

V. Book Reviews

INTERCULTURALISM IN FOREIGN POLICY

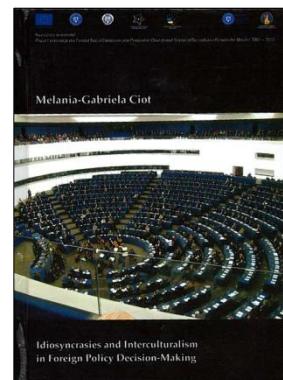
Eduard Ionut FEIER*

Review of: Melania-Gabriela CIOT, *Book entitled „Idiosyncrasies and interculturalism in Foreign Policy Decision-Making”*, Editura Academia Româna. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, ISBN: 978-606-8694-16-0, 170 p.

One of the main objectives of EU is human rights promotion, domestically and globally. Human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights are values of the EU. Since 2009, with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the Charter of Fundamental Rights brings together all these rights in a special act.

Therefore, I chose to study this issue in detail. *Book entitled „Idiosyncrasies and interculturalism in Foreign Policy Decision-Making”*, the author is Associate Professor Melania Gabriela Ciot, complements our sphere of interest.

Associate Professor Gabriela Melania Ciot teaches courses in *International Negotiations, European Negotiations, Idiosyncrasies in Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process, Psychology of Decision-Making*. She holds a PhD in Educational Sciences from Ghent University Belgium, and one in International Relations and European Studies from Babes-Bolyai University. Gabriela Ciot has an intense scientific and research activity, which includes books, articles and studies in international and national journals.¹



In this volume, the author manages to describe topics such as local Identity, regional and national Transylvania, globalization and regionalization in the European Union. Other exciting topics which she has brought to our interest are negotiation process for joining the European Union or speaking about the people with disabilities but eliminating social barriers. Precursor ideas of the present volume are anchored in European integration theories.

The book is written in six chapters in order to be read easily. This book is published in 2015 at the Romanian Academy Publishing, 170 p.

Introduction and Chapter I through which the author of the book presents the theoretical framework resorting to classic political science but also to its own concept that identifies the subject and key concepts: **nationalization, regionalization and local identity** in Transylvania in the process of European integration.

In an interesting article written by author William L. Benyon (2012) there is reference to European identity and the author distinguishes two important elements: first element is that various European civilization were hybrid creations and the second element was that the concept of Europe is inherently oppositional.

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¹ <http://euro.ubbcluj.ro/studii-europene-si-governanta/conferintiar-univ-dr-gabriela-ciot/> , accesat la data de 02.02.2016

The author Benzon in his article spoke about another notion which is layered identity and this new notion is more acceptable than multiple identities.

Academician David Prodan said that Transylvania is considered a land of tolerance and noted a fundamental element which is the inter-confessionalism.

In the second and third chapters notions such as **globalization**, **regionalization** and **people with disabilities** are the key concepts of these chapters. To justify these concepts, the author of the book tells about the opportunities of this new trend - **globalization**. This globalization brings many benefits to the society but creates new risks such as financial instability.

Globalization seen as a more general process that includes globalization, is "characterized by multiplying the acceleration and intensification of economic, political, social interactions and cultural relations between actors in different parts of the world" (Tardif, Farchy, 2006: 107-108) . This cultural globalization, is a generalized one, and has the same influence across Europe.²

Chapter three examines the disabled and giving up social barriers. In the context of globalization, the European Union had to find a solution for the diversity management. The process of eliminating barriers, walls or lines that divide countries may be one of the accession process, the candidate country is engaged in a process of harmonization to apply Community acquis.

Nelson says in 1996 „ people with disabilities are portrayed as *different* or as people who may not fit within the mainstream. This affects the public view about the disability.”³

Vasilescu said in 2003 that we live in a world of discriminations. In some particular cases caused by language, sex and religion leads to various conflicts.

Chapter four is an integral part of this volume where it is identified and analysed the negotiation process for accession of Romania to the European Union. The author of the volume, describes this in detail though the European Council took a major decision for the accession to the European Union on 16th-17th of December 2004. The EU Accession Treaty was signed one year later in April 2005 and Romania joined with full rights member on 1 January 2007.

The accession negotiation is based on a win-win formula: process of discovery (it means that the parties say exactly what they want, what they intend and what they offer), strategic interaction (the parties influence each other), and exchange process.

Two important elements in negotiation are: technical level and political level.

In chapter five, the author of the book relates issues such as idiosyncrasies in the foreign policy decision-making (emotional idiosyncrasies).

One of the important areas in the foreign policy is the decision-making of research because the way in which decisions are taken can determine a possible choice to fail. An important actor can reach the result depending on how the decision was taken. The author of the book writes that „some decisions are carefully calculated, while others are intuitive”⁴

Jackson Robert and Georg Sorensen in the book *Introduction in international relations. Theories and approaches* (2007, p.234) they write for the individual decision-

² Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, “Europe: Internal Cultural Frontiers or Union Cultural Area”, Moldoscopie nr.3, 2010, Chișinău, p.123-143

³ Melania Gabriela Ciot “ Idiosyncrasies and interculturalism in foreign policy decision-making” Romanian Academy Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca 2015, p.63

⁴ Melania Gabriela Ciot “ Idiosyncrasies and interculturalism in foreign policy decision-making” Romanian Academy Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca 2015, p.109

making level, the limitations are related to the way in which information is perceived and processed.

The last chapter of the book presents the enlargement process and the dividing lines of Europe. Enlargement of the European Union is a historic opportunity to unite Europe peacefully after generations of division and conflict. Enlargement will extend the EU's stability and prosperity to a wider group of countries, consolidating the political and economic transition that has taken place in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989.

A successful enlargement demands the active involvement and support of people both in the member states and the applicant countries. In all the applicant countries, there are likely to a referendum on membership, and in the EU the accession treaty will need approval by the European Parliament and ratification by national parliaments.

The author writes that the EU represents a supranational institutional and procedural ensemble, which proposed to realize common objectives and values. The European Union in the context of globalization had to find a good solution for the diversity and to erase the existing dividing lines from the interior. The same author asks if the enlargement policy was meant to increase the competitiveness of the European Union?

To write some personal conclusions, the European integration can be considered as a mechanism of intergovernmental negotiation, whose core elements are the formal States. They have harmonized EU interests for the engine to operate, and when they failed to reach a consensual agreement, a true paralysis of the function occurred. States therefore have diverging interests, by putting them at the negotiating table, Europeans no longer dispute the differences on the battlefield.

A great addition was brought by the present study, and is also the incontestable quality of Mrs Associate professor, it is a thorough analysis on inter-culturalism in foreign policy.

The author expresses vehemently views on this, recognizing that PE is not a neutral institution but in the centre are interests that represent democracy.

In my opinion, the book is very good to read because you develop a general culture of intercultural dialogue that is the most important current and interest topic for debate today. All along, the book there are also discussed topics such as globalization and regionalization in the European Union.

Overall the author of the book discovers new horizons for intercultural dialogue in foreign policy decision-making.

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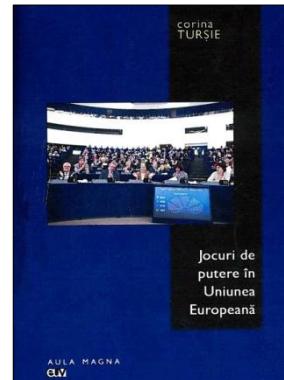
- Melania Gabriela Ciot "*Idiosyncrasies and interculturalism in foreign policy decision-making*"
Romanian Academy Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca 2015, p.63
Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, "*Europe: Internal Cultural Frontiers or Union Cultural Area*",
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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND HIS POWERS IN FULL PROGRESS

Alexandra RADU^{}*

Review of: Corina Turșie, *Jocuri de putere în Uniunera Europeană: Actori, mecanisme și efecte ale creșterii puterii Parlamentului European*, Editura Universității de Vest, Timișoara, Aula Magna Collection, 2015, ISBN 978-973-125-455-5

The European Union is built through **a unique institutional system in the world**, the member states delegating certain sovereignty attributes to some supranational institutions, which together represent the common interests of the union¹. This paradox through which the member countries mandate some of their competences (for which they have fought along centuries) to the European institutions, especially that of the European Parliament², is for us, personally, a subject of maximum interest. Especially for that, we have chosen to study in detail this aspect, and the work “*Power Games in the European Union: Actors, Mechanisms and effects of the power's growth in the European Parliament*”, comes to complete our sphere of interest.



Corina Turșie is a teacher who through her work brings a plus to the university centre in Timișoara, on a national level and even international one. She is a university lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Philosophy and Communication Sciences from the West University of Timișoara, and along her career she has benefited of prestigious research stages at well known European Universities, such as Universite Libre de Bruxelles. At the moment, she is the beneficiary of a postdoctoral research scholarship at the West University of Timișoara, with a study applied on the program European Cultural Capital. Her preoccupations are generally linked to the wide subject of the European integration, reason for which she has published volumes such as *The Politics of the European Union*, but also specialty articles.

The problematic of the present volume represents in fact the institutional changes, the complex attributes offered to the European Parliament, competences that can be regarded as essential elements of the potential parliamentisation process of the European Union. Thus, the paper can be framed in the broad field of *International Relations and European Studies*.

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¹ *Instituții ale Uniunii Europene*, <https://dreptmd.wordpress.com/teze-de-an-licenta/institutii-ale-uniei-europene/>, accesed in 14 of February 2016

² Flore Pop, *Uniunea Europeană: Drept, instituții și politici comunitare, Note de curs*, Universitatea Babes Bolyai Cluj Napoca, 2013-2014, file:///C:/Users/Alexandra/Downloads/Institutii%20politice%20UE%20(1).pdf , accesed in 14 of February 2016

The precursory ideas of the present volume are anchored in the theories of the European integration and the cleavage lines between them. The substantiating of the working hypotheses have been structured on three indicators **actors, mechanisms and effects**, these standing at the basis of the whole process.

Once with the creation of the European Community of Coal and steel, the term European Parliament doesn't exist. There is only a proto-parliament³, the Common Assembly, organism seen by the great paleontologists of the time as being without too many chances to succeed. Nevertheless this embryo created following the Treaty of Paris starts to shape through the new attributions and competences offered by the treaties of the European Union. This institution was to meet an exceptional institutional destiny, having as defining feature, the slow but continuous conquering of new powers, which lead him toward a parliamentary organism of modern democracies.

The European Parliament has the most spectacular route, becoming an institution with complex competences, resulted from the states' decisions, legislated through the treaties that stood at the base of the European construction, but also from the MEP's actions. The Treaty of Lisbon offers this organism attributions and power levers without precedent⁴, and through the present volume, it is being tried to show the way in which this institution is an indicator, a condition of the parliamentisation process. In the same time, the author has turned her attention on the analogy between the classic scheme of power separation in the state and the sharing of the institutional power in the EU, but the union's institutional structure can be a particular one, totally new, a clear delimitation between the powers of the institutions being absent.

Thus, we can speak about **a power and interests game on a European level**, the balance being able to change by changing the rules of the game.

Another preoccupation of the present work is the mechanisms/levers by which institutional changes of the EP take place in the direction to parliament the EU, starting from de Institutional Analysis Development (IAD) model, structured in three different rule levels: *the constitutional level, that of the collective choice, operational*, with the mention that changes from a level affect the other levels.

There arises the problem of the circularity of institutional changes in the European parliament, thus, the sense **of the changes from top to bottom**, from states that influence the normal behavior of MEP, and the movements **from bottom to top**, from MEP through the informal practices, affect the member states.

Many from the customary rules have been prescribed through the treaties when it could put pressure on other institutions. It can be understood here that the blocking of the legislative process when his own interests have not been satisfied. This scenario is one of the factors that have contributed in the ascension of the EP's power.

The volume is structured into **four big parts**.

In the first part of the volume, we find *The Introduction and Chapter I* by which it is presented the theoretical part used along the way, calling for the classic political

³ Corina Turşie, *Parlamentul European și Tratatul de la Lisabona. UE către un regim parlamentizat?*, Sfera Politicii, <http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/147/art07-tursie.html> , accessed in 15 of February 2016

⁴ Ioan Horga, Cristina Dogot, *Le Parlement Européen et la Démocratisation du Processus Décisionnel Européen*, in The Romanian Review of European Governance Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2009, pp.23-24, http://reviste.ubbcluj.ro/rregs/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/No.1_Art.2.pdf , accessed in 16 of February 2016

science but also for an **own concept** through which the study matter and key concepts are identified: **parliamentisation** that has at its base three big criteria (*the democratic character of the EU, the EP's powers and the modification of the institutional forces report*) and **the growth of the EP's power**. This institution is seen as a unitary actor preoccupied by the European integrity, where the major beneficiary is itself, and preferences of the member states vary according to the subject. In what concerns the negotiations between the states, these are seen as a *zero-sum game*. Regarded through the first lens of study, the pattern conceived by the author in a proper manner, the states have given powers to the European Parliament in order to combat de democratic deficit, being a result of the institutional mimesis⁵.

Further on in **Part II** we find the *second and third chapters*. **The actors** are the key concepts of **the second chapter**, seen through the participation in the growth of the EP's power. In order to argument the hypothesis, according to which, this growth of the power is the result of the states' voluntary action, the *Community law*, the treaties being its origins, they being seen as a result of the inter-governmental negotiations. The novelty in the domain of European studies but in the same time plus the reside value from the analysis of the European Union's member states integration *vision* in what concerns the European integration and the growth of the EP's power. The main factors that have influenced the states' vision on the growth of the EP competences have been *the political beliefs regarding the method, intensity and finality of the European integration*. In addition, the fact that the European institutions have adopted the competences of the national ones is considered as useful in the combat of the democratic deficit. According to this conception, the growth of the EP's power is the solution that the states have found in order to solve the problem of the democratic deficit. It has also been analyzed the manner that the member states use the growth of Parliament's power as a strategic exchange currency in the intra and inter-institutional negotiations.

Chapter three analyzes the parliamentary discourses of the MEP and also their vision on the evolution of the EP and the EU integration, as well as the EP relations with other institutions from the beginning of the 50s until now, in order to analyze their evolution. Their study has brought to light the fact that the European Parliament is seen as a greedy institution, found in full gradual changing process, but suffering due to the community treaties that have proved to be incomplete. Besides, there have been take into consideration the informal factors such as *opinions, values and behaviors* manifested by European leaders, heads of state, ministers from intergovernmental negotiations in order to identify the vision of each states in what concerns the growth of the EP power and the parliamentisation process. Following the analysis of discourses, we can say that the MEP have established the following causal link, that is the EP does not serve the interest of the Europeans it represents unless this fact brings with it the growth of the personal influence in the European political system.

Chapter four is integrated part of the **third part** of the present volume where the **growth mechanism of the EP** is identified and analyzed. These are developed in an explaining manner with reference to the **circularity of the EP ascension** and though an analytic model on two levels that regard the reform of the treaties and the level of the current European politics where MEP have the important role of precursors of the European integration advancement. This duality explains the hypothesis of the growth of

⁵ Corina Turşie, *Jocuri de putere în Uniunea Europeană.. Actori, Mecanisme și efecte ale creșterii puterii Parlamentului European*, Editura Universității de Vest, Timișoara, 2015, pp. 82.

the EP's power, being identified three mechanisms in this sense, which is *the claim, the change of the internal rules of the EP and the inter-institutional agreements*⁶. Behind the conquering of new attributions, the EP's powers are restricted by treaties, that offer the institutional frame of the European construction, and the role of this chapter is to show the levers by which this institution has expanded its competences in order to implement its own vision.

The last part presents the effects of the ascension of the EP's power, having at its base the subject of the European Union's parliamentisation. It is arisen the problem of the directions toward which the European democracy heads, taking into consideration the fact that an informal governance means less transparency, so less democracy. Still in the last chapter it is presented the binominal parliamentisation – democratization of the EU. Despite the direct choice and growth without precedent of the own prerogatives, the European Parliament doesn't manage yet to mobilize European citizens, enjoying a limited notoriety. In the same time, although there can be noticed a tendency of the EU's parliamentisation, it is only one of the progressive logics of the European construction. In fact, the parliamentisation's logic is associated with the presumption of the birth of a European political system inspired from national realities, and the European democracy is associated with a replica on European scale of the national free-democracy. These are the effects of the approaches through which Europe tries to build its own model of democracy, but which has at its base matters of national applicability. Their transposition at the trans-national level is being tried, where we find participation instruments in embryo stage and which valorizes the cohesion, the solidarity, the diversity and deliberation.

It is thus aimed the *identification of the actors, EP- European Committee and mechanisms causality, institutional changes* in the EP regarded as a growing vector of power in the matter of the European construction's growth in a parliamentized regime.

Conclusions

European integration can be regarded as an intergovernmental negotiation mechanism, whose central and formal elements are the states. These have amortized their interests so that EU's engine works, and when they didn't manage to reach a consensual agreement, real functional paralysis have occurred. Thus the states, have divergent interests, by sitting at the negotiation table, the Europeans no longer dispute the differences on the battlefield.

The evolution of the European Parliament's powers is seen as having a participating role in the informal governance of the European Union.

A big plus brought by the present study, being in the same time the uncontested of madam lecturer, is the thorough analysis of the MEP official discourses. This valuable resource seems to be forgotten by the great researchers of European integration, maybe also because certain factors. The author expresses her point of view concerning this fact, admitting the fact that "*the EP is not a neutral institution, but one of the representative democracy's central interest, reason for which MEP will show their own reality in conformity to personal interests*"⁷. Personally, we consider that through the analysis and

⁶ Corina Turșie, *Jocuri de putere în Uniunea Europeană.. Actori, Mecanisme și efecte ale creșterii puterii Parlamentului European*, Editura Universității de Vest, Timișoara, 2015, pp. 448

⁷ Corina Turșie, *Jocuri de putere în Uniunea Europeană.. Actori, Mecanisme și efecte ale creșterii puterii Parlamentului European*, Editura Universității de Vest, Timișoara, 2015, pp. 478

use of this instrument of investigation of a specific vision, the author has opened the doors to some new case studies that can be developed on this trajectory.

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RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE NEW CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS

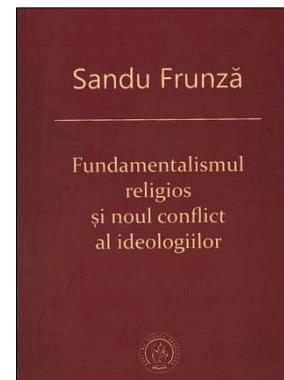
*Mirela MĂRCUȚ**

Review of: Sandu Frunză, *Fundamentalismul religios și noul conflict al religiilor*, Ediția a II-a, revizuită și adăugită, Editura Școala Ardeleană, Cluj Napoca, 2015

The recent meeting between Pope Francis and the Russian patriarch Kyrill has sparked worldwide conversations of the unity of Christianity, given the fact that this has been the first meeting since the Great Schism of 1054. Pope Francis was quoted saying to his counterpart: “We are brothers” (The Guardian, 2016). Moreover, there have been recent conversations related to the possibility of a worldwide ecumenical movement, in the midst of intercultural and interreligious dialogue sparked by the increased interactions between cultures as a result of globalization (Brie, 2008).

In the midst of all these conversations and the resurgence of religious and moral aspects in the socio-political conversations, Sandu Frunză's provides a different perspective of religion and unity, namely religious ideology, sparked by different mutations of man and society in the modern and post-modern era. While the Pope talks about unity and the brotherhood of Christians, news stories talk about fundamentalists and terrorists killing in the name of a perverted view of Islam. The book provides a perspective on the other side of ecumenism, namely religious fundamentalism and religious ideologies, which generate conflicts. Even if these two are indeed opposed points of view on religious manifestation, they do have a crucial thing in common: they are basic facets of the way people have perceived Christianity, in this example, first as a single religion, and then as a mission to spread it across the world with any means necessary (see the Crusades).

In this respect, the purpose of the book is to provide a comprehensive view on how modern world has affected religions, myths and symbols and how the world we live in has created its own myths and ideologies. Likewise, it analyzes with clear-cut examples the resurgence of fundamentalism in contemporary times. One of the most fascinating aspects of this book is not only the connection made between religion, ideology and modern times, but rather the analysis of religious fundamentalism, made with coherent arguments and examples from modern times. As opposed to the modern perception portrayed in the media that fundamentalism refers strictly to Islamic extremists and fundamentalist ideologies, the author emphasizes both Christian and Jewish fundamentalism in modern times, starting from the assertion that the term ‘fundamentalism’ has roots in American Christianity, as “any traditional militant religious movement”, with a positive connotation (Frunză, 2015).



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The second edition of *Fundamentalismul religios și nouă conflict al ideologiilor* [Religious fundamentalism and the new conflict of ideologies] is structured into six main parts, centered around the main themes of the book, namely: part one, focused on myth, religion and identity; part 2, entitled Ideology as a secularized religion and religion as ideology; part 3, aspects related to Christian fundamentalism; part 4, aspects related to Jewish fundamentalism; part 5, on aspects related to Islamic fundamentalism; part 6, on religious ideologies, multiculturalism and global ideology.

The first parts of the book are focused on theoretical aspects related to myth, religion and ideology and the author uses numerous theoretical background to decipher the role of myths and symbols in modern times. The profane character of modern society can deconstruct myths, altering man's relation to reality, hence its identity. But the author postulates that the modern world has created its own myths, for instance as "the tendency of any ideological body to create a complete mythology around individuals who hold on to power" (Frunză, 2015). Regarding the relation between myth and power, he asserts that he who holds power "enjoys a certain degree of purity, which separate him of the common condition and places him at the limit between the sacred and the profane". The connection between myth, power and ideology is made by the author by stating that "in modern political theory, the ideological support of power is made through mechanisms and behaviors taken from theological thinking". In modern times, myth and symbols have been replaced or rather have been subsumed in ideologies, defined broadly as "a world view which has become the foundation for the essential order of a human being and that is manifested as a theological system expressing integrality and total prestige". Also, its imagery is poorly constructed, but it bears the same roles as the imagery of a myth, "it calls to action".

Then, the author discusses the theoretical level of the connection between religion, ideology and modern society, by accepting the fact that ideology has moved more to the political sphere, while the church still remains influential, but the "call to action" specific to ideologies has faded in modern society. Discussing religious and secular ideology, the author focuses on their attempts of recovering conscience by the critique of religion (for instance, in the case of Marx), as well as its revolutionary character. Then, the main part of the research focuses on fundamentalism, specifically religious fundamentalism, which has risen in part due to the rejection of the mythical view of religion, specific to Western mentality: "the secularization of modern world causes religion to be expressed only as a form of social connection or, more simply put, a form of celebration of the community" (Frunză, 2015). We see in the book that the rise of fundamentalism has also other causes, such as the critique of secularization and globalization.

The basic feature of fundamentalism is its militant character against "any thing threatening their identity" or, otherwise, fundamentalists tend to defend a specific world view. Moreover, the author also lists some features of fundamentalism, such as: a community meant to defend authentic tradition, it refuses to harmonize tradition and rejects Western ideologies, it has an ambiguous attitude regarding science and progress, in the sense that they disapprove modernity, but they use the tools of modernity, such as the Internet, to achieve their purpose.

Getting back to religious unity promoted by Pope Francis and his Orthodox counterpart, the aim of these types of initiatives and interreligious dialogue is almost the same as the aims of fundamentalists, but the means are different. The examples presented in this book are focused on analyzing the means used by fundamentalists to achieve their aim of instituting their religion worldwide.

According to the author, fundamentalism initially had a positive connotation, but it has been since degraded, as the first fundamentalists reacted to the crisis brought about by modernity in religious community and their proposed the return to “the fundamentals” of the Scripture. What is fascinating about Christian fundamentalism and the examples presented in the book is the ambivalent relation fundamentalists have with violence in its social endeavors. Some examples are given in the book related to crimes against medical doctors that had performed abortions. Also, across the years, their *modus operandi* has evolved to promote sabotages of the legislative process in order to include their world view into law, especially in the case of pro-life movements. Their one truth is the Scripture and they abide by it with any means necessary. American fundamentalists are the most prominent ones, but they are now called Evangelicals, due to the negative connotation that fundamentalism has received across the years. American Christian fundamentalism also proclaims that the United States is new Israel and its mission is to expand Christian theocracy globally, which is actually not a big chance in American foreign policy in general, considering its role at the “world’s soldier” and its civilizing mission assumed especially during the most recent Bush presidency.

On Judaic fundamentalism, the author provides a theoretical and historical background of the coagulation of the Jewish population into a political community and national ideology, especially considering the fact that “Judaism is not a monolithic religion”. Focusing on the issues of Zionism, as well as Jerusalem, the center of three major religions, he emphasizes the evolution of the Jewish political community that culminated with the creation of the state of Israel. Zionism, the main Jewish ideology, is defined in the book as an ideology that militates for the secularization of social and political life, in order to adapt to the ages. Secular Zionism, whose main goal was to create the state of Israel, awoke certain fundamentalist ideologies, namely the conservative fundamentalism and innovative fundamentalism, whose main enemy is indeed secularization. However, they have different means of tackling this, some of which are very interesting and merit an emphasis. For instance, *Naturei Karta*, a conservative group, considered that the Zionists influenced destiny when they created Israel, and they feel that the state of Israel would be legitimate only when it would be the result of the Messiah’s actions. Hence, the state of Israel will bring more evil to Judaism and will threaten its existence. In this sense, their view is similar to the Muslim points of view, which is fascinating. On the same issue of the existence of the state of Israel, the radical or innovative fundamentalists have a different view, in that they respect the state as a creation of God. This difference in world views is prevalent for other issues, but what is clear is that they both oppose secular Zionism.

On Islamic fundamentalism, the authors delves into the insides of groups, such as ISIL, to explore its manifestations. In this sense, the chapter relies of current issues that appear almost daily in the news to explore fundamentalism in its Islamic form, which is extremely useful for the reader. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism or political Islam is connected to the failure of secular modernization of the society in Arab states, such as Egypt. Once again, political Islam is opposed to Western values, which are focused on secularization. Especially in the media, Islam is portrayed as being extremely violent, which has determined certain misconceptions, which the authors tackles when he refers to violence. Violent Islamic fundamentalists represent the minority and do not represent their religion as such. Indeed, fundamentalists invoke Jihad when they refer to violent acts, but Jihad refers mostly to a continuous process of spiritualization, which can take place inside a human, but it can also refer to taking action against unjust leaders. In terms of violence,

Jihad is the most important political weapon fundamentalists have against the West. The author discusses and analyses fundamentalism starting from the Iranian Revolution at the end of the 70s and focuses on two terrorist organizations and how they exploit their fundamentalist ideologies to pervert the meaning of Jihad. Firstly, there is Al-Qaida, which focuses on Jihad as a political and economic destruction of the West, while organizations like ISIL use Jihad as a show for the Western civilization. The author argues that, in this case, the Western media and ISIL are feeding each other's attention; as the media maintains its focus on ISIL and shows their violence, the media show increases, while ISIL continues its assault with violence.

Christian, Judaic and Islamic fundamentalism have in common the use of violence in order to convey their points. Moreover, the rise of all these forms of fundamentalism responds to a perceived threat mostly from the Western civilization. This can be corroborated with Huntington's theory on the clash of civilization, which lists globalization and the increasing contact between cultures as one of the reasons for this clash. In this context, the last part of the book focuses on multiculturalism, globalization and tolerance as secular tendencies, which have transformed modern society and the influence of religion in society. Religion can become politicized, which has indeed happened, according to the author. It is perverted into an ideology that uses violence to make its point, like Jihad has become a form of political communication nowadays.

Concluding, this book offers a comprehensive view on the relation between religion and ideology, emphasizing how the perversion of religion can become fundamentalism. Globalization offers the global stage for these manifestations, but it has become more of a battlefield for religious ideologies that fight themselves under the umbrella of a single religion, such as the opposition between Judaic fundamentalists, and between different religious ideologies and the Western civilization. In this context, discussions about religious unity seem rather futile.

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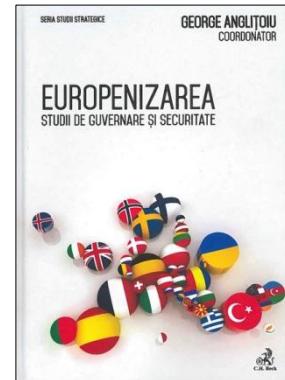
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EUROPE BETWEEN GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

Alina-Maria BALAS*

Review of: *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, coordinated by George Anghitoiu, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, ISBN 978-606-18-0436-8

The volume tries to offer to readers a complex of points of approach concerning the Europeanization theme. In the same time this version tries to check the critical and analitical spirit and the capacity of scientifical contribution of youth Romanians authors. The contributors of this volume were advised to be firstly authors and secondly meta-theorists. They tried to keep the personal character of every approach, the only editorial red line being defined by continental style of citation and also by unlimited exposure of assumed theme. So, the readers would have the occasion to identify different definitions and utilizations of the term of *Euopeanization*, in order to understand easier the analyzed phenomenon. Therefore the contributors of this volume: Oana-Andreea Ion, Radu Sebastian Ungureanu, Mihail Caradaică, Dacian Duna, Simona R. Soare, George Anghitoiu, Ana-Maria Costea, Mihai-Bogdan Popescu, Miruna Troncotă, Radu Cucută, Radu Dudău, Mihaela Răileanu, Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu, Adriana Almășan, Ștefan Bogrea, Alina Bârgioanu, Loredana Radu, Victor Negrescu, Ioana Roxana Melenciu and Alexandru Mihai Ghigiu tried to give to us a definiton of the concept of *Euopeanization*, from several perspectives.



The volume contain eighteen researches written by the contributors which were remembered earlier, but in the same time the volume contain the answers of this questions: What is the definition of the concept of Europeanization? What is the background of Europeanization? Can this concept to impose changes with similar results in all space? The process of Europeanization is limited by the space of European Union or by the space of Europe? What means Europe in this case? That changes are temporary or lasting ones?

Europeanization: a single process, more questions

In this research, the athon **Oana-Andreea Ion**, speaks about the minimalist acceptance of the concept of Europeanization, in version of EU—ization. The author support the fact that this process is not a new one, and also the fact that it is absolutley necessary the focalization over the methodological practices and applications that were circulated. There are analyzed by one: the unidirectional and multydirectional prespectives, the relations between Europeanization and European integration, the definitions of this concept, the theoretical backgrouunds that were used, the fields that could be subject of the process, the europeanization impact, the facilitators factors of this proces of change, and so on. The conclusions show us several pillars that could help in the proces of consolidation like: the

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multiplying of studies for comparative analysis at the level of the member states, but in the same time at the level of third states, all this for the triad polity-politics-policies; the introduction of new theoretical backgrounds in the study of Europeanization; the investigation of different models of Europeanization inside and outside of EU¹.

An aproach about the international security made by European Union: the specificity of normative and nonwestphalic power and the postimperial responsibility.

This research made by **Radu-Sebastian Ungureanu** show us the *unidentified political object*², very hard to be identified in the conceptual registers, through the European Union defines its particular role in the process of international security problems management. This study shows us, the relations between European security and european sovereignty. In the same time it is underlined the implication of violence, through EU is remarked in the international space, concerning the security factor. For understanding the causes of this proper, the main goal of this research is given by the definition of this political entity. Through normative character of the policies from the security field, the supra-/transnational dimension of EU and through the fact that the Union is vulnerable, it would be correct to define the Union as a *nonwestphalic empire*³. If the relations between the EU members would be easier understood by being reported to the concept of security community, the utilization of force by EU in the international space would be unthinkable to accomplish. The action sphere is defined through the taking of the imperialist past of some today's EU members. The implication of some new states in the problems of security, would be a result of the special relations of those states with megalopolises. The position is shared with another set democracies, but mainly with the other EU members. So, the normative dimension of the European Union implication in the problems of security, in international level, is, through this research, a consequence of the sovereignty management of European Union.

The European integration through the ideological spectrum of neoliberalism

The research made by **Mihai Caradaică** takes part in critical European studies and tries to demonstrate what are the mechanisms of European integration, all seen through a neogramscian perspective⁴. He tries to fit the concept of neo-gramscianism in the puzzle of theories about European integration, claiming that the intergovernmentalism, the neo-functionalism or average theories, do not have the required accuracy to conceptualize the power relations that compose the structures of capitalist market.⁵ The goal is to study the

¹ Oana Andreea Ion, „Europeanization: a single process, more questions” in George Anghioiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 1-16.

² Formula used by J. Delors apud J. Zielonka, *Europe as Empire. The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, p.4.

³ Radu Sebastian Ungureanu, „An approach about the international security made by European Union: the specificity of normative and nonwestphalic power and the postimperial responsibility” in George Anghioiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 18-28.

⁴ The neo-gramscianism appeared after applying of the Antonio Gramsci's concepts in the transnational level

⁵ Mihai Caradaică, „The European integration through the ideological spectrum of neoliberalism” in George Anghioiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.30-43.

process of integration through the globalisation, and also to show which were the neoliberal reforms taken by EU since 1980. Also, the significant part of this research is concentrated by the activity of European Round Table and Industrialists, an organization that have the goal to form and to disseminate the position of the Great European Capital (Mihail Caradaică 2015), which through its strategies managed to inspire a neoliberal logic of the European projects, that followed after the Maastricht Treaty: The Economic and Monetary Union and also the access for the East side of Europe.

European Union between the norms of power and the power of norms. The external action of EU in the context of Ukrainian crisis

In this research, the author **Dacian Duna**, shows the position of European Union concerning the Ukrainian crisis from 2014. The Union is, in this way, seen like a civil and normative power that face indirect a very important actor: The Russian Federation. So, the research underline a new conflict between Occident and Russia, an ideological one, that was seem to be over at the end of Cold War. This situation is a challenge for EU and for other global actors, to manage the situation concerning the annexation of Crimea and the politics of Kremlin, a supporting policy of Russian minorities from Europe. This crisis can be seen like an opportunity for the development of European hard power, that would make able the European Union to became a major global actor, a supporter of normative power, kantian one. But all this elements depends by the European identity, by the way of how the Europeans define and understand their common interests.⁶

The Smart Power of European Union? A research on the East Partnership

The research written by **Simona R. Soare** analisys the way of utilisation of smart power by European Union, in a context of economical an political crisis, but also the institutional changes made in community level. The research defines de theoretical dimension of smart power, but also argues the fact that European Union must build a propitious framework to use this type of power in international level. Altough its ability of implementation a foreign policy, based on the smart power is inevitable limited. This smart power is limited either by European institutional construction, by the intentional utilisation of European institutions, by the focus of foreign policy wrong understood, either the deeply democratic spirit of the European project⁷. The Europeanization have to be seen a project of use the smart power by European Union. So, the European Union has to become as soon as possible, a normal power, concerning the systematic transition of power and also the strategical competition.

The Dilemma of Europenization of Turkey: Accepting in European Union or Resisting through Neo-Otomanism

The research written by **George Anghioiu**, tries to answer to many questions like if the membership of Turkey in EU can represent a state desire or only the opportun justification to many interal reforms designed to mask the change of regim? Turkey, that

⁶ Dacian Duna, “The European Union between the norms of power and the power of norms. The external action of EU in the context of Ukrainian crisis” in George Anghioiu, *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.45-60.

⁷ Simona Soare, „The Smart Power of European Union? A research on the East Partnership” in George Anghioiu, *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest , 2015, pp.63-95.

was called by tsarist diplomacy the *Cobble of Europe*⁸, can be considered defined by Europeanization? Is the Europeanization the main factor between Ankara and the other states from Asian space, that shortly time ago, took part from Otoman Empire? Is the access of Turkey in EU, an important goal for Union for gaining their end at mondial level? This research tries to give an answer to these questions in order to define better the turkish strategical complex.

Russian Federation- main factor for europeanization of CFSP?

The research made by **Ana-Maria Costea**, underlines the fact that European Union is a global actor⁹, through the geographical interests of member states. Concerning the foreign policy of European Union, this becomes a vulnerable chapter, speaking the political power of European Union to design its interests at international level, in a unitary way¹⁰. This global character of this organisation is limited of being a strategical desideratum, concerning the dynamics from East Europe, and the inefficient relation between this organisation and Russian Federation¹¹. The article analyses the regional dynamics concerning the effucency of EU's foreign policy in relation with Russian Federation, through the Europeanization of CFSP, having the example of Ukrainian crisis or the Georgia's war. The conceptual approach underlines the decisional process inside EU, concerning the vulnerable parts that EU must consider in the process of the construction as political giant, in the international level.

The Europeanization of the economical institutions in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia

Using premiss from theories of statehood in the post-soviet space, and also the approach of neo institutional, this article written by **Mihai-Bogdan Popescu**, tries to analysis the Europeanization of economical institutions from South Caucasus area. Known by the name of Transcaucasia, in the Russian area, the area that include Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia is a very complex and uncertain one, in the same time. The South Caucasus term has almost a political conotation and became known after which three states from this area, obtained their independencies in 1991¹². The article focuses on the role of EU found in the Neighbourhood Policy and also in the Eastern Partnership. Firstly there are some factors linked with the internal aspects of those states like: the political regime, the quality of political capacity, the communist and precommunist heritage, the administrative capacity of the state, the role of the civil society. Secondly there are factors that are linked with the political type initiated by Brussels, like were the

⁸ George Anglițoiu, „The Dilemma of Europeanization of Turkey: Accepting in European Union or Resisting through Neo-Otomanism” in George Anglițoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 98-131.

⁹ A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy, Burussels, 12 December, 2003, p. 1, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/docs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>.

¹⁰ Ioan Horga, Ana Maria Ghimis, “Romania – part of the EU’s Eastern Frontier: opportunities versus responsibilities, in “ *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Series Europaea, Cluj-Napoca*, LIX, 1, 2014, pp 101-113

¹¹ Ana-Maria Costea, „Russian Federation- main factor for europeanization of CFSP?” in George Anglițoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 133-146.

¹² *The Caucasus: an Introduction*, Thomas de Waal, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, p.7.

credibility, the clarity and the power of negociation of EU, that is superior, but also the role of others international or regional powers from the area¹³.

The Europeanization of West Balkans. Political experiments and unlearned lessons The main goal of this research made by **Miruna Troncotă** is to research the contextual framework of the Europeanization process in the integration of West and East Balkans in European Union. The analysis describes the period of the last decade (2003-2013), starting with the moment when the doors were opened to the states of former Yugoslavs and Albania, after the European Council from Salonic, till now. The article is divided in three sections: first is about the theoretical background, and starts with a constructivist definition of Europeanization, the scond one describes the evolution of those 6 states from West Balkans, in the process of Europeanization. In the same time, there are evaluated the ways through EU tried to fix their policies concerning the specifics of every state, but also the actions of the state as a result for the postponement of Europeanization. The article ends with the conclusion that the process of Europeanization is almost the result of some institutional and discursive interactions, material and symbolical, and the postponement of accession is a consequence assumed by the both sides¹⁴.

The European Union and the Arab Spring. The limits of foreign policy

The research made by **Radu Cucută** tries to analyse the EU's reaction about the events that took place in the Middle East, especially the Arab Spring, through the analisys of some factors that influencend those actions. The autor inquire the internal debate of EU, concerning its own nature, and underlines the fact that the internal tensions have a special role in the construction of foreign policy's goals. In the same time, the institutional structure of EU is important for the regional policies, as the definition of European project in geopolitical terms. The inability to predict the revolutionar fact represent a additional difficulty. The relation of EU concerning the Middle East and the South Neighborhood is the expresion on the interaction between a postmodern project and the political expressions of modernity¹⁵.

The Ukrainian crisis and the strategical answer of EU: aspects of energetical security The study made by **Radu Dudău** analyses the recent European Strategy of Energetical security, made as an answer to the Russian's intervention in Ukraina, at the informal propose made by Doland Tusk, the ex MP's of Poland. The strategy is about the consolidation of a European *Energetical Union*, that would be able to negociate all the external aquisitions of natural gases, for the member states. In a large sense, the Ukrainian crisis is a new test of internal coherence for EU¹⁶. The energetical problem is in the

¹³ Mihai Bogdan Popescu, „The Europeanization of economical institutions in Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia” in George Anglițoiu, *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.148-167.

¹⁴ Miruna Troncotă, „The Europeanization of West Balkans. Political experiments and unlearned lessons” in George Anglițoiu, *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.169-194.

¹⁵ Radu Cucută, „The European Union and the Arab Spring. The limits of foreign policy” in George Anglițoiu, *Euopeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 198-211.

¹⁶ Ioan Horga, Ana Maria Costea, „The Ukrainian crisis: between national preferences/interests of EU member states and EU security ” in *Eurolimes* 18/2014, pp. 175-188

spotlight of economical and political relations between Europe and Russia. Besides EU will continue to be addicted by the natural resources of Russia, the member states will continue to make pressures concerning the process of integration in their national markets of energy, becoming in this way more diversified.

The vulnerabilities and climate ambitions of EU

In this research, **Mihaela Răileanu**, defines the idea that there exist a scientifical consensus concerning the climate change. The climate models will be crucial for the way of understanding the climate science. The people have to be conscious that the Earth is only one, and there is no possibility, for the present, to give up this hospitable house, and finding another better. The relation between the humans and the climate is, according to the autor, defined as being a bidirectional one. On the one hand, the climate influence the human's social evolution¹⁷, and on the other hand there are proofs that the humans have contributions concerning the climate changes¹⁸. EU has the merit to understand very well the danger of climate changing, and took measures concerning the reduction of GES. The Europeanization, in the field of climate policies, could be a realist approach in the context of international and political cooperation¹⁹.

European Union through the employment and social policy

The research made by **Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu** shows the fact that the European Union is defined by the involvement of economical and social policies, all in one, whose main goal is defined by the third article (3) of TUE²⁰. Even the economical crisis had a very big contribution at the failure of The Lisbon Strategy, its effects determined the development of national and social policies in the member states.²¹ The unemployment, especially of youth, the insertion of labour market, there were signals that remodeled the vision of EU concerning the importance and the necessity of strategies reinforcement, of legislative measures, and of concrete actions contained by the social European strengthened quadrilateral²²

¹⁷ For example in areas with an extreme climate people have to organize their way of life concerning the climatic conditions

¹⁸ IPCC, Climat Change 2013, The Physical Science Basis, 2013, <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg1/>.

¹⁹ Mihaela Răileanu, „The vulnerabilities and climate ambitions of EU” in George Anghitoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 229-248.

²⁰ Their confirmation concerning the fundamental and social rights defined by the European Social Charter, that was signed at Torino at 18 October 1961, and also the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Labor from 1989, (...). Determined to promote the economic and social progress of the states, taking into account the principle of sustainable development, and in the background of internal market achievement, of strengthening and environment protecting, but in the same time to apply policies that ensure a progress in the field of integration and in other ones. (...). Determined to facilitate the free movement of persons, ensuring the safety of states through the security and justice that are in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty and of the Treaty concerning the EU functioning.

²¹ Ioan Horga, Adrian Claudiu Popoviciu, *European Union between the Constraint of the Borders and Global Competition*, Published by University of Oradea, 2011, 263p

²² Adrian Claudiu Popoviciu, „European Union through the employment and social policy” in George Anghitoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp. 251-262.

The European Sources concerning the Romanian Competition Law

In this research, **Adriana Almășan** and **Ştefan Bogrea** analyses the phenomenon of Europeanization as claiming for an arrangement of the social sciences, especially of the jurisdictional field. All the subfields of internal law were affected from the accession of Romania in EU, including the competition law. The European sources of competition law are, in the same time, internal sources for competition, and the knowledge of this is very important in the process of understanding and application of this law, in Romanian system. The main categories of laws managed by EU are antitrust law, the abuse of dominant position and that of economic concentrations. This big influence of EU's law over Romania, will make the process of Europeanization in this country more intense, for the next years²³.

The Cohesion Policy of European Union concerning the post-crisis period

The chapter written by **Alina Bârgăoanu și Loredana Radu** analyses the evolution of Cohesion Policy concerning its own development concepts. The analysis underlines two essential processes. Firstly, the Cohesion Policy was transformed from a redistributive policy into a structural policy. Secondly, the economic crisis determined the moving of the interest of this policy from the cohesion goals to the competitive ones. The chapter underlines, in the same time, the role of Structural Funds and Investment in the process of implementation of Cohesion Policy, and its role in the process of development, in dilutioning of gaps between states, the areas and EU citizens, but also in the process of border managing, that have been associated with EU²⁴.

The Europeanization of Assistance Policies for Development

In this research, **Victor Negrescu**, underlines the fact that the Cooperation Policies for Development were managed by the national interests, being considered in the same time, mechanisms of action for soft power policies. The evolution of EU generated the appearance of assistance policies for development through the appearance of some pan-European mechanisms and goals (Victor 2015). Besides of this, the institutionalization process at EU level is poorly defined, and the diversity of the models that already exist, reduce the capacity of one European commune action. The article presents a analysis in the field of national policies and European ones, concerning the definition of the concept, concerning the level of Europeanization and also concerning the outlooks of this field, at European level²⁵.

The Europeanization and the emergence of an evaluation culture: between imitation, mosaic and pop-art

In this research written by **Ioana Roxana Melenciuc**, there is analysed the bidirectional relation between the Europeanization process and the emergence of an

²³ Adriana Almășan, Ştefan Bogrea, „The European Sources concerning Romanian Competition Law” in George Anghitoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.263-280.

²⁴ Alina Bârgăoanu, Loredana Radu, „The Cohesion Policy of European Union concerning the post-crisis period” in George Anghitoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015, pp.282-294.

²⁵ Victor Negrescu, „The Europeanization of Assistance Policies for Development” in George Anghitoiu, *Europeanization – Governance Studies and Security*, Published by C.H. Beck, Bucharest, 2015.

evaluation culture in European area. There are associated factors with the process of Europeanization that led to the process of crystallizing of culture, but in the same time, that led to the development of the European culture. There is presented a convergent influence of Europeanization and of globalization, that brings in the spotlight the role of intercontinental factors in the process of forming the European public agenda of assessment²⁶. The multiple influences and pressures exercised both vertically and horizontally, are the reasons of asked the existence of European specific, and there is disputed the nature issue in the clash between imitation and syncretism²⁷.

European Union- a possible model for Latin America?

In this research, **Alexandru Mihai Ghigiu** speaks about the interregional relations promoted by European Union, in different areas, at different levels. From all interregional relations promoted by Brussels, the Mercosur one, between Latin America and EU, is the most constant and functional one. The reasons are historical and cultural ones, but in the same time, are determined by the economic interest and the pressures made by USA in area. The interregionalsm is defined, in fact, by the way through EU made its model of governance an external one (Alexandru Mihai 2015). The spread of European norms and standards through the multiplication of dialogue between areas, remain the more advanced instrument in the process of European influence at global level, the Latin-American space, being a laboratory for the regional and interregional model proposed by EU.²⁸

Concluzii

Therefore the Europeanization through EU-ization has to face a lot of internal and external obstacles, but may be characterized as being like that one that generates higher political relations concerning the nationalist, secessionist, revisionist, irredentist, racist, xenophobic, inquisitional, genocidal, extremist, absolutist, totalitarian past since the fall of Rome. The map of European Union overlaps with that of Rome Empire, having in the same time, durability arguments, as long as that *Nemesis of creativity*, described by Toynbee, will be protected by the democracy, pacifism and rationalism of the European society. (Anglițoiu, Europeanizarea- Studii de Guvernare și Securitate 2015)

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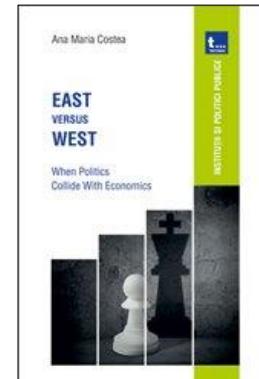
THE INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICS ON THE ECONOMICS: THE CASE OF EU AND NATO

*Dan APĂTEANU**

Review of: Costea, Ana Maria. *East versus West: When politics collide with economics.* Tritonic, București, 2015, ISBN 978-606-749-056-5.

The study of the nature of the decision making process in shaping the policies of international organisations, so that these policies can be successful, is a topic of great importance. In matters such as security and foreign policy, it is very useful to be aware of the extent to which states still are the main actors in formulating the strategies or the international organisations can be viewed as having the leading role. The issues tackled by the international organisations, such as EU or NATO, are very important, as they relate to themes such as territorial integrity, energy security, or nowadays, humanitarian aid, as in the case of Syrian refugees.

The book analyzes the foreign and security policies decision-making process of European Union and NATO, especially those that regard the Eastern Europe. This is due to the fact that there is a lot of instability and insecurity in the area. Also, the EU and NATO relationship with Russia does not function well, being rather a conflictual one. The main theoretical assumption of the author, Costea Ana Maria, is that the foreign policy is still formed at the national level, by the states¹, not by the international organisations. Another assumption that was tested is that the interdependence and the shadow of the future will lead to a greater probability to cooperate rather than to defect. The author asserts that the EU and NATO options, are, in fact, the ones expressed at a national level, by one or a small group of states; likewise, Romania promotes its national values, in the foreign policy². If, usually during peace, states formulate their policies based on their economic interests, in times of war, the political will is forming the national preferences; also, the geographical proximity may have the same effect. In order to analyse the EU and NATO decision-making processes, the author have used the levels typology formulated by Andrew Moravcsik³: domestic, inter-state and supranational. Furthermore, she adds a political-strategical dimension, that complements the economical one. The research is focused on Ukraine, Moldova and the Russian Federation, the choices being justified with several reasons.



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¹ Burian, Alexandru. *Introducere în teoria relațiilor internaționale*. Institutul de istorie, stat și drept al Academiei de științe a Moldovei. Chișinău, 2007.

² Balaban, Constantin. *Politica externă a României*. Editura Universitară, București, 2009.

³ Moravcsik, Andrew. *Preferences and power in the European Community: a liberal intergovernmentalist approach*. Journal of Common Market Studies, 1993, vol. 31, issue 4, 497 - 498.

In the first chapter, named *National preferences within international debate*, the author employs the Andrew Moravcsik concept of national preferences that is framed by the institutional neoliberalism, having an economical approach, where gains are viewed in absolute, rather than relative terms, so that the importance of the security issues are rather low, states tend to cooperate, to rely more on the role of international organisations in order to promote further cooperation. The concept of national preferences is not fixed, as it can vary over time, being influenced by different societal actors.

Also, the preferences have to be negotiated at supranational levels. The concept is analysed from a bottom-up approach, starting with the domestic level, continuing with the inter-statal one and ending with the supranational level. There are two different approaches, first the „outside-in” that asserts that states are being influenced by the international context, and secondly, the „inside-out” approach, according to which states act according to their domestic policies. In the view of Moravcsik, what is most important is the bargaining power of a state. States choose to be part of an international organisation, because they believe they can influence their policies, and achieve goals, that can not be achieved only on their own.

However, it is possible that states anticipate the international context trend, and adjust to it, their internal policies, hence being very difficult to establish a causal link for the formation of national preferences. It is given the example of the relationship between Germany and Russia, after Crimea annexation, in deciding to impose sanctions on Russia, after the influence of the international geopolitical context.

The domestic level for the formation of national preferences is analyzed first. Moravcsik considers that the state does not have fixed interests, but rather it is like a transmission belt for the preferences of national actors. According to Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow⁴, a state can influence the intra-national debate of another state, modifying its strategies before they become policies, which is the opposite view of Moravcsik, that believes that national strategies are independent from the influence of another state.

After the preferences are established, states develop their strategies, that have to be adjusted according to the international context, where three types of situations can emerge: harmony, zero-sum and win-win. After the preferences are formulated they are negotiated at the international level. Moravcsik identified three main assumptions about interstate bargaining: voluntary cooperation between states, the environmental aspect and the transaction costs of intergovernmental bargaining are low. In order to achieve a specific agreement, states use different bargaining strategies as: unilateral policy alternatives, alternative coalitions and the potential for compromise and linkage. The third level of analysis is at the supranational stage, where is analyzed its impact on the national preferences. For Moravcsik, the role of supranational institutions is limited. However, Costea gives an example that supranational institutions can modify the national preferences and policies.

According with Waltzian neorealism, the analysis of international relations should not take into consideration the attributes of a state, but rather its capabilities. Because the international arena is an anarchic system, the state either rule, or are being ruled. In this case, the national interest is given by external factors, being rather fixed. Neorealist scholars assert that the state is a central concept of the the international relations. In international organisations, states follow their national interests. Costea analyze critically

⁴ Allison, Graham, Zelikov Philip. *Esența deciziei. O explicație a crizei rachetelor din Cuba*. Polirom, Iași, 2010.

the model proposed by Moravcsik, to identify the nature of the national preferences, to see if they are only economically grounded, or if there are other attributes, such as strategic, security or political ones, to evaluate the role of the international institutional framework and the rationality character of the states behaviour.

In the second chapter, *The European Union: national versus supranational; economic versus political*, the focus is on EU and its member states preferences in the case of Ukraine, Moldova and Russia. The chapter is organized on a top-down approach, as starts with the EU decisions and continues with the national preferences and strategies, such as the EU political character, the European Neighbourhood policy, the Eastern Partnership, Moldova and Ukraine scores within EaP, the EU-Russia relationship, the Ukrainian crisis and the issue of energy security.

European Union positions itself as a global player, because of the geographical interests of the member states. However, EU needs to reconfigure its policies in order to be viewed as a single power. The different national preferences of EU states member create difficulties in communicating a unitary view in the relationship with nonEU states. This issue has been tried to be resolved in 2009 in the Lisbon Treaty, that stipulates that the president of European Council ensure the representation of the Union in its foreign policy and names a High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; however, in practice, states still have the veto power.

With regard to Russia, after 2000, it started to regain its status and prestige in the international arena. President Putin affirmed its exceptional national identity as Eurasian. Its executive agent changed the national preferences, as it reestablished the state power over the energy resources. Russia has asserted its right to be among the international powers and perceived all the conflicts where it was engaged as having a defensive nature. In its history, Russia adopted different types of policies toward the West: cooperative, defensive and assertive. Putin believed that the international balance of powers should change, as he did not accept American supremacy, and that it should have its own independent policy. The negotiations between EU and Russia have started after the USSR dissolution, searching for a minimum common denominator. The Common Strategy was an EU instrument to encourage the trade with Russia. Because EU wanted to be a global player, it had to create a stable and secure regional environment.

After the last enlargements, the new EU Eastern frontier has changed, presenting new opportunities and threats⁵. Regarding the national preferences, it has been a win-win situation for old and new member states. These have been influenced by three domestic groups, the executive, the economic players and the public opinion. In 2003, European Commission launched the Communication *Wider Europe - Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours*, while in 2004, the European Neighbourhood Policy was launched, to encourage their advantageous mutual cooperation. Russia developed a bilateral partnership with EU through the *Partnership and Cooperation Agreement*, as it did not accept the ENP, mainly for political reasons. Also, Ukraine has not been satisfied with ENP, considering that it should receive more from it, mainly to be accepted as an European state, with EU membership perspective. ENP did not prove to be very successful because of its ineffective strategy *one size fits all*. From the point of national preferences, ENP reflects France preferences in the Mediterranean region.

⁵ Horga, Ioan, Brie, Mircea *Europe between exclusive borders and inclusive frontiers*. Studia Universitatis, Babeş-Bolyai, Seria Europea, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp. 63 - 86.

After the Georgian war, the Eastern Partnership⁶ program has been launched, focused on Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and also the Association Agreements and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas Agreements. However, taking into regard the national preferences, they created some incoherence at the EU level external policy, because of the two levels negotiations. EaP middle way was counterproductive for both parties involved, not fulfilling their expectations. The author presents the results of EaP in terms of regional security, by analysing the status of Ukraine and Moldova, synthesising the results in the European Integration Index.

The 2008 Georgian war influenced the entire regional security as it implies that this situation might appear in other states. EU responded fast and in a unitary manner at first, but their preferences diverged soon, regarding the Georgian territorial integrity. Russia preferences have not changed, but its strategy did, because it was provoked, as Russia considered, by US, that sustained the enlargement of the NATO in the region. It can be said that there have been five types of groups according to their relation with Russia: the trojan horses, the strategic partners, the friendly pragmatics, the frozen pragmatics and the new cold warriors.

An important issue on EU agenda is the energy security; the Early Warning Mechanism has been formulated in order to solve this issue. The International Energy Agency published a report that presents the impact of a raise in energy consumption. The different visions of the two regional players lead to a failure in assuring the energy security, as the EU approach was economical, while the Russian was a political one and as they are parts of a heterogenous system.

The Ukrainian energy crisis showed that defecting, under the independence assumption, will lead to different negative outcomes for the parties involved. The crisis proved that Russia used its economical resources as a political instrument. EU is dependent of energy imports from Russia, as it is its main supplier. However, even if some small states largely depend on Russian energy, they have political reasons to oppose its policy. The problem is that EU is still responding slowly to the energy security issue.

Even if EU claims itself a global power, it did not manage to resolve the regional crises, as the situation in Ukraine, since the national preferences prevailed over a common EU interest toward Russia. These can be classified in two groups, one that is political-strategically grounded - the hawks, and another one, economically grounded - the doves. States that have an economical approach tend to cooperate, while the ones that are politically related, would rather oppose Russia policy.

Another factors that influence the bilateral relationship is history and geographical proximity, the closer to Russia, the more political-strategically is the approach. In the first group are Lithuania, Romania, Poland, while in the second are Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain and Austria. The national positions have been expressed in the Geneva agreement, that was the minimum common denominator between EU members and US, but it did not succeed in solving the conflict. As the economic sanctions proved to be inefficient, EU moved to the political ones, changing its strategy. After the break of the first Minsk agreement by pro-Russian rebels, Germany supported more the political sanctions. The Eastern frontier states are donors, in terms of EU foreign and security policy in crisis situations, but otherwise, given the heterogenous national preferences, the more moderated view will prevail.

⁶ Eastern Partnership http://www.eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm.

The third chapter entitled *NATO - between military and economic preferences* applies the same theoretical framework of Moravcsik to NATO, in analyzing the security issues in the non-EU Eastern Europe. It is presented a top-down approach, as it starts the decision process at the NATO level and continues with the analysis of its sources, to see the extent in which exist the national preferences, and if they are politically or economically grounded. Similarly as in the case of EU, the national preferences influenced the strategies of the organisation. Even if the security issues are only partially transparent, the public opinion and the interest groups have a considerable influence over the decision of governmental actors. These decisions are subject to an intensive bargaining process. Regarding the nature of the preferences, these can be both economical and political. Economical preferences arise from private groups and from institutions that receive funding for research and development, while the political ones, from the officials.

NATO had to redefine itself, as after 1990, the USSR has disbanded and the Germany reunited, and they stated that the former communist states did not represent a threat anymore. Its members choose to cooperate further to face any possible danger, because its members had a high level of trust between them, EU members for financial reasons, as these were supported by the US, and the new conflicts issue, such as ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes. The Strategic Concept has been created that allowed the Alliance to respond across a whole range of military operations. Also, a new institutional form has been created, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, that included also the former Warsaw Pact members, to promote their cooperation with the old members and the Partnership for Peace, to create joint task forces.

The US preferences over the enlargement were strategic, as it established a new area of influence, that used to belong to the adversary and to be recognized as a superpower, especially through the use of the ABMDS. The Eastern states wanted to join NATO, as this will provide national security, and this was very important as they used to be under the influence of Russia. The NATO preferences were constant, as it had limited competence and jurisprudence, especially over military matters, laying the premises for higher chances to reach a common position, and also most of the member states desire increased security. The source of national preferences in the case of NATO is not represented by the sum of its member states preferences, but one or a few members, the usual leading role belonging to US.

In the last chapter, "Case study: Eastern border of EU and NATO: views from Poland and Romania", it can be summarized that Eastern frontier states, may be donor in terms of security and foreign policy, uploading their national preferences at EU and NATO level, if they succeed in transforming their national vulnerability into an asset. Such examples are Romania and Poland with the Black Sea Synergy and Easternship Partnership. However, their donor capability is in an inverse relationship with their political-hostile attitude toward Russia.

After the fall of communism, the East-Central European architectural security framework has been restructured, moving toward the EU and NATO. Even if the Russian Federation did not oppose to these trends, it stated that Romania should not join a regional security system where Russia is not a member. For Romania, joining NATO, was the safest way to guarantee its national security, view that was expressed by the domestic actors, such as officials or the public opinion. The fact that Romania joined EU and supported also the integration of Moldavia, it is a host for ABMDS, resulted in a negative relationship with Russia. This is reflected also in the Romanian National Defense Strategy, other national programmes or in official declarations. Still, Romania did not feel a

direct threat from Russia as it lacked common frontiers, does not have large Russian minorities and is only indirectly affected through Moldova, as it relates to the territorial integrity; Romania is not economically dependent upon Russia, even if we consider the gas imports. Because the Romania granted its citizenship to a large number of Moldavians, it attracted criticism from Russia, as it affects its interest in its near abroad territories. The Black Sea region is an area of a heterogenous type because of the actors involved and has a low security level.

After 1991, Poland had somewhat good relations with Russia as it signed a Friendship Treaty, Putin visited Warsaw, the economic trade had increased; it seemed that if in the case of Romania, Russia used the stick strategy, in the case of Poland the carrot strategy was employed. Also, Poland was different from Romania, regarding their national defense strategies. Nevertheless, after the start of the Ukrainian crisis, Poland changed its approach toward Russia, criticising it for not respecting the territorial integrity.

The author, hence, recommends a moderate approach in order to win the support of the EU member states in adopting the security policy. The Romanian and Polish preferences are clearly political in nature, as they are influenced by their past - history and present - the necessity to keep a buffer zone, Moldova for Romania and Ukraine for Poland, from Russia.

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