establishing the CIS. Feldbrugge: 'One might usefully compare it to an amorphous lump of potter's clay which is being moulded by several artists simultaneously.' In addition, Feldbrugge gives some clarifications as to the CIS by dealing with its Charter, its Interparliamentary Assembly, its Economic Union, and its Treaty network. It brings him to the conclusion that 'the CIS in its present form can only be regarded as a provisional answer, although probably the only practical one available at this moment'. Even the fact that one of the CIS Member States, Russia, 'is bigger and more powerful than all the other members together' has to be taken as a fact of life: 'There seems (...) to be no other option than to continue with the present process of fragmentary and uneven integration.'

The contribution by *Ferdinand Kinsky* deals with the present crisis of Europe ('Eurosepticism'), partly caused by its 'incapacity to welcome Central and Eastern Europe immediately after their liberation of communism'. After having painted a black picture of today's European societies (among others things, growing corruption, extreme individualism, loss of traditional cultural values and social structures, overspecialisation, and the crisis of parliamentarianism in Western democratic systems), Kinsky deals with the problem of 'Eurostagnation'. In doing so, he touches upon the issue of the free circulation of citizens within a Europe without frontiers: 'The advantages for trade and tourism appear to be less important than the fear of Kurds, Russians, Arabs, Turks, Vietnamese, and Indonesians invading one of the other Member States suspected of letting them in without sufficient control.' In addition, the EU enlargement is uncertain, the Treaty of Amsterdam strengthening 'the hand of declared or hidden opponents of expansion'. After having stated that in the present stage of strong Eurosepticism, in which it seems to be impossible to go beyond compromises, Kinsky discusses some positive elements which might be seen as 'chances of renewal'. As such, he discusses, *inter alia*, the internal logic of the European integration, which calls for further steps, 'Euroseptic' politicians who may change their minds, and the possible use of 'effective and intelligent information campaigns'. Kinsky's conclusion: 'The European Union will most probably continue to hover as a permanent compromise between intergovernmental and federalist positions', but maybe there is still a future for a Europe based on 'the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity established by the social doctrine of the Catholic

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Church'. Principles that, according to Kinsky, should be accepted on the national as well as the transnational level.

Kinsky's approach is closely related to the one *Eric Janse de Jonge* has chosen in his contribution on the Nation State, Civil Society and Moral Order in Europe. Janse de Jonge argues that if a society 'wishes to maintain the social cohesion and political freedom which are so essential for a "good" society in the next millennium, it seems necessary to supplement the two principles of political organization, nation state and civil society, with moral order'. After having said so, he extensively deals with the historic and philosophical roots and the actual meaning of the notions 'nation state' and 'civil society'. As to the first issue he, *inter alia*, discusses the question whether and to what extent the European Union can replace the national states. And as to the notion of 'civil society', Janse de Jonge remarks, among other things, 'that civil society lies between the economy and the state, and is constituted by both. State and civil society (...) are relational categories that cannot be understood or even identified in abstraction from each other. Civil society only acquires relevance in relation to the state'. At the end of his contribution, Janse de Jonge states that liberty cannot survive without the 'maintenance of institutions which give it stability and duration'. The nation state and civil society thus form an inseparable couple, the common activities of which will bring forward a moral order, consisting of 'morality, decency, and humility', but also 'respect for law and culture, solidarity, and interpersonal relationships'.

After a discussion of some fundamental problems in relation to the process of European unification, the contribution by *Alfred van Staden* leads the book to one of the major issues of today's Europe: how to make fruitful decisions in the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP; the so-called second pillar of the Maastricht Treaty). In his article, Van Staden first of all gives an overview of the way in which the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty has (not) led to changes in the CFSP provisions of the Maastricht Treaty. After having dealt with the text of the Amsterdam Treaty as well as several proposals made during the debate on the draft Treaty, Van Staden concludes that 'the Treaty of Amsterdam does not represent a major step forward in the development of the common foreign and security policy'. After having said so, he discusses several possible explanations for this lack of progress, his analysis bringing him to the conclusion that 'general support on the part of the business community has been very instrumental in overcoming opposition to EMU from other quarters', but that 'a similar political basis in European societies for foreign policy and security is all but non-existent'. Van Staden then suggests that with respect to the strengthening of the CFSP a case could be made for a bottom-up approach, for instance - and as he says: 'first and foremost' - in the field of 'intensification of multinational military co-operation at the European level and the development of a European arms industry'.

In her article, *Astrid Spierings* discusses the emergence of a European common insurance market, a part of the European internal market 'in which huge fortunes and many interests are at stake'. After remarks on the process of economic harmonization in general, Spierings debates the long road toward a common market in the specific field of insurance. Spierings: 'After thirty-two years, Europe achieved freedom of establishment of insurance companies and freedom to provide insurance services throughout the Community without prior establishment or prior authorization'. 'Or, so it seems', as she

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adds, because there are numerous problems still to be solved. Spierings: 'The problem with the common European insurance market is the combination of incompatible factors. National insurance regulation focuses on protection of the insured and maintaining public confidence in the financial industry of insurance. European integration focuses on the economic coordination of economic activity.' And although these two approaches are not necessarily incompatible, practice has shown that is not easy to overcome difficulties. Spierings: 'The common European insurance market is one of the pieces of the puzzle that makes the European common market what it is today, a collection of semi-harmonized areas of economic activity based on political compromise, economic prospects, and conflicting ideologies.'

The chapter on **International Organizations**, opens with an article by *Pieter H. Kooijmans*, which basically questions whether international organizations such as the United Nations can be more than the sum of its parts. As Kooijmans states, organizations such as the UN are a "rule-book community" [Dworkin], that is to say, a community the members of which 'pledge themselves to comply with rules which have been agreed upon' because and as long as such a practice serves their own interest. The alternative would be 'a community of principle': 'Still according to Dworkin, a true community rests on the prevailing conviction among its members that their behaviour is governed by commonly shared principles, not by rules as the outcome of compromise. They agree that their rights and duties are not so much determined by decisions arrived at by political bodies as rather by a set of principles underlying those political decisions (...)' Kooijmans then uses both perspectives to look at the actual UN practice. His interim conclusion: 'It is true that, as far as the norms go, a lot has changed for the better. In fact, it may be argued with some confidence that the rule-book community is steadily on the retreat and giving way to the community of principle. Still, within the domain of the *implementation* of norms the two are very much engaged in pitched battle.' Kooijmans illustrates these remarks with several examples, related to, for instance, the Security Council's approach of Saddam Hussein's treatment of the Iraqi Kurds, the UN peace-keeping operation in Ruanda, and the UN reaction to the Indonesian annexation of East Timor. His conclusion: 'The very nations which at diplomatic conferences virtually unanimously acclaim the idea of the international society as a whole, in day-to-day practice entrench themselves in their citadels of sovereignty.' And: '(...) true medication will only be readily available if (...) the Law of Nations, reflects the community of principle not only as far as norm-setting is concerned but also in the field of implementation.'

In his contribution to the book, *Ernst M.H. Hirsch Ballin* discusses the new role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), given 'the profound changes in international relations throughout the past decade'. Hirsch Ballin does so, by first of all discussing some fundamental developments in today's world, bringing him to the conclusion that 'in a world of economic, technical and cultural interdependence, it is far more important to have secure relations, than to put a flag in areas difficult to control'. And: '(...) international law is developing more and more the character of substantive law, dealing with all the important fields of cross-border relations. In this respect it is fundamentally different from the old international law, which was limited to a procedural framework for inter-state relations in combination with a strict separation between

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international and (mainly territorially defined) internal affairs.' In addition, according to Hirsch Ballin, nowadays it has been widely acknowledged that topics such as human rights, sustainable development, internal justice, and external armed conflict are interrelated. Against this background, 'NATO is now needed as a limb of international law'. Hirsch Ballin then discusses such issues as 'the question of whether or not "out of area" operations fall within the scope of NATO's legitimization to use force', the restructuring of the organization, and the accession of new Member States from Central Europe. His overall conclusion is that 'the development of international law has to be fed by the moral voice in a border-crossing community of mutual respect. Left alone, legal arguments are at risk to be trampled by violence. Therefore a military alliance as NATO should have its vocation in securing the rule of law in the relations of vital interest for its members.'

The chapter continues with a critical evaluation of another international organization: the article by *Jacques Pelkmans* on the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Pelkmans discusses how ASEAN worked in its early days ('pursuing comprehensive security'), gradually moving towards another agenda, notably the creation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). Pelkmans then extensively discusses the legal characteristics of ASEAN as well as AFTA: 'First of all, AFTA has no treaty, just like ASEAN lacks a treaty basis. This may be baffling for lawyers and trade negotiators, used to hammer out details, implementation provisions, and a compliance machinery for free trade areas. Of course, one may wish to query whether "agreements" are "treaties" in the meaning of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. The "ASEAN way" of approaching the problem is fundamentally different from the treaty route. Prior to deeper commitments, one seeks confidence building at the highest political level, which is then, step by step, transformed into "deepening". Subsequently, Pelkmans discusses the draft Protocol on Dispute Settlement Mechanism, as adopted in 1996 and intended to replace 'the weak, consultative provisions' which have existed since 1992. Pelkmans reminds the reader of the fact 'that stricter dispute settlement procedures were always sensitive in ASEAN - viewed as too confrontational or "legalistic"', and wonders 'what the formalized procedures really mean'. In addition, Pelkmans discusses whether the proposed ASEAN/AFTA procedures are in conformity with the dispute settlement mechanisms of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Pelkmans: The dispute settlement mechanism 'now proposed, modelled on that of the WTO, has deleted all WTO elements which reduce discretion or impose automaticity. It is unlikely to be used much.'

The chapter on **Moral Issues in a Globalizing World** starts with a contribution by *Reba Carruth*, who discusses social aspects of 21st-century economic relations. She speaks about 'the growing gap between rich and poor within and between nations in the rapidly unfolding system of world capitalism' and about 'the "losers" in market competition'. She then discusses several authors, and states that the presently dominant economic paradigm is 'in direct conflict with the morality and collective good of society'. However, Carruth sees a growing concern on the level of governments, as well as on the level of international organizations, for more attention for the aspects concerned. But, as she also says, 'to a large extent, this realization will be driven by the growing public and private

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sentiment for increased standards of corporate social responsibility at the local, national, regional, and global levels, and collective action on behalf of market governance.'

The article by *George C. Lodge* concentrates on managing globalization through special attention for the merits of communitarianism. As a starting point, Lodge stresses, *inter alia*, that it is important to try to understand the communitarian ideology in countries such as Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and China, because 'an understanding of that ideology also helps us to perceive the nature of Western competition with those countries'. One of the problems Lodge sees is that the Western emphasis on individual rights 'has not been accompanied by as clear a concern about duties'. Saying so, he speaks about the respect for common goods, like clean air and water, safety, energy, and jobs. In line with that, he discusses the role of the state in a communitarian society, which is 'to define community needs and to ensure that they are implemented'. As Lodge says, the reader might think that this is 'just another word for big government, the welfare state, and an antibusiness bias in society'. Such a reader, however is wrong, according to Lodge: 'It is important to point out that Japan is unquestionably more coherently communitarian than Britain and yet suffers from none of these maladies.'

The theme of the 'common good' is also at stake in the article by *John Pinder*. He discusses the issue of sustainable development, starting from a European perspective but gradually extending the scope to the global community as a whole. Pinder: 'Awareness of the threat of ecological disaster is growing and it is likely that strong global action will sooner or later be found necessary across a wide range of ecological problems, including land degradation, water and air pollution, bio-diversity, climate change and depletion of the ozone layer. Ecological security has become a vital interest of mankind.' Pinder then tries to learn from the process of European unification and the European approach to the environmental issue, in order to establish a worldwide coalition for the environment: 'The EU and India would, with as many other democracies as possible, among which Brazil would be particularly significant, provide a sufficient basis to initiate a global community for sustainable development that would have enough weight to make a serious contribution to the alleviation of global warming and would be a credible nucleus for future development to deal with other ecological (...) problems (...).' According to Pinder, Europe should take the lead, with a special role for countries like the Netherlands. At the same time, as Pinder says, it is important that the new community for sustainable development itself 'aims at an outcome that can be morally justified, if it is to attract the enduring loyalty of the citizens, including the poorer ones'.

In his contribution, *Robert J. Bartel* also makes a plea for a moral vision for world politics. Bartel does so by reexamining the ideas of Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), as expressed, for instance, in his book on 'Moral man and immoral society: a study in ethics and politics' (1932). According to Bartel, Niebuhr 'is regarded as one of America's most distinguished theologians and as an eminent church leader', but he is also remembered 'for truly significant contributions in the analysis of the dynamics of social structures, including the international ones'. For Bartel, Niebuhr's relevance for today is especially to be seen in his criticism of naive liberalism, his effort to 'reassert the role of moral perspectives and considerations along with the powerful, but often despairing, insights of political realism', and, as he adds at the end of his contribution, on the issue of the confluence of political and theological connections, 'even in this post modern society'.

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Lincoln P. Bloomfield then discusses some major issues of the next century, in search of reasonable approaches and solutions to them. The problems Bloomfield sees, are, *inter alia*, related to all kinds of 'tensions arising from the recent breakup of the Soviet empire' (for instance, the fact that 'Christian Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan have settled nothing in their fight over the Armenian-majority enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh'), and to the clash between whole civilizations (Huntington). In addition, Bloomfield speaks about 'a system being out of control', unable to deal effectively with major issues, such as ethnic tension, the lack of effective governments, and - still - interstate conflicts. For Bloomfield, there is, of course, no single solution to or label for all these problems: single-factor treatments of history are at best incomplete, and 'at worst dangerously wrong'. Bloomfield's alternative scenario concentrates on, what he calls, 'some grounds for optimism'. Among these are the burning out of the theocratic revolution in Iran, larger-scale education for an entire new generation, the role of non governmental organizations, and the growing insight that 'no conflict is resolved until the underlying dispute is dealt with (...)'. Bloomfield concludes by saying that 'special efforts will be necessary to balance the great benefits of globalization with the moral requirements of social and economic justice'.

The article by *Theo van Boven* deals with one of the forgotten aspects of major violations of international law: the position of the victim. As Van Boven says: In fifty years of UN activities 'only limited attention has been given to the cause of the victims.' In the meantime, however, a growing interest in the position of the victim can be observed. In his article, Van Boven gives an overview of different modalities for reparation (among other things, restitution, compensation, satisfaction, and assurances and guarantees of non-repetition), while he also discusses recent developments in the fields of the doctrine on State responsibility and human rights practice. In addition, he discusses the position of the victim in the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Ruanda, also in relation to the newly established International Criminal Court. In addition to this, Van Boven raises some fundamental issues which still have to be clarified: the question of the beneficiaries and duty-bearers; the passage of time; resources ('Funds are often scarce but critically needed for purposes of compensation or for policies of affirmative action in the areas of employment, housing, education and health care on behalf of whole groups who over the years have been victimized and marginalized by neglect and discrimination.') In his concluding note, Van Boven goes back to the 'dramas in former Yugoslavia, in the Great Lakes region of Africa and in many other locations'. They lead him to the conclusion that 'reparation to victims in its various modalities of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-recurrence is an indispensable ingredient in the process of peace-building'. The victim should not be used any more to balance the budget.

The chapter on **Autonomy, Religion, and Multiculturalism** starts with an article by *Ruth Lapidoth* on the concept of the transfer of power to autonomous areas, more specifically the question 'who is authorized to deal with matters that have not been regulated in advance' (residual powers). The author shows first of all that in history the problem has been solved along three lines: the powers have been reserved for the central authorities (for instance, in the case of Spain and its autonomous communities); the

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residual powers are granted to the autonomous entity (for instance, in Eritrea and in Scotland); and the residual powers have been allocated 'to either the centre or the region on the basis of resemblance to, and analogy with, other powers that have been expressly allocated' (for instance, the Aland Islands). In a short note she adds a fourth possibility: joint exercise of residual powers by the centre and the periphery. In addition, Lapidoth discusses the relation between residual powers and the concept of sovereignty: 'It is not necessarily the sovereign (...) who is vested with the residual powers. However, in the absence of a provision establishing a different solution, one should assume that there is identity between the sovereign and the holder of residual powers.'

Lapidoth's views on sovereignty are also discussed in the contribution by *Willem van Genugten*, who deals with the legal status of Jerusalem. Van Genugten discusses the political and religious claims on Jerusalem, and its present status according to national Israeli and international law. A substantial part of his contribution then deals with the relevance of the Plan of Partition for Jerusalem, adopted in 1947 by the United Nations General Assembly. After having discussed the role of international law in the present peace negotiations, Van Genugten describes some desirabilities for the future of Jerusalem: 'A place where persons from different political and religious backgrounds can live together on a multicultural basis, oriented to peaceful coexistence and governed in a secular way, with good governance, personal freedom, adequate services, free access and equal civil and political rights for all.' Finally, he suggests rethinking the concept of sovereignty, in order to make it fit the Jerusalem situation.

The issue of 'fighting religions' is also discussed by Bishop *H.C.A. Ernst*. His central questions are: 'How can religion be purged of violence; does religion have powers of its own to achieve peace; and how can these be made valid in society and in a political order?' Bishop Ernst then concentrates on the question whether the Christian faith is violent. His conclusion: 'Both in the roots of this faith, in the faith of Israel and in the church's view of faith, a development is going on which is moving away from violence.' But, as he adds, 'at the same time, the church's ethics accept violence in the defence of justice, given the violent nature of humankind'. In addition, he argues that the separation of religion and violence is also a matter of organizing society, for instance, through the division of church and state: 'When religion has no responsibility for state affairs, the claim to truth of religion can remain free from coercion; if the proper domain of religion is conscience, it thereby becomes purer.' Religion can also influence developments in society, as has been seen, for instance, in the case of Poland. At the end of his contribution, Ernst deals with the issue of reconciliation, to his mind being one of the core characteristics of the Christian faith and its representatives. The same goes, for instance, for Desmond Tutu, the former Anglican archbishop, who is chairing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South-Africa, and exemplifies 'how an approach that was initiated in the church can be operative in the social and political order to bring the recovery of society and peace closer, and what role the church can fulfil in that process'.

The issue of deeply rooted friendly relations among people and populations is also discussed by *John X. Evans*, in his article on 'Friendship as a Transnational Resource'. One of his main questions is whether it is possible 'to design a practical strategy that could defuse the suspicion and enmity of people and join them in some form of productive friendship?' After some philosophical remarks on, *inter alia*, Aristotle's praise of

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friendship, Evans discusses the use of 'friendship terminology' in interstate relationships, as, for instance, worded in the 1990 CSCE Charter of Paris for a New Europe: the CSCE Participating States 'are determined to expand and strengthen friendly relations (...) and to promote friendship among our peoples'. Evans then discusses the concept of friendship, leading to the conclusion 'that the best hope for enduring transnational solidarity will come from an authentic Christian ethos (ecumenically oriented and respectful of Judaism and Islam)'.

Building bridges is also the message of the article by *Josef Jařab* on The Czech Story of American Literature. Jařab describes the reception of American literature in the communist era: 'American things were (...) regarded as "enemy", and so deeply humanitarian authors like John Steinbeck, William Faulkner, Eugene O'Neill, and Ernest Hemingway were often presented as model examples of decadence. Not even the black prose writer Richard Wright warranted protection from being condemned due to class origin or to the colour of his skin.' Today, however, as Jařab adds, 'it is possible to say that in the 1950s a long and difficult (...) struggle was begun in our country by a small community of translators, editors, and critics whose goal was to survey and present American literature, especially contemporary literary works, to provide a source of needed information about "the other world"'. One of the main characteristics of the American literature, according to Jařab, is its potential to exploit what is commercial but also to assault commercialism. 'It is from just this colourful plurality that the critical voices emerge which provoke a return to the course of thinking and to a sensibility different from mere commercial and material values.'

In order to fulfil Evans' approach of mutual understanding among individual persons and peoples as a whole, and Jařab's ideas on cultural exchange, an important role can also be played by mass media such as television, as discussed by *George Wedell*. Although he concentrates on the British model, his views are no doubt of broader relevance. Wedell, *inter alia*, describes how the British government over the years has been debating and influencing the character of the British broadcasting system. For instance, as Wedell says, 'the government's Green Paper of May 1995 states boldly that the "government has a responsibility both to promote diversity and choice for consumers and to set the right framework for industry to flourish"'. He adds, however, that 'the notion of the state "granting the multitude of aspirations full play" implies a doctrine of the primacy of "the state" which most people in this country have traditionally rejected'. And, as Wedell says, the relationship between freedom and order in society is delicate; at least, 'the public interest cannot be equated with the interest of the government-for-the-time-being of a country'. In addition, as Wedell says, 'the concept of quality in broadcasting is by no means unambiguous'. Wedell's contribution ends with a section on 'Cross media ownership', discussing, *inter alia*, the prevention of media monopolies.

The last contribution to the book was written by *Hans Bosman*. Its contents are reflected in the title: 'A Close Colleague and a Good Friend. Life and Work of Frans Alting von Geusau: A Personal Reflection'. It is painful to note that the article was given to the editors of the book only a few days before Bosman died.

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This *liber amicorum* is dedicated to Frans Alting von Geusau, a man who in many contributions to the book is presented as the incarnation of realism and moralism in international relations. The history of international relations has always been part of Frans' academic life and publications. Of course, it is always risky and questionable to draw 'lessons from history'. Nevertheless, the recent experiences in Europe, for instance, have demonstrated the shortcomings of an approach exclusively based on power and economics in international relations. This could be observed both during the Cold War period and at its end around 1989. At the time when 'East' and 'West' were each other's political, economic and military opposites, Frans Alting von Geusau discerned that the debate between east and west also had a moral dimension. After 1989, the moral dimension was overlooked again, although the communist regimes apparently collapsed as a result of their perversity. Now, almost ten years later, nobody will contend that merely economic support was enough to overcome the structural problems of the Central and Eastern European nations. Frans' continuing efforts for a better understanding between church and state in Russia is one of the many examples to illustrate his awareness of the so needed moral dimension.

We hope Frans may continue by presenting new ideas, insights, and activities in the near future. A legal provision - the above-mentioned 65-year rule - may be one thing, we expect that in reality Frans will continue doing what he has always done: writing, lecturing, advising. We wish Frans and his wife Annemieke all the best.

Finally, the editors wish to thank two people who were actively involved in the preparation of the present book: Suzanne de Groot, for her assistance in harmonizing the footnotes and correcting several articles, and Ann Musters, for making the book camera-ready.

The editors
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