

VI. Book Reviews

CHOICES OF UNITY AND DIVERSITY FOR THE EU

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Review of: „*EU à la carte?*” *Conference proceedings* of the Jean Monnet Seminar held in Malmö Sweden, between the 19th and the 21st of June 2016, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016, ISBN 978-92-79-62015-7

After decades of expansion, institutional development and integration efforts, the EU is being challenged from several directions, both internal and external ones. The Jean Monnet seminar held in Malmö Sweden this June, just before the Brexit referendum, includes the texts of the presentations made with this occasion by the participants to the event, under a telling title, „*EU à la carte?*”.

The conference papers were presented in three sections, themed around subjects of great importance for the evolution of the European Union, all the papers confronting their subjects to the notion of differentiated integration. The first one, treating issues regarding the *Fiscal and Monetary Union*, which is by far the most consistent, is concerned with economic issues of the European Union. The second one brings together studies under the theme of *Borders and Defence*, and the third one is dedicated to the subject of the *Energy Union*.

As expected, some of the authors support the differentiated integration approach, here we can name Frank Schimmelfennig, Ton Notermans amongst others, while authors such as Roberto Di Quirico and Jarosław Kundera and others, argued for a more unified approach.

Frank Schimmelfennig’s article opens the first section, introducing the subject of the conference. The author provides arguments for differentiated integration (DI) as a way for more integration, no matter what generated the differences in the level of integration, the EU treaties or the EU legislation. The causes for DI are identified in the enlargement of the union, and in the deepening and widening of European integration, showing that after initial resistance through opt-outs, more integration was generated (Schimmelfennig, 2016).

Mojmir Mrak, takes under analysis the concept of European economic governance, studies its past evolution, the economic policies that it proposed, responsibilities of the member states and surveillance and policy coordination aspects. The study outlines flaws in both the initial European Economic Community (EEC), such as weak crisis prevention mechanisms and no crisis management and resolution mechanism, as well as in the reformed one, arguing that it is still considered a work in progress, though there is no consensus on how to proceed. Some options for the future are proposed (Mrak, 2016).

In the paper with the title *A Europe Apart? The EMU, the New Economic Governance and the Future of European Integration*, Roberto Di Quirico identifies the



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political environment as the main driver for European integration for most part of the evolution of the EU. Gradually, economic reasons became the main driver according to the author, which generated a “fiercely competitive environment”. The author argues that *EU à la carte* is a bad solution for European integration, considering that there is a need for uniformity in the application of rules and rigorous supervision (Di Quirico, 2016).

Jean-Marc Trouille proposes a paper on the situation of Europe in times of challenges affecting the European Monetary Union (EMU). Initial flaws of the monetary project are presented, as well as long-term measures needed for a sustainable euro-area, also proposing recommendations on how to improve the EMU, showing the any delays exacerbate the economic costs. Though, as the author asserts, the crisis generated progress in the EMU, further improvements are deemed necessary, namely structural reforms, investment and innovation, cautious differentiated approach based on national particularities, and effective transnational governance and policy coordination (Trouille, 2016).

In the paper *The Fiscal Policy of the EU Countries in Time of Crisis*, Jarosław Kundera shows that EU countries have higher tax burdens than their greatest international competitors, which puts them in a vulnerable position, while also presenting internal EU disparities. The author argues for a shift from direct to indirect taxation in most EU countries, in order to generate economic growth (Kundera, 2016).

Ton Notermans, in the paper *Differentiated Integration for Growth*, analyses four aspects where the author considers a differentiated approach to be the proper one. They are market fragmentation and de-financialisation as opposed to a financial union, promotion of investment as opposed to EU fiscal policy capacity, an industrial policy, and a temporary exit mechanism, in order to solve fundamental disequilibria. He argues for an outcome-oriented union, considering that one lesson Europe forgot is that democracy and capitalism can coexist only if there are tolerable levels of inequality (Notermans, 2016).

George D. Demopoulos and Nicholas A. Yannacopoulos take under analysis the institutional framework of the Eurozone, arguing for one that would adjust monetary flows between debtor and creditor countries, mentioning the importance of making it desirable for each country of the EU, and for the whole EU at the same time (Demopoulos and Yannacopoulos, 2016).

Asking whether differentiated integration is the way for more Europe, Danuta Kabat-Rudnicka agrees that in certain cases opt-outs are helpful. Yet, considering that the interventions to keep the crisis in check were made outside of the treaties, the author argues that they need to be changed in order to impose a unitary approach further on (Kabat-Rudnicka, 2016).

Besides the many papers with an economic approach to the subject of the conference, two of them proposed subjects that take a security approach to economic aspects. Pierre Defraigne, who provided just an abstract for the subject of *Strengthening the Euro Goes through Building up a Common Defence*, argues that the EU, locked in the functioning of the markets dogma, needs more defensive integration and an industrial strategy through high technology in order, to improve its economic situation and to gain parity with the USA through one voice, in the frame of the NATO (Defraigne, 2016). The other paper, proposed by Nicolae Păun, presents how the security architecture of the EU changed in the face of the latest threats, generating a new strategy presented in the *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe* document. The author argues for a raised importance of the Black Sea region for both military and energy security considerations, also showing how Russia, from the position of a strategic partner turns more and more into a rival in the eyes of different European officials both at EU and national levels.

Furthermore, the author considers that more focus is needed on external threats, consequently solving internal threats (Păun, 2016).

Paulo Vila Maior presents his *Reflections on Academic Discussions about the Eurozone Crisis* presented in the first section of the current conference. The first thing he highlights is that most papers have a focus on economic issues, naming Roberto di Quirico's paper as an exception. Also, in his view, some of the papers seem to ignore the most recent academic efforts, also stating the obvious, which is that the EMU was flawed from the beginning. He also notes that many authors propose possible solutions for the analyzed subjects, though failing to do a reality check on their propositions: are they feasible or are they utopia, whether there is political willingness for the suggested reforms, and do they meet citizen expectations (Vila Maior, 2016).

The *Borders and defence* section includes five papers with more general and particular takes on security issues regarding the EU. Francisco Aldecoa Luzárraga presents certain aspects in the area of the defence strategies of the EU, such as permanent structured cooperation, the provisions of article 42.7 introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon, an equivalent to the provisions of the NATO Article 5, the threats that put pressure on the EU defensively, political agreements and more. Though the author argues for *differentiated integration*, he also considers the *EU à la carte* to illustrate the opposite of that, though the EUR-LEX glossary definition of the latter states otherwise (Communication department of the European Commission, no date; Aldecoa Luzárraga, 2016).

Emil J. Kirchner analyses the *Strength and Weakness of CSDP: Lessons From EU-China Security Cooperation*, while also emphasizing, where present, *à la carte* principles and categorizing in three different levels of intensity the areas of security cooperation between the EU and China, drawing from these lessons of success and failure (Kirchner, 2016).

Tomasz Kamiński and Marcin Frenkel draw from past Polish experiences and the unstable situation in Ukraine in order to find the best strategies for security in the eastern neighbourhood of the EU, which have as a central element, in the views of the authors, based on "The Giedroyc doctrine", the transformation of Russia from an autocratic and neo-imperial state into a prosperous and democratic one (Kamiński and Frenkel, 2016).

In the paper *Envisioning European Defence à La Carte*, Jan Joel Andersson goes through five different scenarios regarding the development of the European defence, stating that an *à la carte* approach is possible and that the five scenarios are not the only ones and various combinations are possible (Andersson, 2016).

The section ends with a paper entitled *An Economic View of Energy Challenges in the EU: From the Past to the Future* that presents EU energy scenarios and policy strategies. The author highlights issues in the levels of the prices for consumers and in the timeframe of the strategies, which need to extend for longer periods of time (Rabanal, 2016).

From the last section, only the first two studies tackle the subject of the *Energy Union*. Amelia Hadfield, considers the subject of *European Energy Security in the Age of Brexit*, proposing variable, rather than differentiated integration at the five components of the European Energy Union, arguing for governance as a central element. Bahri Yilmaz presents the situation of the import of primary energy sources in both the EU and Turkey, showing in both cases heavy reliance on it, with increasing demands. The paper presents the Turkey's ambition as an actor on the energy market and the constraints it meets both internally and externally (Hadfield, 2016).

The last three papers of this section are concluding papers for the entire conference, if we consider their subjects and content. In *Reconsidering Integration after*

Brexit, Antonio C. Pereira Menaut and Celso Cancela Outeda argue around the implications of the Brexit on the perception of differentiated integration since some countries are not in the EU though are participating in certain aspects of it or, on the contrary, some are in the EU, but are not participating in all aspects of the EU. Consequently, the author analyzes several different integration alternatives in history and argues for the continuation of the *EU à la carte* system (Pereira Menaut and Cancela Outeda, 2016).

Eduardo Perera Gómez in *À La Carte Europe? Neither New Under the Sun, Nor Definitive*, reviews the European crisis, identifying other aspects besides economic ones, arguing that it is not the first crisis that the EU had to face and considering, but also hoping, that it is most probably a temporary one, just like previous ones (Perera Gómez, 2016).

Adam Tyson closes the conference proceedings volume summarizing the topics presented in the different papers through two questions. They emphasise a few possible options: a non-negotiable EU core with other negotiable elements, a federal system or the ‘à la carte’ option. The possibility for a rollback on different aspects of integration is also deemed worthy of attention (Tyson, 2016).

The papers presented offer a good perspective on the issue of *differentiated integration*. The concept is applied to three different fields of activity that are essential for the future evolution of the European Union: economy, energy and security. The articles apply the main subject to past, present and possible future evolutions that are in one way or another related to the European Union. Both inside and outside EU matters are analysed. The participation, as reflected by the origin of the authors, was quite diverse, which guaranteed a rich array of perspectives on how should the EU shape its future: following the *EU à la carte* model, forging and imposing a *Menu du chef* one, or somewhere in between.

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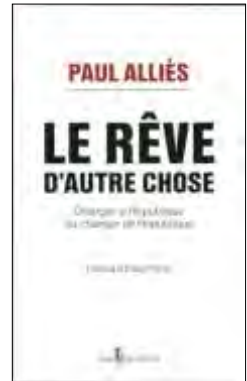
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IN SEARCH OF A LOST REPUBLIC. TOWARDS A FRENCH SIXTH REPUBLIC?

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Review of: Paul ALLIÉS. *Le rêve d'autre chose. Changer la République ou changer de République*. Don Quichotte Edition, France, 2017. ISBN 978-2-35949-599-7

From some years now, the crisis in Europe is a reality. This crisis can be observed in all countries from Europe, at different levels and, of course, in different domains and activity sectors. There are countries who are confronting with economic issues, others with social issues, others with political, and the list could continue. It can be strange, but France, one of the greatest powers in Europe, a country that could be a model for others in many aspects, faces yet some years ago some political issues. One of the most important aspects is the desire, but also the need, for a new French Republic, as many actors from the political French class and from the civil society is reclaiming it. If that were to happen, we could talk about the France Sixth Republic.



It is known that, over the time, France went through different political stages, changing by now five Republics. All of them have been the result of violent crisis.¹ The beginning of the Republic in France starts in 1792, with the abolition of Monarchy. Officially, between 1792 and 1804 we can speak about the French First Republic. This period was characterized by the fall of the Monarchy in France and it lasted until 1804 under Napoleon. The form of the Government during the French First Republic changed several times.² The French Second Republic was the shortest in the history of France. It lasted from 1848 until 1852. During this Republic it was officially adopted the French slogan used nowadays too, “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”, because the tension between social and democratic republic was very obvious.³ The French Third Republic was the largest one by now. It lasted 70 years, from 1870 to 1940. This Republic led to the formation of the Vichy Government. It was a period marked by many social reforms, desired by the people of the time.⁴ The French Fourth Republic was the Republican government of France, between 1946 and 1958, governed by the

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¹ Håkon Tranvåg, “The French Fifth Republic: Against All Odds”, *Popular Social Science* (2013), accessed November 9, 2016, <http://www.popularsocialscience.com/2013/10/08/the-french-fifth-republic-against-all-odds/>

² “La Révolution Française. La législation de la I^{re} République”, accessed November 9, 2016, <http://www.cosmovisions.com/ChronoRevolutionPremiereRepublique.htm>

³ Larousse, II^e République, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/II_e_R%C3%A9publique/140712

⁴ Larousse, III^e République, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/III_e_R%C3%A9publique/140713

fourth republican constitution. The French Fourth Republic was an era of economic growth and rebuilding of the national institutions and industry after the World War II.⁵

The French Fifth Republic is the last and current republican constitution in France. It started in 1958 and is the second largest republic of France, after the French Third Republic. It had 8 Presidents (the last one is still serving) and different type of constitution.⁶ During the time, different characters from the media, from universities or even from political sector wrote and published articles or books about the need of a change of system, by passing now to a French Sixth Republic.

2017 is a year that marks presidential elections in France. There are voices who would like that 2107 marks the change of the Republic as well. One important voice in the French public space, who sustains this idea, is Paul Alliès. Law Professor and Researcher at the University of Montpellier 1 in France, politician and writer at the same time, Paul Alliès is leading the “Convention pour la 6^e République”, which is *«une machine à transformer la République. C’est-à-dire à imposer des réformes dont la classe politique conservatrice ne veut pas.»*⁷

For sustaining his ideas, Paul Alliès publishes at Don Quichottes Edition an interesting and wide book called “Le rêve d’autre chose. Changer la République ou changer de République?”. In its 400 pages, the author exposes all his theories and arguments about the need of changing the Republic in France. Deeply profound, the book is an incursion in history, international relations, and political sciences. He analyses situations and facts, people and events, discourses and promises, from the recent history of France, all this being related with the international scene, in European and global context. The analytical way of thinking of the author and the critical overview of the French present situation can clarify in the mind of every reader the actuality in France.

Writing the review of the book “Le rêve d’autre chose. Changer la République ou changer de République” is a hard and complicated mission. Even from the title the author expresses very clear his position. He thinks about so much time to another kind of Republic in France, that it is already like a dream, the dream to another thing. The subtitle is also very suggesting. A play of words in French, “Changer la République ou changer de République”, means that however you will take it, something has to change in France, either the way of government or the Republic, the country itself.

Without any doubt, the French Fifth Republic brought a lot of good things to the French people. An example that came now in mind is the law of decentralization which was declaring the region as territorial collectivity, along with the communes and departments.⁸ This aspect makes us think about the borders and makes us see the efficiency of a regional

⁵ Larousse, IV^e République, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/IV_e_R%C3%A9publique/140714

⁶ Larousse, V^e République, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/V_e_R%C3%A9publique/140715

⁷ C6R, “Convention pour la 6^e République”, accessed November 9, 2016, <http://www.c6r.org/qui-sommes-nous>

⁸ Natalia Cuglesan, “30 Years of Regionalization in France. What Lessons for Romania?” in *The Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies. New Narratives for Europe*. Vol 2, no.1/2013-3014, p.114

structure.⁹ But, at the same time, changing borders means changing the identity.¹⁰ Will France change after changing the Republic? This is yet to see and to live.

From a structural point of view, the book “Le rêve d’autre chose. Changer la République ou changer de République” is divided in three big chapters. Chapter one, “Des institutions de la V^e République à la nécessité de les reformer”, is divided in its own turn in others three subchapters, which explain the main idea of the chapter but also put in order the succession of events, as the reader could understand the problematic: “L’héritage du bonapartisme”, “Le *malgoverno* à la française” and “Les voies d’une révision constitutionnelle”. The second chapter, “De la « gauche de gouvernement » à sa présidentialisation dans la V^e République” has other three subchapters as well. This part stresses the most important aspects of the left government in France. His critical spirit is obvious and his analyses are pertinent. “Le social-conservatisme”, “Les années renoncement” and “Les années reniement” are the three parts composing chapter two. In the last chapter of the book, “De désir de démocratie au dépassement de la V^e République” there are four subchapters: “La rénovation des socialistes”, “L’invention des primaires”, “L’alter-démocratie” and “La question européenne”. In this last part, the discourse of the author is orientated to the need and the real desire of French people for another Republic, it means another form of government and another kind of institutions.

An important aspect to be mentioned is the fact that the majority of the analyses and texts from the book were published before on the virtual space, either on the on line journal Mediapart, where Paul Alliès has an important contribution, or on the website of the Convention for the Sixth Republic, where he is the president. That why, every text is dated with the exact date when it was written. That demonstrates the fact that Paul Alliès was always very present in the political life of France, commenting and analyzing facts, discourses of presidents and politicians, ideas, or simply editing his own opinions about the French realities of the moment.

The book represents his own plea for a change in France. With a very developed civic spirit, Paul Alliès is aware about the fact that a social dynamism can influence and exert a fluctuating movement on national decision-making processes,¹¹ and it is very important for the future of the country that, for example, one person, even it’s the president of the state, doesn’t have so much power as he has in this moment in France. His opinion is that at the present moment, France is not acting anymore as real democracy on the global stage, and he feels like a civil duty to note all the errors and to try, as he can, to change them.

The Introduction of the book is made by Edwy Plenel, who is one of the most known and appreciate political journalists in France at the present moment. Within his career he worked for the very famous journal *Le Monde*, but in 2008 he founded Mediapart¹², an online journal published in English, French and Spanish. Knowing very well the French realities but

⁹ Ioan Horga, “Regional and Euroregional Structures Efficiency in the Area of the New EU Border” in *Eurolimes. From Smaller to Greater Europe: Border Identity Testimonies*, vol 2, Ed. Mircea Brie and Kozma Gabor, (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2006), p. 5-7

¹⁰ Mircea Brie, “From Smaller to Greater Europe: Identity of the EU Eastern Borders” in *Eurolimes. From Smaller to Greater Europe: Border Identity Testimonies*, vol 2, Ed. Mircea Brie and Kozma Gabor, (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2006), p.8

¹¹ Cristina Dogot, “How Permeable or Impermeable Could Be the Borders? Introduction” in *Eurolimes. Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-Economic Frontiers within European Union*, vol 13, Ed. Violaine DELTEIL, Cristina-Maria DOGOT, Kozma GABOR and Jarosław KUNDERA, (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2012; Bruxelles: Editions Bruylant, 2012), p.5

¹² Mediapart, accessed November 9, 2016, <https://www.mediapart.fr/>

also the activity of the author, in view of their collaboration, he makes a beautiful description of the publication, inviting the reader in the world of Paul Allières. “*Son originalité est d’associer la compétence académique à l’engagement citoyen pour nous faire comprendre que la démocratie ne se proclame pas, qu’elle se vit, s’institue et se développe comme un écosystème complexe tissé de procédures et de protections, d’équilibres et de contrôles, d’institutions et de pratiques.*»¹³

Brief, having this book in my hands and reading it even before his official appearance in the libraries, was a great honor, but at the same time a big responsibility by writing a review. It is an interesting book, very concise, intense and pleasant to read. Maybe we should all be aware about the fact that “Une génération ne peut assujettir à ses lois les générations futures”¹⁴, meaning that a generation cannot oblige the future generations to follow their rules, and the civic spirit is always a good way to express our implication and devotedly to our country.

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¹³ Edwy Plenel, “Préface” in *Le rêve d’autre chose. Changer la République ou changer de République*, by Paul ALLIES, (Don Quichotte Edition, France), 2017, p.11

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p.14

INSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN THE EU

*Cosmin CHIRIAC**

Review of: *Claudia Simona Timofte – Democrația la nivel European: democratizarea procesului decizional în sistemul instituțional al Uniunii Europene*, Editura Școala Ardeleană, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Eikon, București, 2016

In times when democracy is put under pressure in quite a few European countries, especially in Eastern Europe, Claudia Simona Timofte proposes a book about democracy in Europe, to be more precise, about democracy in European Union institutions. The subject is more than appropriate for the present times, because one of the discontents of many European leaders is that the more integrated the EU is, the less decision power is left to the Member States regarding what happens in their own back yards and the European construction seems to be less democratic in relation with the member states. No matter how honest or dishonest their concerns may be, it is worth knowing whether or not the EU construction, represented by the EU institutions, is a democratic and legitimate one and whether it represents the will of all the member states of the EU.



Though there is no introductory text and the choice for the subject is not explained, the justifications for it are self evident and can be found in the current evolution of the European Union, one that is challenged by internal and external tensions, but also throughout the book. The structure of the book is dictated by its key elements: democracy and EU institutions, and carefully constructed around them. Thus, the first chapter provides a brief and narrow, but not superficial, look into European history, while the second one explains the decisional process of the EU institutions. The third and fourth chapters bring together the two key elements of the subject in an effort to provide an answer to the main subject of the study, the democratic legitimacy of EU institutions. Thus, the third chapter presents a critical view of the EU decision process, while the fourth presents possible solutions towards a more democratic institutional framework within the EU.

As stated previously, the first chapter dives into the history of Europe, where the elements that bring Europeans together are found, such as democracy, civil law, and Christianity amongst others, and where the reasons for the evolution of Europe into so many different cultures, languages and states lie. This retrospective look concludes with following statement made by the author: “the idea of Europe appeared as the sole way to reconstruct [it] and keep the peace” (p. 24, translated) within this space that has been tormented by many disputes and conflicts. This brings us to the end of the Second World

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War. From this point on, the focus is turned towards international institutional constructions within the European space, whether or not they were part of the efforts to build a European union. This retrospective look reaches up to the year 2007.

The many facets of the decision process, as it unfolds in the EU, are presented in the second chapter of the book. The separation of the powers in the EU, the law making process and the many European institutions are presented in order to give a thorough understanding of the mechanisms that provide functionality to the EU. Whether or not they hold the attributes of democracy is central to this chapter, and three consistent subchapters cover elements significant from this point of view. The relation between the EU, the European Communities and the Member States, is one of the places where they are searched for, but not only. The position of the EU in the international system is also significant from this point of view. In order for the union to be relevant on the international scene, it needs to be able to be the voice of all the member states, and consensus is not always easy to obtain, if at all.

Further, particularities of the decision process and the subsidiarity principle are checked against the values of democracy, both of them raising concerns regarding the way in which the EU represent the interests of the Member States. In both situations, examples are presented in order to make the case.

The third chapter is a critical one, which has the main objective of identifying the *democratic deficit* in the institutional framework of the European Union. The legitimacy of the system is viewed from two perspectives: the governmental one and the communitary, the EU institutions having the task of being representative, at the same time, for the Member States, the National Parliaments and the EU citizens as well. The author shows that critics were raised against the lack of democratic constraints of important domains and that democracy is marked dysfunctionally, also being defective in the way it implements some of the “basic values of democracy [, such as] equality and individualism” (p. 180).

As stated previously, the *democratic deficit* of the institutional system of the EU is the main subject of this third chapter, a concept for which the author looks at definitions in the speciality literature. The concept raises concerns both from the perspective of the national states that form the UE, fearing that they have too little control over the decision process of this construction. As the author notices, there aren't significant differences regarding the institutional mechanisms between the Treaty of Lisbon and previous ones, though, European democracy is specifically addressed, presenting the democratizing principles that are at the basis of the European construction, though some critics deem the advances insufficient, as the author shows. The chapter ends with the statement that “the democratic deficit of the EU should be judged in the light of a democratic ideal and not of national democracy” (p. 199, translated), and lists areas where improvements from this point of view are necessary.

The Deepening of democracy in the European Union is the subject of the fourth chapter, which begins by referencing elements significant to the evolution of the EU, such as its constitution, that was set aside for the moment, its institutional construction and the process of integration. One of the first elements under analysis, which stretches over the first two chapters, regards the individual. The European citizenship is addressed first, an initiative that raised concerns in different Member States over the erosion of national specificity, a concern addressed by multilevel citizenship. Many other aspects regarding the rights and obligations of EU citizens are also addressed. The other facet of the individuality analysed here is the representativity of the European citizen in the governing

bodies of the EU, concluding that participation of the social partners in the governing process has great democratic potential.

Institutional aspects are of concern in the next three sections, addressing democratic aspects of the functionality of the EU institutions, of the relation between the EU parliament and national parliaments and regarding the implementation of a European system of parties. European governance and the exceptionalism of the European law are addressed in the last two sections of the book, the latter leaving room for diverging opinions in different facets of European integration.

Though the EU did not have as a model the development of a state-like union, and the democratic values of the European construction were not of concern in the beginning, they were gradually introduced in future developments of the union, one that needed a reconsideration of its purpose and the current step in the evolution of the EU, the author finds that governance is the solution of the current evolutionary step of the EU.

INCURSIONS WITHIN THE FRONTIERS OF EUROPEAN SPACE

Anca OLTEAN*

Review of: Mircea Brie, Alina Stoica, Florentina Chirodea (coord.), *The European Space. Borders and Issues*, Oradea University Press & Debrecen University Press, Oradea – Debrecen, 2016, ISBN 978-606-10-1846-8.

The book *The European Space. Borders and Issues*, starts with a foreword written by the editors Mircea Brie, Alina Stoica, Florentina Chirodea, is opening with the idea of nationalism in present day Europe, that still persist, mentioning that it is dedicated to the activity of Professor Ioan Horga. His professional activity was highlighted by his quality of historian, expert in international relations, researcher and teacher, with a brilliant research in the field of international relations and security studies. Having the ability to see beyond the process of European integration, focusing both on general aspects, but also on particular cases, having in mind a historical perspective upon life and universe, professor Ioan Horga proved to be one of the most outstanding specialist of his time. Researcher and university professor, Ioan Horga had an important project named *Eurolimes*, an important publication of Euroregional studies of our department.



Florentina Chirodea in the article *Ioan Horga – Visionary, Professor and Researcher by Vocation* makes the portrait and life evolution of professor Ioan Horga that reached the round age of sixty years old. He finished the highschool “Horea, Cloșca and Crișan” from Abrud and the faculty years he spent in Cluj – Napoca, studying history profile, at the Faculty of History- Philosophy within Babeș-Bolyai University. After teaching at the “Înfrățirea” High School from Oradea, since 1990 professor Ioan Horga became teacher at Emmanuel Gojdu High school from Oradea and, in 1991, he got a PhD scholarship at University of Reims Champagne- Ardenne, France. On May 30th 1995, in front of a commission formed from renowned specialists, Ioan Horga defended his thesis on “L’Église gréco-catholique roumaine (uniata) de Transylvanie à l’époque des Lumières. L’évêché d’Oradea (1780- 1830)”. His permanent collaboration with the University of Oradea started in 1992, when he was nominated lector at the Faculty of History- Geography at the University of Oradea. In 2000, he was nominated assistant professor. Florentina Chirodea points out that professor Ioan Horga was invited to teach to the following universities and institutes: Reims, Siena, Nancy, Wrocław, Paris, Montpellier, Bologna–Campus Forli, Coimbra, Salamanca, Rzeszow, Alicante, Bratislava, Banska Bistrika, Brescia, Venice, Krakow, Lublin, Prague, Hannover, Maribor. In 2005, together with Professor Istvan Suli Zakar, professor Ioan Horga put the basis of the

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Institute for Euroregional Studies Oradea – Debrecen, and brought his contribution to Phare and Jean Monnet Projects.

Mihai Drecin dedicated to professor Horga the article <<Horga – “moșul”>>, starting with the idea that Ioan Horga reached the round age of sixty years old, saying that he knows professor Horga since his student years and his early years as a professor at “Înfrățirea” High school from Oradea. Professor Ioan Horga was chief of promotion at the Faculty of History and Philosophy at the Babeș Bolyai University. Professor Drecin mentions the year 1989 and its opening to the West which gave professor Ioan Horga the chance to prepare his doctorate in West, at the University of Reims. We found professor Horga, later, in the ranks of the Faculty of History- Geography within the University of Oradea, professor since 2000, and leading doctorates in history since 2007 and in international relations and security studies (2008). Last, but not least, professor Ioan Horga wants to underline the quality of inhabitant of Apuseni Mountains, *the country of stone* as it was surnamed by geographers and wants to wish him long life, good health and several professional achievements.

Mircea Brie writes the article *The Vocation of Research: the European Space and the Study of Borders in the Scientific Work of Professor Ioan Horga*. Mircea Brie emphasises that the academic work of professor Ioan Horga comprises 200 of title of publications. A road opener and a founder of a school, professor Ioan Horga created a school of international relations and European studies at the University of Oradea. He created an institutionalized architecture of utmost importance. Thus it was created the Department of International Relations and European Studies and the Institute for Euroregional Studies – Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence. Professor Ioan Horga has also a vocation of researcher, his books *Europa luminilor, Europa secolului al XIX-lea or Relațiile internaționale de la echilibru la sfârșitul concertului european (secolul XVII-începutul secolului XX)*, are especially emphasised by his colleague, Mircea Brie. Another book where he tries to differentiate between national and European perspective is his book *European construction. Tradition, reality, perspective*. The research of professor Ioan Horga focusing on European Parliament, intercultural dialogue, multilevel governance, European neighbourhood policy, regional and Euroregional development in cooperation with the colleagues from the University of Debrecen, the topic of cross- border cooperation, the study of a variety of borders, are constant themes of reflection and research for professor Ioan Horga. Emphasising one more time the character of historian of professor Ioan Horga, making use of concepts such as interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary, the research of Ioan Horga proves to be one of extreme complexity.

Part one of the present volume has the title *Historical and Political Realities in Europe* and starts with the article of Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, entitled *Europe – Idea / Europe Integration Times. Spaces. Actors*. The author examines the relationship between Europe and “thinking Europe” and “integrating Europe”. Thinking Europe implies all projects of political and economic unity of the continent and to build Europe is to accomplish the European dream (Tavares, 2016: 69) through a complex process “federal”, “confederal”, “communitarian”. The analyzed period focuses on the years 1919-1992. The author identifies the beginning of the history of European integration that dates back in 1970s. (Tavares, 2016: 70) In the opinion of Tavares, three historiographical approaches were validated concerning the process of European integration: “federalist-inspired narrative, the inter-governmentalist vision followed by a more contemporary approach that sought to overcome the <<models>> and integrate the <<social>> dimension of the European integration process”. (Tavares, 2016: 70)

The author Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro focuses on the relationship between “federalism” and “historians”, asserting that federalist theories were especially encountered in Germany and Italy. (Tavares, 2016: 72) Among the most prominent federalists, she remembered Walter Lipgens, Wilfried Loth, Sergio Pistone, Ariane Landuyt and Daniele Pasquinucci of the University of Siena, Daniela Preda at the University of Genova, Piero S. Graglia (University of Milan) and Corrado Maandrino (University of Eastern Piedmont) (Apud Tavares, 2016: 73) Then the researcher Maria Manuela Tavares focuses on “the <<realistic>> discourse of the European integration”. (Tavares, 2016: 73) Amongst the “realists”, Tavares Ribeiro mentions professor Stanley Hoffmann from Harvard University, the British historian Alan Milward who focuses on the early years of European integration, the period 1945- 1951, the American political scientist Andrew Moravcsik, professor at Princeton University who made an excellent research starting more with the secondary sources, than with archival documents and who considers EU project, all in all, as a “success”. (Tavares, 2016: 75).

A special place is dedicated by the researcher Tavares Ribeiro to “the French school of international relations” (Tavares, 2016: 75) The author mentions Pierre Renouvin who wrote on the importance of “material forces” and “collective mentalities” in the process of European integration. (Apud Tavares, 2016: 75) Another great French historian of European integration quoted by the author is Jean- Baptiste Duroselle with two important works *L'idée d'Europe dans l'histoire (1965)* and *L'Europe. Histoire des peuples (1990)*. The author points out that in 1980 the history of European integration was written by specialists in international relations among whom he remembers Pierre Guillen, Raymond Poidevin, Pierre Mélandri and Maurice Vaisse. Other important authors in the field EU economic studies and European construction were: Gérard Bossuat (1992), Eric Bussière (1992) and Sylvain Schirmann (2000). Other writers from the field of European construction were Pierre Gerbet, Gérard Bossuat and Marie Thérèse Bitsch.

Later Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro focused on “the Europe of the historians of European integration” pointing out a university achievement of contemporary history teachers supported by European Commission who organized a great “colloquium” in Luxembourg which to encourage historians’ research of European integration issues. A trilingual journal, published in English, French, and German was published after this initiative.

In the end of her study, the opinion of the author is that European integration is not a “linear process”, but “It is an immensely rich and complex history filled with different ideas, times, spaces, actors and forms that have converged or clashed throughout the 20th and 21st centuries”. (Tavares, 2016: 81)

Professor George Contogeorgis, professor of Political Science at University Panteion Athens in the article *De la nature de la crise occidentale. Une crise de transition de la monarchie électorale au système représentatif* starts his research by approaching the concept of the actual crisis that is, in his opinion a crisis of transition towards a new phase. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 83) Contemporary times are, in the opinion of the author, characterized by the autonomy of the economy based on hard currencies and communication in front of states’ power and frontiers. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 83) But, as a paradox, even given be these circumstances, the state and society remain isolated. In economy and communication, technology acts like a vehicle, concludes the author. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 84)

The author focuses, then, on the topic economy and communication as parameters of cosmos of the planet, and stately emancipations. In the opinion of the author the trend to equilibrate the social and economic in the new Cosmo systemic world can not be made

in the ancient political system. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 86) The markets had become important components of the globalization process and the will of the society is almost absent in the new geopolitics. Contogeorgis thinks that this process of transition towards new forms of governance is a transition led by the occidental “avant – garde”. In this new geopolitical context Germany wants to dominate especially “economically” the new Europe and it is the attitude of other classic dominant European states to pose limits to German ascension. The author sees, in consequence, a rupture between society and economy when “economy passes somewhere in the future and the society rests enclosed in the framework of 18th century”. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 91) The conclusion of the author is that for achieving democracy, we have to pass to a transitory stage, namely the representation. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 92) It is necessary, in consequence, to pass to a representative political system. (Contogeorgis, 2016: 93) The people must evolve to a “society of citizens” that to become a partner of economic system in the equation of good governance and in order to achieve this is necessary “a conceptual revolution” where the general interest to be replaced by the common interest.

Professor Ion Zainea comes with the paper “Culture and Ideology in Romania during 1971-1972” underlying the fact that under communist times the literary and artistic creation was under the censorship. This means that all books and articles were closely supervised by General Directorate for Press and Publishing. The present study focuses on the years November 1971 and November 1972, all the newspapers of the country being analyzed with the exception of journals belonging to national minorities. (Zainea, 2016, 99) The author starts with the prose published in the newspapers, because several “epic, drama or aesthetic writings” were considered as debating negative practices of the 25 years of communist establishment, the author bringing several examples. Other incriminations were referring to “used allegory”” banishing “political meanings with negative implications regarding the life of our society”. (Zainea, 2016: 101) Another category of prose put under censorship was the one considered as having “a minor theme, insignificant for the tribulations of the current man” and the author offers illustrative examples. (Zainea, 2016: 101).

Another category analyzed is the poetry. Three quarters from the total number of poetries were placed in the category “without any connection with reality” and the author gives relevant examples in this sense. The conclusion of the present study is that two major ideas were mentioned by the Directorate analysis during November 1971- November 1972, one was that the newspapers should focus on “militant literature” and the second was that aesthetic principles of Marxism should be debated in the literature.

Antonio Faur in the article “Endeavors to Establish the <<Cele Trei Crișuri>> in Oradea and Aspects of its activity (1990- 2000)” underlines the efforts that were made after the Romanian Revolution to establish a cultural life in Bihor County and, in this sense, he notes the initiative of Professor Viorel Four to create “Cele trei Crisuri” Cultural Foundation in April 1990. More information about the foundation and its activities revealed in local press was revealed in the volume dedicated to Professor Viorel Faur at his 65 years anniversaries. (Faur, 2016: 112) Later on, Antonio Faur focuses on the editorial activity of the foundation. After the Revolution, there were re-edited the numbers from April 1920 to August 1940 of the magazine “Cele trei Crișuri”. Antonio Faur mentions chronologically the books edited by the foundation between the years 1992- 1995. Historians from Oradea and Cluj – Napoca published several under the auspices of this foundation.

Alina Stoica published in the present volume the article “Culture and power in European Space”. The author focuses at first on the idea of “culture, religion and the idea

of European unity”, emphasizing the first beginnings of the delineations between Asian continent and Europe. The Greek and the Roman Empires are the first examples of unification by conquest of old and new territories. The author focuses on the opposition between “Roman civilization” and the “barbarian” world that dominated the ancient world. (Stoica, 2016: 124). For comparison, Alina Stoica quotes a member of Romanian Academy, N. Bagdasar that regretted the lack of his contemporans to search for European idea in history and to approach the European past as such, otherwise this error could lead to misinterpreting European past. (Stoica, 2016: 125) Alina Stoica, then, tries to answer to the simple question “What Christianity meant for European culture?” and her answer comes as simple as that, telling in fact all “Her very existence” (Apud Stoica, 2016: 126) Last but not least, Alina Stoica focuses on “European educational policies” that are today structured around the concept of “democratic citizenship” and “social cohesion”. The idea of cultural networks, that are in the service of European Union interest and that targeted States, regions and most of all, people, will make easier the target of European Integration, is the conclusion of this study.

Gabriel Moisa, in the work *Between Democracy and Totalitarianism. The case of Patriotic Union from Bihor County (1945- 1947)*, underlines the importance of Patriots’ Union in the fight for political ascension. The Union of Patriots joined the platform National Democratic Front supporting the Government of Petru Groza where it was represented by five ministers. Then, the author focuses on the activity of Patriots Union from Oradea, the organization being created on October 20th, 1944. (Moisa, 2016: 137) Gabriel Moisa gave informations about Union organization in Oradea, about its propaganda in press, after different political events revealed by the documents found in the local Archives. The conclusion of the author is that the trend was to eliminate all those that were not ethnic Romanians from the Union. (Moisa, 2016: 139)

Mihai D. Drecin in the article *Nicolae Iorga and Oradea* makes the portrait of the historian Nicolae Iorga underlying his relationship with the people of culture from Oradea. He makes several visits to Oradea and, second time, in 1938 in front of the audience of the Western Theatre he hold a conference, “For the defense of Western boundary” (Drecin, 2016: 149). The study is a pledoary for the idea of Romanianism, idea so dear to the historian Nicolae Iorga, pleading for the autochthony of Romanian people at the North of Danube. Last but not least the paper focuses on “the ideas and calls of the conference from 1938, marked by the situation political of the time, are in concordance with the political realities of our times, the historian Mihai Drecin transmitting us his fears regarding the future of Romanians.

Professor Nicolae Păun in the paper “Sur l’économie et les politiques industrielles de Roumanie dans l’entre-deux-guerres”. The author underlines the potential for development of Romanian provinces existent in Romania after the First World War. Slowly, the economic evolution of the state change from the condition of an agrarian state with conservative nuances to industrial state. (Păun, 2016: 176)

Ludmila Roșca in the article “University Mission in the Knowledge Society” analyzes the concept of university and its socio-cultural model in the vision of modern philosophy approaching the writings of K. Jaspers, G. F. Kneller, E. Durkheim, James J. Duderstadt, K. J. Dougherty, R. Deem, etc. It is necessary, for contemporary integrative processes, a transition for less developed economies from outside EU or perhaps placed in its periphery, a passage from the traditional economy to our based on knowledge and this passage requires the integration of the paradigm of competitiveness, suggests the author. (Roșca, 2016: 197)

In the article of Gábor Kozma and Klára Czimre, entitled “*Effects of the Natural Environmental Components on Sports*”, the authors debate the bilateral relation between relief and climate on one hand, and sports on the other hand. (Kozma&Czimre, 2016: 208)

Mariana Buda in the article “*The Valencian Linguistic Conflict: Dialect or Regional Language? Instrument or Argument for the Catalans independence?*” shows that the dilemma between Catalan language and Valencia language spoken in Valencia, more and more people speak and write the Valencian in the detriment of its actual use. (Buda, 2016: 221)

The second part of the volume has the name “*European Borders and Integration Process*”. It starts with the article of Isabel Maria Freitas Valente entitled “*The Portuguese Outermost Regions and the 30th Anniversary of Portugal’s Accession to the European Communities*”. Although the term “region” was not very encountered in international relations of the years 1950 and the concept of centralized state was more prominent, nowadays the region seems to have become an “entity with political power”. (Freitas Valente, 2016: 225) As in the years 1980, Spain and Portugal gain access to European Community, some of their outermost regions gained important access in Atlantic and the author mentions here Autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira and the Autonomous Community of the Canary Islands.

Melania – Gabriela Ciot in the article “*Brexit Case – from Individual Idiosyncrasies to a Collective Answer*” the author expresses her opinion that more and more the élites from Europe have to bring their contribution to the actual process of European integration. (Ciot, 2016: 245) Then, the author focuses on the problem of British contribution to the European Integration Project. Last but not least, the present study focuses on the cognitive approach of the process of decision- making and their cognitive map and idiosyncrasies.

Mirela Mărcuț in the article “*EU and Cyberspace – a Plea for the Fifth Freedom of Movement*” starts by an introduction talking about the evolution of European integration process and of single market, and, in the same time, the ascension of digital market. (Mărcuț, 2016: 266) Other subjects approached were the evolution of cyberspace of European Union, features of the Digital Single Market, and, last but not least, making a pledoary for the freedom of movement of information.

Ana Maria Costea (Ghimiș) in the article “*Beyond the Minimum Common Denominator between the EU and Russia. Study Case: Ukraine*”, points out that the concept of “rationality” generates predictability concerning the case of Ukrainian crises and the attitudes towards it of EU and Russia. The author uses in its equations the next variables “geographical characteristic”, “historic relationship” and “the characteristic of the regional dynamics – crisis or peace”. (Costea (Ghimiș), 2016: 283) Then, the author focuses on the concept of rationality. These crises are a pressure for the European unity, concludes the author.

Constantin–Vasile Țoca and Bogdan Pocola wrote the article “*Leadership debate in the United Kingdom as a Result of the Brexit Vote*”. The authors point out that during the first beginnings of membership into EU but also 2016, the EU population was perceived as <<Euroseptic>>. (Țoca & Pocola, 2016: 295) The main parties in great Britain, at the elections of 2010 and 2015, were the the conservative party and labour party were the most dominant on the political scene. The debates between the two parties continued after the demise of David Cameroon, after the failure of <<remain>> campaign of UK in the Union. (Țoca & Pocola, 2016: 301).

Professor Istvan Suli-Zakar brings his contribution to the present volume with his article “*The Social–Economic Reasons of the Hungarian Peripheral Regions’ Formation*”.

The author points out that the origin of regional development dates back in the years 1960 because the rural regions were lagging behind the process of integration. (Suli-Zakar, 1996: 305) This regional development has in mind develops in the sense of evolving economic, cultural and living standard in the regional areal. The difference between the capital and its surroundings became more and more visible in Hungary. Professor Istvan Suli Zakar points out the communist forces from the time of Rakosi and Kadar when the solution for improving the economy of peripheral regions was considered the industrialization. (Suli- Zakar, 2016: 307) The opinion of the author is that “the future development significantly depends on the state, imitativeness and innovation – sensitiveness of the local society”. (Suli- Zakar, 2016: 309) The solution of regional development appears as a must in order to eliminate the poverty from the peripheries.

Professor Anatoliy Kruglashov in the paper “Ukraine – Romania Dialogue: Moving ahead from Distrust and Suspicions” emphasize the necessity of maintaining fruitful relations between Romania and Ukraine. Relationships of collaboration between the two countries are existent for ages. The taking over by the Soviets of Bessarabia and Bucovina are imprinted, unfortunately, in the Romanian memory. Romanians regard with fear their Ukrainian neighbors. (Kruglashov, 2016: 322) Concerning the Russian increasing interest in Ukraine, Ukraine must choose between integration into EU and cooperation with Russia. Rapprochement of Romanian interests to European Union is hardening the actual bilateral equation.

Radu Românașu, in the article “Intellectual Elites, European Spirit and Interethnic Cultural Collaboration on the Western Border of Interwar Romania. Case Study: The Main Editorial Concerns of the Great Cultural Reunion <<The Three Crișuri>>” in Oradea, emphasizes that *The Reunion <<Cele trei Crișuri>>* was founded in 1919, in Oradea. The activities of the *Reunion* had in view to print magazines and books by the leading personalities of the cultural life. The manager George Bacaloglu turned the review in an elitist publication. Each number was based on a specific topic supported by articles signed by prominent writers from across the country. (Românașu, 2016: 335) It was world-wide known magazine, in Europe and on American continent.

Luminița Șoproni in the article “European Integration and the New Frontiers of Europe” focuses on the concept of region as <<a growth nucleus>> and in the regional process, states the author, nation-state still plays an important role. (Șoproni, 2016: 347) In the opinion of the author European Union, “as a major regional bloc, with a well-built and clear external trading policy that integrates and sustains intra- Community economic policies.”

Mircea Brie in the article „Identity as Frontiers in Central and Eastern Europe. The case of the Republic of Moldova” brings up the concepts of *identities, borders, group community, frontier* applied in the areal of Central and Eastern Europe with a focus on the space of the Republic of Moldova. The author concludes that the Republic of Moldova is affected by Transnistrian crisis that hinders somehow Moldovan identity. (Brie, 2016: 375) Geopolitics of international relations, zones of influences of dominant powers of the region bring their influence on local identities that are subjected to a continuous oriented practice of change. Sometimes it intervenes potential obstacles between the given identity (identity by birth) and outside identity influences, namely ideological frontiers.

Part three of the volume has the title *Security and Cooperation in the Europe*. It starts with the article of Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, entitled “Les Relations Dipomatiques et Consulaires comme Partie des Relations Internationales”. (Bărbulescu, 2016: 385) The author points out that consulates are usually more familiar to tourists than the embassies which are rarely arriving in contact with the most tourists. The honored

consulates have even less attributions being, in fact “de missions officielles d’un Etat dans un autre Etat, mais plutôt l’expression de la bienveillance privée et ou de l’intérêt de promouvoir l’image d’un Etat dans une autre Etat, sans pour autant répondre aux exigences spécifiques d’une mission diplomatique officielle.” (Bărbulescu, 2016: 392)

Ruxandra Emanuela Nuț and Adrian Liviu Ivan come up with the paper “Sami National and International Representation” mention the Saami minority group from Norway, Sweden and Finland which passed through a process of Norvegionalization, constituting themselves in national and international organization, (Nuț&Ivan, 2016: 400)

Adrian- Gabriel Corpădean, in the study “The Securitate/ Security – a Scourge against Romania’s European Intellectual Message” writes on the actions of Romanian Securitate against intellectuals and population from Romania. After the Revolution of 1989, the Security turned into a target, as a contested structure, hated by the population.

Dacian Duna, in the article “Normative Power Faces Great Power Politics. The European Union, Russia, and the Ukrainian crisis”, mentions the present-day challenges of the European Union such as the Ukrainian crisis, Brexit and the elections from United States. These had shown the limits of European governance in the region, the existing conflict between ideologies and the necessity that EU to have the capacity to settle its disputes. (Duna, 2016: 439)

George Angheloiu in the article “Complex Impact of Insecurity on Business” writes that the contemporary epoch was characterized by globalization of terrorism and organized crime. The Islamic terrorism has as target the “Infidel” Western society, is the opinion of the author. (Angheloiu, 2016: 458)

Edina Lilla Meszaros, in the article “The Historical Analysis of the Development of the Area of free Movement in Europe: from the Emergence of the Iron Curtain to Schengen”, mentions the free liberty of persons mentioned by European treaties such as the Treaty of Rome. This liberty was, in the first instance, a liberty for people working or studying in another country of the European Union. (Meszaros, 2016: 473)

Anca Oltean, in the article “The creation of the League of Nations” focuses her work on the following coordinates: “the consequences of the ending of the First World War”, “Woodrow Wilson and its role in the creation of the League of Nations”, “The treaty of peace from Paris. Reglementations and significations”, “The failure of the ratification of the Treaty from Versailles by USA”. (Oltean, 2016: 477-487)

Constantin Vasile Țoca, Eduard Ionuț Feier, Alexandra Radu, in the article “The impact of Romania – Hungary Cross Border Cooperation Programme 2007- 2013 on Bihar – Hajdu Bihar Counties”, state that the purpose of their analysis is to see the impact of Romanian – Hungarian territorial operational program that developed between the years 2007- 2013 and its implementation in Bihar- Hajdu Bihar Euroregion (see counties). (Țoca, Feier & Radu, 2016:501)

Vasile Cucerescu, in the article “EU Cross- Border Cooperation: Knowledge Alliances and Schools”, mention that their actual subject of research are the cross-border cooperation involving different institutions, centers of action, think- tanks, different association, useful networks, sources of further research and information such books, journals, funds, financed programs of the field. (Cucerescu, 2016: 522)

Polgar Istvan, in the article “Building the Borderless Europe. A historical overview of the Romanian and Hungarian Cross- Border Cooperation”, presents the obstacles and impediments of European integration with a focus on Central and Eastern Europe and regional development that harmonizes disparities between the regions in European Union.

Florentina Chirodea, in the article “The Role of Cross- Border Cooperation in the Creation of European Cultural Networks. The Hungary- Slovakia- Romania- Ukraine ENPI CBC Programme (2017- 2013)” focuses on the topic of cultural cooperation in Europe, having a long tradition and being influenced by the creation of European politic and economic community after the Second World War. The new means of communication influence the entire process.

Cosmin Chiriac in the article “Spatial Analyses and Representations in the field of International Relations. A brief overview” defines spatial analyses as “something that students in this field (n.n. See International Relations) are not really aware of so, in this paper, we’ll try to address this problem by discussing the territoriality of IR, by explaining the essentials of spatial analysis and by looking at the scientific literature of IR and Political Science that already employs such techniques”(Chiriac, 2016: 570)

Last, but not least, Cristina Maria Dogot, in the article “The beginnings of the EU in the Western Balkans: A Milestone of its International Role” mentions the concept of EU foreign policy that evolved with difficulty, but in spite of all this, EU became an international actor used to act for <<peacekeeping>>. (Dogot, 2016: 582)

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FROM PHYSICAL TO VIRTUAL AND BACK

*Cosmin CHIRIAC**

Review of: *Mirela Mărcuț – The Socioeconomic Evolution of the European Union. Exploring the Electronic Frontier*, Springer International Publishing, 2016

In many parts of the world, the society of today has moved into an era that includes Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), along with its benefits and drawbacks, into our everyday lives. This is no longer a history waiting to happen. Part of it is already behind us, and the effects of these technologies are already visible. The academic world of the social sciences has already given significant attention to how technology shapes society, and the book of Mirela Mărcuț adds valuable insights into the effects it has on the evolution on existing and new frontiers.



The foreword to the book is signed by Ph.D. Ioan Horga, who led the research of the author through the doctoral stages.

The subject of that research is the basis for the current book, in which three topics that are of great interest in today's world, frontiers, the European Union, and socioeconomic evolution are put together with the desire to provide insights on the influences of the internet on our lives.

The introduction to the book, materialized in the preface, brings a few conceptual clarifications to some of the keywords that are essential to the research presented here, and justifies the choice of the geographical space that is used as a case study, the European Union (EU), a territory that has gone to great efforts in order to change its internal borders from lines of separation into spaces of congruence. Though the main topic is the electronic frontier, the research does not break away from the implications that the physical world bring to this matter, and as the author will show later on, the influences between the physical and the virtual world are mutual.

Another term that is essential to the study is the *Internet*, which normally carries with it two essential elements that make communication possible between any numbers of terminals: the hardware and the software. Here, its meaning is stripped of all the technical background, thus focusing on the activities that are possible within this infrastructure and making it, more or less, a synonym to expressions such as “the virtual world”, “the digital world” or the “online environment”. One other conceptual clarification refers to the *electronic frontier*, which extends the research on the influences of information technology to dimensions that are out of the reach for terms such as the *digital divide*.

The book is divided into four chapters, with a very clearly designed path of research. The chapters can be grouped, two by two, the first group providing the background for the last two. The first chapter provides the necessary theoretical input for

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the definition of the electronic frontier, while the second one prepares the ground for the presentation of specific electronic frontiers in the European Union.

As stated previously, the basis of the theoretical frame of the research is built in the first chapter, in which clarifications are put forward and links are highlighted regarding the keywords of the research, discussed in the context of globalization and technological evolution, as the titles of the first four subchapters clearly suggest. Their key elements are: frontiers, borders and the network society.

The effects of globalisation are looked at from two perspectives within the initial stages of the first chapter. Firstly, the effects on society, in general, are taken into consideration, the benefits and the disadvantages dividing researchers into proponents and opponents of globalisation, both of them acknowledged here. Secondly, the effects on the shape of the international structure are taken into consideration: state borders are subject to different levels of permeability, some arguing for their irrelevance in the current global context, as the author suggests (p. 3); others do not consider the borders at all, taking a sociological look at the world, in the shape of a network society, one that finds a territorial equivalent in the network of localities, which shape the distribution of population on the globe.

Further, the causes that brought new meaning to *frontiers* are discussed, differentiating them from *borders*, the former being more inclusive, however, not entirely devoid of the original meaning of a separation line, while the latter being exclusive and limitative. Through the openness that *frontiers* carry within their meaning, they are defined as “social processes”, being analysed in this manner, in some instances, further on.

Though the international structure is based on states, the socioeconomic world of today works in *networks of flows* and *spaces of flow*, and ICT provides the means of connection as it is outlined in the subchapter 1.3.

The first chapter circles around the concepts of frontiers and network society in order to get a grasp of what the electronic frontier is. The changes that affect our world, are reflected in the way it functions, and the way it functions is “reflected on frontiers” (p. 14). But it also creates frontiers that are only apparent from certain perspectives. In an effort to highlight the *theoretical foundation of the research*, but also to make the link to the next chapter, a first look is thrown at the initiatives that the European Union is taking in order to “develop [the] digital economy and to reduce digital disparities” (p. 17).

The European Union, due to its long experience in shaping and reshaping its territorial frontiers, through enlargements and by crossing new grounds of cooperation through integration efforts, is a very good choice for a case study. The second chapter leads us from a divided Europe, in the times that followed the 2nd world war, to the EU of today, one integrated on many levels, culminating with the *Socioeconomic Frontiers in the Lisbon Treaty*. Socioeconomic and territorial cohesion are the objectives that drive the Union from a *common market*, a term that outlines the existence of multiple markets, also implying the existence of state frontiers, towards an *internal market*, in which state frontiers become irrelevant. Another step towards the identification of electronic frontiers within the EU is the place of the digital economy within the internal market.

The theoretical ground for the analysis of the socioeconomic evolution of the EU, as it is influenced by the virtual world, is presented in detail in the third chapter. The electronic frontier is seen as a barrier, bridge, resource or symbol of identity, following O’Dowd’s logic¹, and all these perspectives are explained herein. Thus, as a barrier, the

¹ Liam O’Dowd, ‘The Changing Significance of European Borders’, *Regional & Federal Studies*, 12.4 (2002), 13–36.

electronic frontier is considered to manifest itself through access and usage limitations as well as through lack of skills, as “the frontier is in a constant interdependence with the territory” (p. 43-44), i.e. the physical world and its constraints (economic, infrastructural, educational, or legal, amongst others). The electronic frontier as a bridge, link, or connection is manifested from the network society perspective, the links or connections between the nodes that make it up being the frontiers in such a configuration. They are also seen as a resource as they offer the possibility for cooperation or for expansion, being at the same time economic, development and security resources. And lastly, the electronic frontiers can be seen as symbols of identity. The author finds criticism in the the speciality literature regarding the online communities and the very specific and limited way in which they connect (p. 58). Even though thorough attention is given to this perspective, it is not discussed separately in the fourth chapter of the book, where the electronic frontiers within the EU are discussed.

The fourth chapter puts the puzzle together. It begins with the evolution of ICT in the EU and how it shaped the electronic frontiers in the socioeconomic context. It does so, by looking at EU documents, such as bulletins and strategies, starting with the 80’s until the present day. They show that the Internet was, almost from its emergence, a part of the plans for the development of the EU. These documents show that, gradually, the importance of the ICT was growing. The emergence of an Information society was emphasized from the beginning, taking note of possible adverse effects and different social aspects. Further, they are acknowledged as an economic resource, becoming an important part of the future development of the EU, as the proposal for a single European information space shows. The importance of ICT is pushed forward by promoting investments and innovation. At the same time, the electronic frontiers are pushed forward more and more, ICT taking center stage as an important element in the economic evolution of the EU.

Further, three of the four perspectives mentioned before are analysed in separate subchapters: the barrier, axis or link and the resource perspectives.

The electronic frontier is “drawn”, at first, as a barrier between the real and the digital space, through figures of its diffusion in the EU as infrastructure in both the urban and rural environments, but also as population access to performant ICT infrastructure. Secondly, it is “drawn” as a barrier within the digital space. Figures considered significant from this point of view are those showing the percentage of persons never having used the internet, which will inevitably decrease over time, but also through indicators showing the diffusion of digital skills within the EU.

As axis or link, the electronic frontier within the EU is analysed through digital inclusion aspects. Societal aspects became important, and digital inclusion was pushed forward by different campaigns, promoting the usage of the internet and the development of digital skills where they are lacking. From this point of view, Member State efforts are considered essential and examples from a few member states are presented to support this. The link perspective is also shown by the emergence of movements that begin online and bring communities together, making a mark in the physical world. An example is the *Los indignados* movements in Spain. The creation of communities by economic agents is another example of the electronic frontier as a link.

As an economic resource, one important element is the creation of the Digital Single Market. Five strategic priorities are identified as key elements in transforming this electronic frontier from a barrier into a resource, priorities that include aspects regarding the development of the infrastructure, clarification of legal aspects and others in order to

facilitate the creation of the Digital Single Market, showing that the efforts must come from both the EU and the Member States. There is a clear positive evolution in this sense, more and more persons purchasing goods and services online, both from internal and external markets. Electronic frontiers are found also within the economic sector, one of them being geographic discrimination. One of the answers to these kind barriers lie in cross-border cooperation in the online environment. Further, another way of pushing the electronic frontier as an economic resource is identified in the promotion of a proper attitude towards copyrighted goods, as the internet became an important facilitator of piracy. Though there is a positive trend in this regard, indicators show that there is still a long way to go. Significant attention is given to different efforts in promoting digital competitiveness, pushed forward through Research and Development initiatives and through education programmes such as the Erasmus+ program.

The conclusions reiterate the essential elements of the electronic frontiers presented previously. In an effort to define the electronic frontier, the author takes the theories related to the different perspectives on frontiers, grounded in the physical world, and introduces them to the virtual world, adjusting their meaning to it, as the “electronic frontier shapes society and economy, but it is also shaped by them” (p. 51). What comes out of this is that the electronic frontiers are not a thing of their own. They are not defined simply but what happens inside of the “Internet”, in the sense given to it by the author. They are defined by the international state structure, by social and economic realities but, at the same time, returning the effects.

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Transylvania: Cradle of Culture

*Edina Lilla MÉSZÁROS**

Review of: Pop, Ioan Aurel. *Transylvania. Starea Noastră de Veghe* [*Transylvania. Our State of Wakefulness*]. Cluj Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016, 298p.

This current work is another masterpiece of the famous historian, academician and writer, Professor Ioan Aurel Pop in the sequel of books written about Transylvania.

Mr. Ioan Aurel Pop understands by Transylvania not only a historical province, a Romanian region, but a symphonic word pleasing to the ear and a place interweaved of archaic and mysterious flavour, the study of which he can never grow tired of. For the author, Transylvania is a miraculous place, where the Eastern Romano-Byzantine and Slavic civilizations intertwine with the Western Latin and Protestant ones, also enabling the congenial coexistence of the traditional rural and the modern individualist urban spaces. Leafing through the pages of this book, we find out that since the early times this wealthy region has represented the bone of contention for many transiting nations, which have imposed a succession of various types of dominance putting their imprint on the province, turning it into a multicultural and multi-ethnic mosaic (Brie, Mészáros, 2015, p. 179) land. In historiographic terms, Transylvania is a region of high sensitivity, disputed by various ethnicities, each with their own historical claims and soreness, lamenting whether their secular fate of subdued subjects or the nostalgia of the glorious bygone times. In the author's view, guaranteeing the perpetuation of the personality of the region, of its historical dowry and of its traditional values is the precondition for the enhancement of its diversity, thus within these lines he commits himself to undertake an analysis as genuine as possible, based on objective facts mingled with inner feelings, impressions, beliefs and dreams.

Looking at the structure of the book, the author with the help of an imaginary time machine takes us back in time, briefly introducing to the laity this *wonderland* called Transylvania, emphasizing on the multitude of the prevailing apprehensions about it living in peoples' minds, being associated by some with the home of Dracula, as a result of the colourful imagination of the Irish novelist Bram Stoker, or with a land detached of stories with a well conserved natural habitat, as promoted in the descriptions of Charles, the prince of Wales. The distinguished author makes a succinct conceptual and historical assessment of the region in question, revealing to the reader the etymology of the word Transylvania (first mentioned in documents as Ultrasilvana), which contrary to many misperceptions does not date back to the antiquity, but to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, meaning a territory situated "beyond the forest". This multicultural/multi-ethnic land, today home to circa 7 million people of which 75% are ethnic Romanian, 18% Hungarian



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(plus others, Roma, Slavic, German etc.) bears the historical mark of several peoples, starting with the Daco-Getae, Romans, Slavs, Romanians, Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons, and boosts with a dithered past, its formation being totally different than that of other European regions. Transylvania is a region of cultural and spiritual interferences, cosmopolite as architectonic appearance in the modern era, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional since the most distant times of the Middle ages, one of its kind in Europe, where not just the Byzantine (Eastern) and Latin (Western) civilizations, but also the monuments in Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance style exist side by side with those constructed in Baroque or Art Nouveau spirit. Apart from minor rivalries and disputes between these two civilizations, their coexistence was relatively peaceful, transforming Transylvania into a land of *tolerance*, where this concept meant different things for different people, within the society sometimes manifesting in antagonistic forms, such as acceptance/rejection, inclusion/exclusion, equalization/segregation, conferring to the region in discussion a *sui generis* character. Romanians being at the verge of distinct cultural and religious areas, situated and formed between the two civilizations, the Latin West and the Byzantine East, becomes the leitmotiv of the book, appearing many times during the study, emphasizing the specific character of Romanians, as a frontier nation.

As indicated before, in the introductive parts of the book, the author leads us through major events from the history of the Romanian people, starting the journey with a short assessment of the formation of the Romanian nation, highlighting the role played by Decebal, the Daco-Getae leader who gave proof of a courageous heart (Grumeza, 2009, p. 52) when fighting the Roman emperor, Traian, whose legions were superior in every aspect to Decebal's troops. In the ethno genesis of the Romanian people the Romanic conquest was of a major importance, as the Romanian nation was born as a consequence of the blending between the Daco-Getaes and the Roman conquerors, completed by the influence of the Slavic tribes arrived in the region after the 5th century AD. In the early Middle Ages, Transylvania was under the impact of the raids (Csikszentsimoni, 1935, pp. 16-17) of the Hungarians (Magyars), a nomadic tribe from Asia, which later under the rule of Stephen I, established a powerful Christian kingdom (Jancsó, 1931, pp. 32-33), continuously expanding its frontiers, mostly in its Eastern vicinity, thus conquering and annexing the territory "beyond the forest" (*trans silvam*). In order to consolidate their power and to better exploit the richness of the territory, the Hungarian kings decided to settle and colonise various foreign populations (Pop, 1997, pp. 155-158), in this manner contributing to the formation of a new ethnic/religious structure in the province, which had set the Transylvanian demographic landscape for the upcoming centuries. During this period, the Romanians, in spite of their numerical superiority, were labelled as *second class citizens*, sentenced to live a more isolated and modest life compared to that of the three privileged nations (Kürti, 2001, p. 14): the Hungarians, Szeklers and the Saxons. The life of the Romanian people from this time till gaining independence and unification, subscribes within a continuous strife for emancipation and liberation, and getting rid of the centuries old imposed subdued imprint. The preminent scholar renders special attention to the deciphering of the Romanian-Hungarian relations, emphasizing on their highly controversial and constantly changing nature, varying from conflicts, selfish attitudes and hatred, to conciliation, generous openings towards each other and acceptance. As disclosed by the author, the first written attestation of the contacts between these two nations was made by an anonymous chronicler of the Hungarian king, Bela III, in his work *Gesta Hungarorum* (The Deeds of the Hungarians) in the 11th century, also making reference to the Hungarian troops transiting a region "beyond the

forest” *ultra silvam*, abounding of richness, boasting with cultivated fields, salt and gold, inhabited by a people of a Slavic and Romanian origin. As highlighted by professor Pop, nowadays the bellicose historical clichés seem to fade away and the extremist manifestations from both sides are being silenced by the voice of reason, leading towards the humanisation of the bilateral relations. Besides the Hungarian impact, the Romanians from Transylvania were also greatly influenced by the Germanic people and the German models, brought in already in the Middle Ages by the Saxons colonised in the region by the Hungarian kings, and later by the Habsburgs, who have conquered Transylvania at the end of the 17th century and imposed a novel but rigorous administrative system.

Following the succinct historical initiation, in the upcoming parts of the work, the scholar extracts certain episodes from the pages of history with a major importance in the formation of the Romanian nation and culture in Transylvania, undertaking a more thorough analysis of these moments. Within these episodes, the historian commences the inquiry with an assessment of the Transylvanian School (*Școala Ardeleană*) from the period of the Enlightenment. The Transylvanian School was an enlightened cultural stream and a socio-politic emancipation movement affirming mostly from the second half of the 18th till the first half of the 19th century. The representatives of the Transylvanian School brought arguments in order to prove the Roman descent (Jancsó, pp. 361-362) of the Romanian people from Transylvania, and also contributed to the spiritual and political empowerment of the Romanian people subjugated over the centuries. This emancipation was also fostered by the passing of the territory under the suzerainty of the Habsburg dynasty, of which leaders, starting with Maria Theresa and Joseph II, through various reforms created propitious conditions for the affirmation of the Romanian nation.

Within this book the renowned historian pays a special tribute to Dimitrie Cantemir, labelled as the *second Romanian creator on continental scale* (after Nicolaus Olahus), who played a major role in enrolling Transylvania in the European cultural and scientific bloodstream of that era, having the famous German scholar, Leibniz not only as his colleague at the Berlin Academy, but also as his fellow of shared ideas. The personality of Cantemir is of an outermost importance in the Romanian historiography, as he was the first scholar who revealed to Europe the historical, cultural, ethnographic and geographic particularities of his country and of his people, by making a scientific study in Latin and in Vernacular languages.

Professor Pop makes a brief review of another event of great significance from the past, the Great Unification from 1918, which had contributed to the fulfilment of the centuries old craving of the people: to live as one nation within a state of their own, a yearning which had become true after the First World War, under the principle of self-determination promoted by the liberal internationalist (Steans, 2010, pp. 33-34) spirit emerged in the interwar period. Professor Pop perceives the Great Unification from 1918 as the topmost act of national deed ever accomplished by the Romanian people. Moreover, the notable author makes an assessment of the contribution of the Transylvanians in the creation of the Romanian Academy, “symbol of national spirituality, forum of recognition, space of fundamental research”¹ emphasizing various prestigious institutions from Transylvania, like ASTRA (Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian people) created in 1861 at Sibiu. The idea of creating the Literary Society, the predecessor of the Romanian Academy in 1866 in Bucharest was received with enthusiasm by the prominent Romanian intellectuals of that era from Transylvania, among which we number Iosif Vulcan,

¹ Official site of the Romanian Academy, <http://www.acad.ro/def2002eng.htm>, accessed 12 May, 2016.

founder of the famous journal, *Familia*, Timotei Cipariu, Gavril Munteanu, George Barițiu, Iosif Hodoș, Alexandru Roman etc.

Altogether, within this masterfully written book Professor Pop presents to us a Transylvania not only through historical or academic lens, but also through the imaginary vision of a reader and promoter of good literature with refined taste, as he is reminiscent of the remarkable Romanian poet, Mihai Eminescu, whose poems encompass a reconstituted and idealist version of the Romanian Middle Ages, sprinkled with a romantic flavour.

The notable historian finally postulates that the paramount of the Transylvanian tradition is a result of the legacy and life experience of all the people who have lived in this territory from ancient times until today. As revealed by him, in the past centuries Transylvania and its inhabitants formed part of different states, going through World Wars, totalitarian regimes, revolutions, but despite some confrontations they had always managed living together in relative peace and harmony. All these changes have constituted and consolidated an ethos in which dialogue and respect for alterity are essential, thus, it may be concluded that Transylvania is an oasis of multiculturalism and multi ethnicity, coexisting here since hundreds of years people with different nationalities and religious adherence starting with Jews, Orthodox, Roman-Catholics, Greek-Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Unitarians, Baptists, Pentecostals etc.

As highlighted in the title Transylvania is cradle of culture for both Romanians and Hungarians (and to all major historical minorities), and moreover a genuine multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional role model for other regions of Europe and the world, and in the future it must continue to work in order to fructify the tradition of tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

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