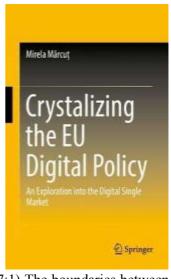


# EVOLUTIONARY PATHS FOR THE EUROPEAN DIGITAL POLICY

Anca OLTEAN\*

**Review of:** Mirela Mărcuţ, *Crystalizing the EU Digital Policy. An exploration into the Digital Single Market*, Springer International Publishing AG, 2017, ISBN 978-3-319-69226-5, ISBN 978-3-319-69227-2 (eBook).

The book Crystalizing the EU Digital Policy. An exploration into the Digital Single Market<sup>1</sup> intends to be an introspection of the European digital space (market) in the context of European Single Market. The idea of digital space is very important since 79% of Europeans are regular Internet users underlines the author. In order to reach a comprehensive evaluation of the evolution of European digital single market, Mirela Mărcuț conducted her research at Jacques Delors Archives with the support of Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe in Lausanne. There is still a long way to catch, is the opinion of the author, in order to reach the optimal technological potential of the European Union. Her study has also a socio-economic approach of the policies pursued by EU with reference to the field of digital market. Ultimately, author focuses the "transformative quality" of ICTs sector upon the society in



overall generating a "tranformative revolution" (Mărcuţ, 2017:1) The boundaries between digital and real are, this way, bypassed, infers the author.

The evolution of ICT was favourized by globalization and liberalism (Mărcuţ, 2017:3) There is also an alternative of globalization and this is regionalism that is an alternative but it does not oppose to globalization, points out the author. (Mărcuţ, 2017: 3) Because of the digitization processes, new forms of cooperation were pursued across the European Union. Welfare state is the form of governance undertook by European social model. This European social model develops fast, hand in hand with ICT sector and with the new technologies. (Apud Mărcuţ, 2017: 10) Digitization leads to Big Data storage of information as a component of knowledge and information economy. (Ibidem).

The author sees EU as a regional integration project hindered only by social-economic barriers and inequalities. (Apud Mărcuţ, 2017: 11). The author remarks the similar evolution of the digital space and digital single market whose origins are to be found in the European Economic Community. (CEE) During Delors tenure of European Commission (starting with 1985), the concepts of single market and digital single market

<sup>\*</sup> Research assistant PhD, Institute of Euroregional Studies, University of Oradea. E-mail: olteananca@hotmail.com

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mirela Mărcuț, *Crystalizing the EU Digital Policy*. *An exploration into the Digital Single Market*, Springer International Publishing AG, 2017, ISBN 978-3-319-69226-5, ISBN 978-3-319-69227-2 (eBook).

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evolved constantly. At that time, it was a "feudal Europe" dominated by "lethargy", "eurosclerosis" and "europessimism". (Mărcut, 2017: 15) This Europe was lacking political will. The unemployment was the most prominent problem of the community. One of the aspirations of the community was the its technological transformation. This would have prevented the economic decay of the community. The acceleration of the innovation in reasearch was a must. One of the ideas pursued by Jacques Delors underlined by the author was the removal of existent barriers that would strenghten cooperation in technology sector. (Mărcuț, 2017: 19-20) Also in the domain of technological transformation was necessary to have a European approach, and not a merely national one. However, Delors encourages local innitiative in development of the communities. (Ibidem). Research and development fields were for the first time pointed out by Single European Act (1986), asserts Mirela Mărcut. The Council of the European Union and the European Union play a vital role in the development of the Union. The Council decides the budget and the direction of the variety of policies pursued by the Union. In the same time the author quotes Delors who underlined the liaison between collaboration and cohesion of the member states: "collaboration in itself has a positive effect on cohesion" (Commission of the European Communities 1992). Other aspects underlined by the author as a priority of European communities is communication of the users that need standardized systems of communication and trans-European services networks that would unite the people of the communities and would accelerate the integration. Delors' Commission, concludes Mirela Mărcut, focuses on integrationism of economic and monetary politics of the CE (UE) overshadowing, thus, a little bit, the prioritization of information society. (Apud Mărcuț, 2017: 30)

The origins of research and technological development of the Union are layed down in Single European Act (1986) and reinterated in the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht, 1992). However the term "information society" was introduced by Delors' White Paper (1993), information society relying on "innovation", new information and communication technologies that were expected to influence the future forms of economic and social organization and integration. The private sector plays an important role in the promotion of "information society". The author encourages us to make a distinction between common information area and "information society". The amount of digitalized information increases and so as the number of Internet users, it is obvious that a revolution is about to follow in this area. Private investment is seen as a driving force also in the process of expansion of information and tehnology sectors. The digital divide of the "information society" at the level of European Union is defined by access or no access to technology, but also to the quality of the devices. In the information society, people are expected to be able to cope with the ongoing changes of information technology. (Apud Mărcut, 2017: 40) There is also a divide in terms of skills of the Internet users.

Reffering to digital single market, Mirela Mărcuţ emphasizes the fifth freedem of the Union, "the freedom of movement of knowledge". The author remarks the fragmentation of digital single market since its creation, and the existent barriers that hinders its functionning. Thus she recalls physical barriers (the maintenance of frontier restrictions and physical controlls at the border checkpoints existent prior to Schengen space), technical barriers (depend on national approaches), legal barriers, security barriers, fiscal barriers, social barriers (the labour forces must to adjust to digital economy and society). The author remarks two characteristics of the digital single market and single market that are "deepening" and "widening", the acceleration of integrative approach and

the expansion of EU's values, infrastructure and centers of interests on a ever broader context.

The author Mirela Mărcut concludes that the aim of her book "was to analyse the major actions of the Union in reference to digital technologies". This digital single market based its evolution on the real space, namely the single market. (Mărcuț, 2017: 214) The book analized the information society in perspective, especially after the tenure of European Commission by Jacques Delors. The author asserts she did a comparative analysis between single market and digital single market, finding inspiration in the practical experience of the single market to find evolutionary paths for the second. She tried to find barriers in the commerce and expansion of the digital single market. Last but not least, she remarks the contribution of national actors in the evolution of digital single market. A second aim of the book was to provide "the current model of digital policies in the Union" which dues its existance on regulatory framework than being left to self regulation and this could turn into a plus for European Public Sphere. The European Community is also a community of Internet users and its digital policies model is shaped on the tradition of social policies of the EU is the opinion of Mirela Mărcuţ (Mărcuţ, 2017: 216) National level would follow responsable the infrastructure implementation of European digital agenda while the mastership of the European digital space should be a problem of the European leadership agenda. The work ends with the words of Jacques Delors "aide-toi et l'Europe t'aidera" when reffering to the completion of the internal market, a metaphor true for all of us.

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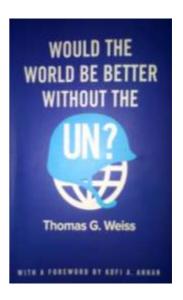
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### WOULD THE WORLD BE BETTER WITHOUT THE UN?

Cristina MATIUȚA\*

**Review of:** Thomas G. Weiss, *Would the World Be Better without the UN?*, Polity Press, 2018, ISBN 978-1-5095-1726-8, 220 pages.

Reforming the UN, which has been considered a priority since long time, is needed more than ever, in order to effectively tackle new global challenges such as international terrorism, armed conflicts, but also climate change, demographic growth, limited water resources or migration. The book briefly reviewed here, Would the World Be Better without the UN?, addresses this necessity and comes in the continuation of other extensive writings of Thomas G. Weiss, Presidential Professor of Political Science at the City University of New York's Graduate Center, former member of the UN secretariat, keen observer and distinguished researcher of the UN system, marking, as the author says from the beginning, the culmination of a career-long efforts. And also from the very beginning we find out the author's answer to the question in the title of the book: certainly "no", answer drawn from over four decades of study the world organization.



The author opts for a counterfactual approach to examine what the UN does, what would happen in the absence of the organization and what should be done to perform better. He focuses on UN achievements and shortcomings in three substantive pillars of its activity: international peace and security; human rights and humanitarian action; sustainable development.

The book is organized in three main parts, totalizing nine chapters. Part I ("Building Blocks"), including the first two chapters, introduce us the players and problems around which the next two parts are organized. Thus, the first chapter, entitled "Three United Nations", briefly analyses the actors across three dimensions of the UN: the First UN (member states), the Second UN (international secretariats) and the Third UN (civil society, the private sector, the media, commissions, consultants and individuals). The notion of a three-faced UN is a contribution to "the challenge of theorizing contemporary global governance. It builds on a growing body of work that calls for a conception of *multiple multilateralisms*" (p. 20). The second chapter, "Four UN Ailments", spells out four central problems facing the United Nations: unreconstructed state sovereignty, North-South theatrics, atomization and lackluster leadership. These problems explain in a great measure the unsatisfactory outcomes of the organization. As example, addressing lasting and suitable solutions for trans-boundary problems such as terrorism, pandemics or climate change is impossible when sovereign states reach decisions based on narrowly defined interests. In author's words, "...Westphalian

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<sup>\*</sup> Research assistant PhD, Institute for Euroregional Studies, University of Oradea.

sovereignty is a chronic ailment for the United Nations that could be lethal for the planet" (p. 26).

Part II, "The World without the UN and its Ideas and Operations?", comprising next three chapters, highlights what could have happened without an active implication of the UN within each main pillar of its activities, namely international peace and security, human rights and development. Chapter 3 tries to answer the question: "A more violent world with diminished international peace and security?", by using examples in which UN ideas, norms, principles, standards, as well as its operational interventions, have substantially contributed to international peace and security. We have all reasons to believe that, without UN's successful efforts and actions, the planet could have been plagued by even more violence, war and pain. Chapter 4 examines the question: "A more repressive and unkind world with diminished human rights and humanitarian action?", illustrating, based on examples of both ideas and operations, how international society would have been even more repressive and ruthless without substantial normative and operational inputs from the United Nations. The final chapter of this section- "A more impoverished and polluted world with diminished development?"- emphasizes how the planet could have been even poorer and more environmentally threatened without the efforts and actions of the world organization since 1945.

The third part of the book, "The World with a more Creative and Effective UN?", explores the possibilities of the second counterfactual, namely how an alternatively configured UN system could have made a greater contribution in a number of specific ways. It analyses examples in which the UN failed, but where a more effective world body could and should made a real difference. There are issues in which the First UN (member states) have fallen dramatically, such as "several double vetoes in the Security Council to prevent action in Syria; short-sighted decisions in the Human Rights Council; dramatic cuts in united funding" (p. 103). The chapters of this section also stress the necessity of renewing and reinvigoration the Second UN (international secretariats) in order to make it more functional. The examples illustrate that UN's contribution to disarmament, development and human security could have been greater if they had been pursued more vigorously and in a more centralized way by both states and secretariats.

The concluding chapter of the book- "Let's be Serious: the UN we Want and Need for the World we Want"- emphasizes strategies for reform that are both desirable and possible. Reforming the Security Council's membership became a permanent agenda, but each structural proposal threatens to open Pandora's Box. While structural reform is not agreed by all, more openness, accountability and inputs into its deliberation can be ascertained. At least mass atrocities are now considered unacceptable behavior by states and thus sovereignty can be abrogated when a state is manifestly unwilling or unable to protect its citizens. Reforming and strengthening the staff and improving the management of peace operations are also essential. The author lists three possible strategies: 1. Fewer moving parts and operations in fewer countries (this concentration is justified because limited resources dictate that UN should focus on those countries most in need of its assistance and also because the UN system is the only institution that can deploy a full range of necessary services, from security to humanitarian relief, from peace-building to sustainable development); 2. More big ideas and independent monitoring (while operational UN need not be everywhere, universal norms should be and the UN has added significant value in generating ideas and policies, giving them international legitimacy, promoting their adoption for policy, implementing or testing them at country level;

monitoring process etc.); 3. Better use of better people (the highest consideration in recruitment should be competence rather than geography, gender, age etc.).

The final message of this book is that UN matters, it is a crucial component of our fragile international system and, while the vituperative words of Donald Trump poison the air, it is worth repeating what John F. Kennedy said in his first State of the Union Address on January 11, 1962: "Our instrument and our hope is the United Nations- and I see little merit in the impatience of those who would abandon this imperfect world instrument because they dislike our imperfect world" (p. 188).

### ACTORS AND POLICIES IN DIGITAL ROMANIA

## Mirela MĂRCUȚ\*

**Review of:** Stoian, Marius, Puchiu, Radu, Foca, Marcel (2018), *România Digitală*, Bucharest: Club România

As with previous revolutions, the current discussions about the evolution of society, economy, and man-kind in general revolve around technology. This time, the key concept is *digital*, which encompasses every little aspect of daily life – from the most mundane activities to the most sophisticated innovations. When discussing about mundane, day-to-day activities, the emphasis is on boosting digital skills. Sophisticated innovations refer to the Fourth Industrial Revolution, where *digital* aims to break the barrier between artificial and natural intelligence. Such challenges puzzle academics, businesspeople, innovators, politicians alike, as there is a sense of uncertainty about what the near future can bring.

România Digitală [Digital Romania] brings all the pieces of this puzzle together into a comprehensive approach on digital issues. The 1000-page anthology



gathers analyses from different sides of the discussion on *digital* – from the academic to the political, bureaucratic, and business perspectives. It starts from a bird's eye view of digital transformation across the globe, emphasizing that the race to the top takes place between the USA and China. The comprehensive approach is reflected into the views of the coordinators who state that digital transformation is a "transversal approach changing life of Earth in a fundamental manner". According to the coordinators, digital transformation is *race for good*, whose main aim is the continuous improvement of people's lives. This view reflects the EU's view that ICTs are general-purpose technologies with aubiquitous presence.

What is Europe's place in this digital transformation? What is the Romanian contribution? How does Romania perform in this area and what expertise does it have? These are some of the questions regarding the main players of digital transformation. Certainly, the anthology proves that Romania does not lack expertise or perspectives. The answers for the first two questions can be easily thought out with statistics. However, the better approach is to analyze policy initiatives of the two players and the interactions of major players to create better policies for this *race for good*. The main point of focus for these policies is Romania, but they are intertwined with European efforts. The focal point of the analysis of Digital Romania relates to the interconnection between actors at all levels, as well as with the failed or successful policies that could influence digital transformation.

<sup>\*</sup> University of Oradea, 1st Universității St., Oradea. E-mail: mirelamarcut@uoradea.ro

Considering the emphasis put on actors and policies, the anthology adopts a deterministic position towards technology in economy and society, focusing its efforts on analyzing the way in which technology and *digital transformation* can be harnessed for the greater good. The range of analysts in the anthology contributes to this deterministic view, considering the multitude of both private and public actors directly and indirectly involved into policy analysis and implementation. The result points to a comprehensive overview, a "how-to manual" for the digital transformation of Romania. Moreover, the approaches are both innovative (consider the block-chain solution for managing digital identities) and solutions that have been tried out in other EU Member States. In this case, Estonia can be considered a *leitmotif* of this anthology. Overall, the European Union, its models, policies, and recommendations stand as a benchmark for Romania.

#### Actors

First, the road towards the digital transformation of Romania requires *actors*. Thisis the first level of this review. Although ICTs and the Internet in particular create a digital space that acts at a global scale, the most important actor that is relevant for digitalization is still the *state*. More specifically, we must discuss the duo *state-European Union*. This outlook is in concordance with the deterministic principle that guides the anthology, namely that technological innovation should be guided by relevant actors in order to generate development.

The authors of this anthology almost always connect the need of the Romanian state to pursue digital transformation with the European Union. The EU acts in different ways. It is either a controller with conditionalities or a supplier of financing. But, first and foremost, it acts as the main supplier for the digital policies of Romania. Secondly, the EU is an actor in the digital transformation of Romania because of the structural funds dedicated to this objective and, in this sense, a number of articles deal with the involvement of structural funds to develop Internet infrastructure (RoNet project) or to develop the administration.

The statu-quo of virtually all the articles within the anthology is reflected by the EU analysis of the digital economy and society in Romania, which help the authors fuel their arguments about Digital Romania. In this sense, the example of other countries is highly relevant for Romanian progress towards digital transformation. These comparisons are possible with due to the benchmarking done by the European Union with DESI and Digital Progress Reports. As mentioned, Estonia, the digital state, serves as an ideal example for Romania, but there are other initiatives from other countries that authors feel could be applied to Romania. The idea is that Romania does not need to re-invent the wheel when pursuing *digital transformation*, considering the availability of good practices within the EU space. Its advantage is the high-speed connection, as well as the highly developed IT sector. On the other hand, more than one actor considers Romania a country of paradoxes, considering its high-speed Internet, the citizens' digital skills and Internet usage.

The state, as an actor, is present in this anthology under multiple forms. The most important national actor for the development of digital Romania is undoubtedly the Ministry of Communication and Information Society, which has managed the digital transformation process under various forms and names over the decades since the democratization of Romania. In this sense, a myriad of articles by specialists emphasize the dual character of this national actor. Authors view it either as a driving force of digitalization or a deterrent. In the first case, the authors emphasize the central role that

the government occupies in digitalization because it coordinates or should coordinate efforts of the Digital Agenda for every structure within the Government (see Manuela Catrina or Laurentiu Stelea). On the other hand, this may cause a power struggle between administration and hence the ministry can act as a deterrent due to the desire to control the agenda (see Andrei Nicoară).

The second layer of digital governance analyzed in the anthology refers to an actor that is more often than not neglected by national authorities, namely *the city or the local administration* in general. In the context of digital transformation, the city becomes the *smart city*. Manuela Catrina references the smart city as an actor for digital Romania, considering that local administrations are the first point of contact between citizens and the state and that most of the *life events* happen locally<sup>1</sup>. In the vision of national authorities, *smart cities* need guidance from the central level with strategies, policies, and funding. On the other hand, smart cities can be beacons of light, channeling digital policies from the bottom towards the upper government levels. In this sense, Iaşi is referenced as an example considering its accession to Open Government Partnership (Oana Olariu and Dan Maşca). This is a voluntary mechanism meant to transform local government with digital tools. Iaşi and other cities in Romania, especially the magnetcities, should be interested in pursuing bottom-top strategies to push for digital transformation.

What better way to pursue bottom-top solutions than by involving the citizen directly? Several articles discuss open government and the need to have active rather than passive citizens in governance. How can citizens become active (Corneliu Mănescu, Ovidiu Voice, Elena Calistru)? Initiatives, likeparticipative budgets (Ovidiu Voicu, Elena Calistru), feedback questionnaires, real-time reporting apps to report local problems to the administration (Ovidiu Voicu). All of this can be possible with proper digital skills and infrastructure, which are two of the hottest points of digital transformation in Romania.

Overall, the state, in all its forms, is portrayed both as an actor – directing digital transformation in various ways and various results – and as a policy result in this anthology. In the discussion about digital transformation, as Manuela Catrina emphasizes, the key word for the government is *transformation*, not *digital*. This is because *digital* is a tool and government must become more open with digital public services or prioritization of technology is economy and society (see Radu Puchiu, Elena Calistru or Gabriel Popa).

However, one must not ignore the potential of other actors in digital transformation. The private sector is currently spearheading this objective in Romania, from the booming IT sector to the banking sector, which must adopt new technologies in an effort to compete with new fin-tech companies, such as Revolut (see Dana Demetrian). These sectors benefit from external funding or are part of a corporation supporting their efforts. One must also discuss the other side of the private sectors, especially the SMEs and other companies that cannot afford digital transformation or it is not easily accessible for them for other reasons. The anthology also features the challenges that the industry goes through – from the lack of investments due to costs or from lacking digital customers or at least a perception of lack of customers (see Constantin Măgdălina). What is relevant about the anthology is that it not only offers a view at the problems, but it also offers possible solutions. In the case of SMEs and private sector struggling to bring digitalization

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life events are some of the major ways in which citizens interact with digital services, according to the European Commission.

to their business models, authors offer solutions, such as guaranteeing schemes, tax deductions or financing for proof of concept for new ideas (see Grigore Pana).

#### **Policies**

The core of the anthology focuses on the results following the interactions of actors towards digital transformation, namely the policies. So far, the interactions of Romanian actors from the previous section can be characterized as being somewhat bumpy, with reference to the competition for managing regarding the Digital Agenda and the multiple changes in the leadership of information society policies. The policy related discussions in the anthology can be divided into two categories, *as-is* and *to be*.

The *as-is* analyses range from European to national overviews of the Digital Single Market, as the main policy instrument for digital technologies in the European Union. Main ideas include the interaction of digital policies with European funds, as one of the keys towards digital transformation in Romania, the discussion over the Digital Agenda of Romania, which is supposed to be the flagship initiative, and overreaching analyses on the IT sector – including e-business and e-commerce. For instance, Roxana Voicu Dorobanțu identifies three key directions for the digital transformation of Romania, namely infrastructure, education, and e-government, and acknowledges that there is no roadmap or overall vision for these three domains.

In to-be analyses, these three themes are present throughout the book and the authors constantly ask for more investment and coordination, especially in case of education. The acknowledgement of *informatics* as a fundamental subject in school is one solution. Digital skills are essential for the future labor market, but they must be a lifelong commitment (Eliza Vaş, David Timiş) both for professionals and for other social categories. In this case, authors argue for digital academies, the digital inclusion of young people and women, and, most of all, for the inclusion of the Internet as a universal service (see Virgilius Stănciulescu). Overall, the overarching theme of to-be analyses surrounds digitalization of every sector of society and/or economy and the first step towards digitalization is a serious roadmap that is assumed by authorities at all decision-making levels.

In conclusion, this undertaking by Club Romania benefits from strong expertise combined with stirring policy analyses of virtually every aspect surrounding digitalization in Romania. In sum, it can be considered a policy-making tools for decision-makers, a highly relevant aspect considering the acute need for transformation.

# DID THE WORLD HAS REACHED A DANGEROUS CROSSROAD?

Ana DAMASCHIN\*

**Review of:** Jean Muhire, *Multinational corporations repression*, Munich: BookRix, 2017. ISBN: 978-3-7438-4363-9

To the extent in which the international economy has advanced in all major economic regions, most global companies have expanded their businesses across national borders to maintain their competitiveness. By critical and thorough analysis Jean Muhire, in his work "Multinational corporation repression", examines conceptually the way in which multinational corporations being major economic, political, social, and cultural actors set the terms of global evolution on the upper level.

Multinational corporations are leading players in the new world order due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Today, the biggest companies are wealthier than most developing countries like Chile, Nigeria and Pakistan. From 100 largest economic entities in the world, 69 are corporations and 31 are countries. (CIEL, 2017:6)



Beside this fact, the last 20 years, the globalization of markets and capital has allowed them to grow, gain economic power, unprecedented financial policy and realize the creation of the oligopoly. The author wants to highlight that the multinationals' economic and legal versatility, their economic and financial resources are not only an advantage but also a problem, as these characteristics represents the barriers to exercise legal and social control.

Policies, practices and corporatist fundamental objectives let to massive violation of human rights and the subordination of politics to the economy both nationally and globally. Inspiring from a wide range of examples in the field of international criminal law, business and human rights, economic and financial law, criminal business law, the author insists on showing the existence of the multinational repression system.

On the one hand, the purpose of the topic is to show how the repression of multinational corporations functions nationally and internationally. On the other hand, repression is the last resort to indicate criminal behavior when other means have failed.

The fourteenth amendment adopted after the Civil War created a new category of entities with rights: corporations. (Chomsky, 2018:107)

Multinational corporations are, in the opinion of Jean Muhire - legal entities of private law with rights and obligations.

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<sup>\*</sup> PhD student, Faculty of European Studies, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. E-mail: damaschinana1@gmail.com

Moreover, the author underlines that the judgments of legal entities and economic crimes are not included in the international jurisdiction (the author pointed out the International Criminal Court), giving multinational companies a loophole in any jurisdiction. Beside this fact, as companies grow larger and gain more power, it has become increasingly difficult for governments to ensure that these companies comply with human rights and environmental laws. (CIEL, 2017: 3). On the one side, governments exert the fundamental authority and responsibility to protect the environment and their citizens. On the other side, states still grant corporations more rights.

In this way, author supports the way in which the EU Plans entrench and institutionalize investors in order for states to resolve internal problems.

The book starts with a general introduction about this topic, then it shows an overview and some guidelines on the basics of the subject. It must be said that the objective of this work is: firstly to show the repression generated by multinational companies and, secondly, to reveal the loophole made by multinational corporations in international jurisdiction.

In the various chapters of his work, author has formed the unique idea that showed the current reality of the repression of economic and social crimes committed by corporations. This work is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter – "Theoretical Considerations", we examine the theoretical considerations which study the concept of multinational companies, its internal organization and function, speaking also about concept of economic crimes (according the Rwandan Penal Code on the national level comparing to international jurisdiction). Indeed, the substantial scope of this article is a critical analysis of different crimes committed by large companies during the period of their existence.

Another issue is the responsibility of the multinationals. The most important aspect in this book is about national and international standards, as all multinationals are civily responsible to respect the right to equality of opportunity and non-discriminatory treatment, rights of workers, national sovereignty, obligation to protect the environment and obligations with regard to consumer protection.

The second chapter is called "Crimesrelating to the constitution and in case of difficulties of multinational corporations". It still must be noted that multinationals usually respect the sandards, but when they become stronger they often begin to comit crimes. Muhire analyzes in depth conventional business offenses, talks a lot about different crimes committed in case of bankruptcy or abuse of social goods.

Finally, the third chapter has the merit of analyzing the of crimes committed most frequently, such as corruption and related offenses. Entitled "Crimes related to the operation of multinational companies and liability issues internationally" the present chapter gives references to the Rwandan criminal phenomenon. For this moment, almost all country is mobilized to fight against abuse of power, which is the major problem to achieve the progress in the country.

The book is well structured and offers a clear image about the real world of multinational corporation. In this meticulous work, *Multinational corporations repression*, the Rwandan author tries to develop a theory based on the idea that multinationals are the main operators of international economic relation system.

The book provides us the indisputable understanding of the central problems of our time.

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# THE EUROPEAN UNION - EVOLUTION AND A HISTORY OF COOPERATION

### Claudiu Gabriel BONACIU\*

**Review of:** Bărbulescu, I. Gh., *New Europe-European identity and Model*, Polirom publishing house, 2015.

The study of the European Union foundation compels us to a whole review of the its history and how it came to life (Bărbulescu, 2015: 27) I do intent, in the present article, to try and make a comprehensive analisys of first important ideas that gave life to this concept and not in the least about the first EU funded projects.

In ancient times the idea of a whole Europe United, was based upon the concept of territory enlargment. Later along the territorial expanse arises "The European civilization" from East to West, somewhat along the Danube River, that Herodotus called the "axis Europe" (Bărbulescu, 2015: 28).

For a better understanding of the transition from the European idea to the European Union, it is necessary to compare the cocepts of both ideas. The European philosophers would justify the idea as a vital need for unity,



future continuity and existence. Diversity was also another strong reason enough to set up European communities, that would exchange traditional and cultural heritage.

At this point EU is a political, social and economic entity of 28 member state that are located primarily in Europe. The Union has created an **internal single market** governed by a system of laws that apply to all the member states. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services and capital within the internal market, exact legislation in justice, home affairs and maintain common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries and regional development. For travel, passport controls have been abolished.

Theoretically speaking EU can be regarded as a pioneering concept in the practice of international relations between countries, without taking away the sovereign aura of each state. It is a multicultural confederation. In order to understand the difference between the two concepts, it should be noted that in a federal systems, important decisions are taken by a common body, to which the Member States are subordinate, while in a confederal system, decisions are taken unanimously by Member States.

An important contribution to the early construction of the European federalism can be attributed to Romania also, in the context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolution and the socio - political situation between the two world wars, during which the basic principle of international relations was that of self-determination (Bărbulescu, 2015:53).

<sup>\*</sup> Ph.D student, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, E-mail: gabi\_bonaciu@yahoo.com

The federal plan of the Danube Confederation, the creation of the Economic Community of small Antante, the Tardieu plan of the Danube Confederation, as well as the Balkan Entente, has been mentioned in this regard. Within the European theory they can be asimiliate a model of a Federal Type association (Bărbulescu, 2015:27).

The path of transformation from the European idea of unity to the European Union in its self was a process, customized over time. The Union is the result of a long and complex process of cooperation and integration, that started in 1951. At its origins, the concept was thought of, as a solution given to a period of general crisis emerged after the Second World War. If at the beginning of the century – 1914, Europe was at its peak, 1945, the general situation was far from being ideal. The Treaties and agreements between the Member States, following the war, aimed to create a space of stability, peace by creating a European internal market and progressively securing conditions that would allow the leap from an economic union to a political on.

In 1948 takes place The Hague Congress or the European Congress, that brought along a strong federative movement, that gathered many European representative, that discussed ideas about the development of the political co-operation between European nations and not only. Subsequently in Congress, the 'European idea' of unity was quickly acquired by the Western European governments, and the European Construction became an intergovernment concern... "The Shuman Plan" – led to the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community, a contribution and a hystorical achievement that must not be overlooked. Basically, it was settled a new set of rules for a future collaboration between the two old adversaries - Germany and France. Rules that would later safeguard the peace between the member states of the European Union to this day.

But in the opinion of European strategists, it would not suffice to have cooperation only between the Member States of the European Union, but also between neighbouring States, which are in different processes or relations with the European Union.

It is very important to recognize the role played by the US as regards to the genesis of the EU, through their constant support of the Shuman Plan, in which the UK more conservatively looked with skepticism the outcome of the plan proposed by the French, ECSC, an organisation regarded with optimism by the Americans. Professor Bruce Carolan of the Dublin Institute of Technology writes an article about the Foundation of UE, and about the contribution of U.S. and United Kingdom in the creation of a Unified European Community (24 th of April 2009Î, ironically speaking, UK's position in the opposition and euroskepticism, affected to some extent their diplomatic relatioship with the U.S.". The British reluctant approach towards the European project, was not without consequences in terms of international diplomacy. Their delayed acceptance into the ECSC and the increased importance of the French approval in the European Union project, was a direct repercussion of their skeptic attitude in the European policies. First project was the The treaty establishing the European Defense Community also known as the Treaty of Paris - EDC signed in 1952 but unfortunately unratified by the French Parliament and Italy, consequently never entered into force. In political terms, the ECSC can be considered a success, at least because it was an important first step in the process of European integration.

Thus the period 1950-1954 was dominated by other ideas of French politicians. The first was the French project on the creation of a European Defence Community (the one). The Treaty was signed in 1952, but because of the negative vote in the French assembly (August 1954), the project fell. However, the need to integrate Member States into EU, members continued to propose new common policies in Europe.

So the failure in defence policy has prompted Western European countries to seek another area, namely the economic one. It was thus achieved that, on 25 March 1957, two treaties named the European Economic Community (EEC) and EURATOM were signed in Rome. The first one was to become the today's uropean Union and the latter would be less well known by the general public duet o its sensive topic, was founded to bring nuclear power under the European umbrella. The reasons that contributed to the intense cooperation in this area were, the fear of energy dependency, in the context of the Suez crisis, and the desire to reduce military control exercised by American and Soviet military governance. Euratom has failed to become a strong organisation. National governments have been stuck in their desire to control their national energy programmes. Euratom failed to some extent to become a powerful Organization, because the member states wanted greater control over their power programs that the Union would offer.

As regards the construction of UE, it can be stated that a constructive dialogue between intellectuals and politicians is being shaped after the Second World War. Projects relating to European unification begin to pass beyond the theoretical sphere and reach the working table of the European chancellery (Bărbulescu, 2015:386). We are witnessing the transformation of debates on the future of Europe, which is a real 'political mutation', moving from a implicit political process to an explicit or, in other words, from the economic dimension of the European Communities to the European Union policy. Afterwards, all these European ideas come to materialize into Treaties, leading to the establishment of the European Communities.

The establishment of the European institutions between 1957 - 1992 is the result of economic and political processes in a continuous transformation, and where international relations have contributed decisively to the democratisation of communities.

Today's European Union is the result of an evolution, a construction over five decades.

And the main engine of this evolution was the cooperation of the states in finding widely acceptable solutions to the various challenges that the European Union has been confronted with. And all these solutions needed a very solid legal base, that is when the Treaty of Rome was modified in 1957, Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

TFEU, one of the two treaties that formed the constitutional basis of the European Union.

The political unification of the European Union has emphasized the extent of the democratisation of communities, and in 1979 there is a massive increase in power of the European Parliament, giving the possibility of having direct elections, aspect which brought and added a massive legitimity to the European project altogether (Bărbulescu, 2015:140). The components of the European Parliament would be elected through direct vote by the European citizens. People would be directly involved in the election process and they would start to have a say in the matter of the state affairs. The EU Parliament is the only institution elected directly by the EU citizens.

To solve somehow a preexistent level of citizens distrust in the establishment, regarding the lack of efficency of the european institutions in solving the most important social and economic issues, the representatives would open for discussion the topic of the importance of the european peace issue.

"The Treaty of Lisbon" in the opinion of Professor I. Ghe. Bărbulescu, it's not a random act, it reinforces the importance of peace in the European Union. The Treaty is an international agreement that amends the two treaties which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on

13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty (1993), known in updated form as the Treaty on European Union (2007) or TEU, and the Treaty of Rome (1957), known in updated form as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007) or TFEU. It also amends the attached treaty protocols as well as the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

The Treaty enables, inter alia, institutionalization of enhanced cooperation between Member states at the level of the Defence policy and the other measures. This derives from the conflicting events in the former Yugoslavia, and although there was no need for a precedent, it is now possible to speak of an ineffectiveness of the European Union's external action to regards of the situation in Ukraine. (Bărbulescu, 2015:154).

"The newly created European Union" - through the "Maastricht Treaty" signed on 7 February 1992 and entered into force on 1 November 1993, establishes a three pillar structure policy, until the "Lisbon Treaty" came into force in 2009. The Treaty also greatly expanded the competences of the EEC/EU, and led to the creation the the single European currency, the euro.

- The First Pillar reformed by the Treaty is amending the treaties establishing the European Communities http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/ro/sheet/3/tratatele-de-la-maastricht-si-de-la-amsterdam.It is an extension to other non-economic areas. Specific to this pillar is the management structure of European Communities, the process of taking decisions altogether is unprecedented in international law. Thus, communities, within the The first pillar of the European Union form a unique example of a supranational organisation. According to the principles of democracy and the rule of law, this type of organisation is passing decision making authority from the institutions of thr Member States directly to the Communities.
- **he Second Pillar** of the Treaty covers Common Foreign and Security Policy (contributes to the security, peace and the sustainable development of the planet, solidarity and mutual respect among people and nations (...) European Union, Updated versions of Treaties..., Title I, at 3.
- The Third Pillar Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters(PJCCM) brought together co-operation in the fight against crime. This pillar was originally named Justice and Home Affairs(JHA). (https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/eu\_citizenship/consolidated-treaties\_ro.pd

The Treaty on the European Union encourages any country from Europe to adhere to the Union as long as they they respect and promote the democratic principles of the establishment through their policies.

The European Union is community governed by laws, which means that its legitimacy and functioning are guaranteed by the compliances of each Member with the Law and Justice. The EU's Policy only address states with constitutional structures and governmental practices in accordance with the Western democratic model.

If any of the countries refuse to comply with a Community Decision already adopted or would intentionally violate a decision of justice taken into force by Community law, it would place itself outside the Union

The general principles of Community Law have been initiated and formulated through past decisions of the Court of Justice in Luxembourg and then introduced in the TEC or the modifying treaties. 'The jurisprudence of the Court of Justice interprets

European law and its own role by referring to the fundamental objectives of the Treaties (Https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/court-justice\_ro).

The EU is often mistakenly compared with a classical federation, such as the US, Germany or Switzerland. But Christian Egenhofer from The Center for European Political Studies (CEPS), wrote an article saying that:" Federations tend to have separation of powers between the different levels of government and a clear distinction of competences" (Young, Ernest A., Union European perspective: a comparative perspective) (18th December 2015). General Principles of the EU Law, Oxford University Press, 2017). Neither is true for the EU, however, were power is dispersed across the institutions, the Commission, the Member States and the European Parliament must cooperate as partners in drafting, adopting, implementing and enforcing legislation.

The early European federalism has evolved as the Union acquired competences not only in the "simple" policies, such as agriculture, trade, transport, the internal market, but also higher levels, traditionally understood as exclusive prerogatives, such as currency, defense, foreign policy, domestic policy, economic policy, social cohesion (Bărbulescu, 2015:407).

There is a federal perspective view of the Union, in terms of the distribution of competencies and sovereignty attributed to the institutions and EU Law. But it is also intergovernmental, keeping the center of gravity inside every Member State. Professor I. Gh. Bărbulescu says "the federal and Intergovernmental Dimension Coexists" (Bărbulescu, 2015:386) The Treaty of Lisbon is a solid example of Cooperation, a concept otherwise developed by the European Union Treaty in 1984. The purpose of cooperation is not other than to strengthen a strong international organization, a Union of states and people based on shared sovereignty.

The European Establishment founded firmly through Maastricht and developed through Amsterdam and Nice Treaties, is a synthesis of the federal model vs the intergovernmental model, based on its pillar structure, one based on the supranational concept of the member States and the other two on intergovernmental cooperation (Bărbulescu, 2015:387).

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## LESSONS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THROUGH EUROPEAN FUNDS: LESSON ON POLAND

Laurențiu PETRILA\*

**Review of**: Anamaria Loredana Felderean (Ianoşi), Drumul României spre o absorbție eficientă a fondurilor europene. Despre transformarea miracolului polonez în miracolul românesc. Analiză comparativă [Romania's Way Towards an Efficient Absorption of European Funds: On the Transformation of the Polish Miracle into the Romanian Miracle: A Comparative Analysis]. Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2018, 432 p.

One of the greatest problems confronting Romania after entry into the European Union was the problem of European funds. Recent years have undoubtedly been noteworthy in Romanian history. Romania recently celebrated the ten-year anniversary of its entry into the European Union (EU) with much enthusiasm. We may say that immediately after the opening of the borders and the freedoms specific to states belonging to the European community, the most important advantage conferred by Romania's adherence to the EU has been the possibility of accessing European funds. Madam Ianoşi's work, in another order of ideas, represents an incursion into the success of Poland with respect to the absorption of European funding in the period spanning 2007-2013 (See more Gligor and Puștea, 2017; Bărbulescu, Brie and Toderaș, 2016; Brie, 2010; Brie, Chirodea and Toca, 2013). The author proposes



a scientific study aimed at identifying the factor which accounted for the so-called "Polish miracle" (Felderean, 2018). The rigorousness with which this researcher approaches her scientific exercise on a theme which is of maximal interest to all nations which have recently entered into the European community makes for obligatory reading for all who are interested in the European Union. Political leaders, but also other decision-makers in our country, may draw important lessons from the example of our Polish neighbors with regard to efficiency and efficacy in the access of European funding.

This study commends itself not only thanks to the Polish miracle, but also thanks to the fact that it examines difficulties presently being encountered in Romania and which explain the factors at the root of the lower level of absorption registered by our country. This study presents extremely important data, which helps us to understand that, in this matter having to do with European funds, not only did we delay or put off European integration, but they were even at times an important impediment in the way of the development of the well-being of Romanian society. The hypothesis of this study proceeds from the premise that "The identification of the strong points of the Polish miracle of absorption and their implementation in the framework of the Romanian system,

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<sup>\*</sup> Ph.D student, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania; contact: lauren.petrila@gmai.com

with the help of civil society, will have as its effect, in the medium and long term, the increased efficiency of absorption of European funds in Romania." (Felderean, 2018)

In conclusion, the purpose of the study is to share with a greater public certain modalities for the improvement of the grade and quality of absorption of European funds in Romania and to apply, at an experimental level, certain solutions discovered. The results of her doctoral research demonstrated the fact that, although Romania unfortunately finds herself relatively far away from the desideratum of replicating the success of Poland in the matter of absorption of European funds (on this matter the author presents multiple causes, but she especially insists on causes having to do with political instability, especially post-adherence to the EU, but also causes having to do with inefficiency of government as well as the fact that European funding were insufficiently prioritized by the Victory Palace). The author specifies very legitimately that a reconsideration of the Romanian system of absorption and the implementation of certain reforms at the national level, similar to those implemented by Poland, would have the effect of the growth of the capacity of absorption of Romania (for example, the reform of regionalization) and, implicitly, the standard of living. 2018 was the year in which Poland declared to be the first of the countries belonging to the former communist bloc which arrived at a state of economic maturity, comparable to Western nations. The present work is extremely interesting also because of the context in which Romania finds herself at the present moment. We are living in a period that can be described, at the very least, as bizarre. We have, in the executive branch, a Romanian commissioner who has insisted in various occasions that Romania finds herself permanently at risk for losing access to European funds because of internal blockages.

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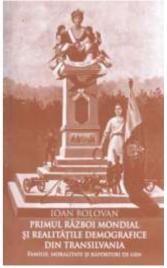
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# THE DEMOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL REALITIES OF THE WWI FROM TRANSYLVANIA

### Maria-Gabriela POPUȘ\*

**Review of:** Ioan Bolovan, *Primul Război Mondial și Relațile Demografice din Transilvania*, Editura Școala Ardeleană 2015, Cluj - Napoca

Ms. Ioan Bolovan, professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, as a result of a thorough research, brings into our view the demography of Romania during the WWI. As a result of a hard work, the book named "WWI and the Demographic realities from Transylvania" appeared in 2015 in Cluj with the aid of the "Scoala Ardeleană" publishing house. It's due to the title that we can define the location being Transylvania and the period that the historical, demographic and social documentation referring to 1914-1918 was conducted on. The subtitle clearly emphasizes the main ideas like "Family, Mortality and Gender Reports". The book has 4 chapters of research: "I. General Demographic Aspects", where we can find the European's territory general demography, the emigration of Romanians from Transvlvania to territories that were not in war; "II. The natural population movement in 1914-1918", which



tells us about birth rate, mortality and marriages during WWI; "III. The family and the marital behavior in Transylvania between 1914-1918", which is about intergenerational relations, family problems; "IV. The church and the society: Attitudes and charitable actions of Romanians from Transylvania during the war", this one telling about helping the households which men left to the front, the gathering of funds for orphanages.

If we are to look at the general demographic aspects of WWI, we can conclude that it ended with approximately 8.5 million victims. The exact number is impossible to find out because of the prolonged period, large territories and their registrations. According to 1910's census, the majority of the populations consisted of Romanians, 55,3% of total population, 34,6% of Hungarians (including Hungarian speaking Jewish people), followed by 8% of Germans and Slovaks, Romas, Serbians and other minorities representing 2% (Bolovan, 2015: 25). Due to this census, we can say that the biggest number of the soldiers from Transylvania sent to fight by the Austro-Hungarian empire were Romanians. A new migration wave to Romania through the mountains starts among Romanians, especially among the young ones, this process being amplified by the passports withdrawal (See more Brie, 2008; Brie, 2009; Brie, Şipoş and Horga, 2011).

In the period of 1914-1918, the birth rate was continually decreasing because of men's leaving for the front. The author emphasizes the mortality causes more than the birth rates (which is obvious). Besides the soldiers' deaths on the front, he accentuates the "natural selection" as well, because of the plagues attacking the old people and the

<sup>\*</sup> Ph.D student, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, E-mail: gabriela\_popus@yahoo.com

children mainly. Another cause is the venereal diseases making more victims. The author makes a special research regarding the family and the life outside it. The deaths caused by venereal diseases were constantly increasing, this being a problem that affected the whole Europe, not only Transylvania. The number of prostitutes or wives cheating on their husbands was increasing fast so the moral values were forgotten for a while. Different authors write about the women from Transylvania as being "loose", but the author of this book brings into view loyal women who keep their purity and respect for their husband. Besides the strict demographic and numerological idea that changed the population structure, he brings out the consequences beyond the war fighting which are the fighting for survival of those at home, them being the women and children, the gender reports, the change of the family structure where the woman traditionally had responsibilities like cooking, laundry, sewing and childcare, while the man would work the fields, in the forest, take care of the animals. First major changes took place in villages, as the most of the population lived there, when the old men, those who didn't fight on the front, migrated to cities in order to work in factories so the war can go on. That's when the woman's emancipation began as she was able to take care of the household on her own, this being the most important thing in a peasant's life. We can deduce this from the letters sent between spouses, the husbands asking if everything is fine with the working and the wives inform them about all those aspects.

The subtitle of this book presents the family as the central idea, followed by the mortality and gender reports, because of the fact that all the events take place in family's environment even if death comes far from home, its structure is changed forever. The efforts of war and the war itself were brought across the family, and the way the war is presented with positive notes for those at home, with illustrations and views of happy soldiers, with patriotic and unconcerned texts for those at home. Ioan Bolovan mostly describes the adventures and the correspondence of peasants families from Transylvania in his book, this being a quantitative research and taking into consideration different families from different regions of Transylvania compared to "About I.C. Brăteanu's family life" (Sabina Cantacuzino,2014) which tells about politics, political decisions and I.C. Brăteanu's life in particular.

The church had been the moral support before that time and it used to bring indications for a good behavior in society and family, but it stopped to have the same impact on people. The demographic traumas and effects also brought the church to changing its own moral concepts and it started to encourage the birth rate, the poor people and the efforts to keep up with the war. It gave up the weekly holidays so people could work the lands, approves the marriage among relatives in order to increase the birth rate, asks for solidarity from the families whose men went to the front through help in working and support for the orphanages.

The proposed ideas in this book's subtitle are well structured in those 4 chapters, some important moments from family's life during the WWI being greatly emphasized.

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# REALISM, ACTUALITY AND MODELLING: FROM EUROPE TO UNITED EUROPE

Ştefan ŞUTEU\*

**Book Review**: Nicolae PĂUN (coord.), *Uniunea Europeană în contextul unei lumi în schimbare. Fundamente istorice, valori, instituții, politici*[The European Union in the context of a world in change. Historical foundations, values, institutions, policies], București: Editura Academiei Române, 2017, 948 p., ISBN 978-973-27-2806-2

In early 2017, anticipating the centenary of the Great Unification (1918-2018), the publishing house of the Romanian Academy released a volume inscribedin European studies, entitled *The European Union in the context of a world in change. Historical foundations, values, institutions, policies.* The 948 pages of the book, in academic page format are well served by the elegant graphic design. The dust jacket features the twelve stars of the EU banner overimposed on a stylised map of the EU in the background, suggesting unity and perfection (the circle) and integrity (the number twelve).

The coordinator of this treatise is University Professor Nicolae Păun, dean of the Department of European Studies, and scientific advisors are the historian and Romanian Academy president Ioan-Aurel Pop and Professor Vasile Puşcaş. Most of the thirty-six authors are academics at the Faculty of European Studies, and the volume's introduction features their respective biographies (7-13). The



articles vary in length from six or seven (e.g. Sergiu Mişcoiu and Laura Herţa, "Europe, the project of a lifetime. Robert Schuman", pp. 160-167) to 98 pages (e.g. Titus Poenaru,"Institution actors, states and citizens and the process of expansion", pp. 673-771). Of note, the Summary is presented in trilingual form — Romanian, English and French (pp.15-25) — the same as the concluding remarks (pp.927-932).

The Bibliography, comprising 43 pages printed in small size font (pp. 883-926), is organised by fields, such as "Books", "Journal articles", "Electronic" resources and "Official documents"; an average of 24 titles per page results in 1.000 quoted references, relative to the 2.072 bottom page notes spanning the almost 1.000 pages volume.

The Preface, authored by academy president Ioan-Aurel Pop and entitled "The history of Romanians of Europe: between Latin West and Byzantine East" (pp.27-39), elaborates on the "formation of Romanians as a Romanic people" and "frontier population", which "by virtue of essential parts of their identity, claim origin in the West, and by other equally essential parts, claim origin in the East and South-Western Europe" (p. 30), having "a Slavonic written culture" (p. 34) but also owning a latin cultural model (p. 36), and presently subscribing to the "functional ideal of european unity" (p. 39).

<sup>\*</sup> Ph.D student, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, E-mail: fanel.suteu@gmail.com

The coordinator of the volume, Professor Nicolae Păun, in "Prolegomena", underlines that "United Europe – born after the great conflagration that ended in 1945 – is a «Phoenix-type» idea", butpresently it "traverses the most profound crisis in it's entire history" (p. 40).

The chosen themes belong to a variety of fields: history of integration, foreign affairs, political science, diplomacy, economy, political philosophy and institutional communication. The first few chapters dwelve into the idea of integration, taking into account the regionalisation imposed by the Cold War, which lent credit to the idea of "the two Europes". The following studies, consisting of historical scenarios, document analyses, and quantitative and statistical approaches, help sketch the background and afford predictions regarding the Europe of 2020.

The legal studies explain in detail the reform process, starting with the creation of the first Community from 1950th decade, and up to the achievements and shortcomings of the The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) (2007). Economical analyses review the features of the single market, from the standpoint of Regional, Concurential or Monetary Politics, and sheds some light on the prospects of the single currency – all subjects actively and heatedly debated in local governments all over the Union. The political studies, of utmost importance, focus mainly on the sensitive issue of Europen Union's extension process. The contextualization within globalization, the geopolitical challenges like migrant's crisis, the transatlantic partnership and the preeminence of the Franco-Germanduo, are all historical facts of great importance for the future of all the Union's nations.

The synthsising volume ends with case studies dealing specifically with Romanian issues.

The subjects examined over the 829 pages are subdivided in eight analytical directions, each with a corresponding chapter (from I to VIII), all of them dedicated to the european integration viewed from a realist's perspective, "in the context of a changing world". The chapters are entitled: (I) "We the Europeans. Models and projects", (II) "Postbelic Europe. Integration and Cold War", (III) "The political-institutional experience. From communities to the Union", (IV) "Politics and strategy in the European Union. The agenda for 2020", (V) "References, memory and european symbolism", (VI) "European economic integration. Europe's single market. The project. The actors", (VII) "The experience of the expansion" and (VIII), "European Unions's and the system of foreign affairs".

The treatises of UE (from startup until Lisbon), the Reports of the European Comission in Bruxelles (casually known as *Country Eurobarometers*), the statistics, the scenarios and the programs for communities evolution and competition policies, for cohesion and rural / regional development, for proposal of euro-strategies and euro-systems (monetary, migrationist etc.), for the analysis of the concept of EU enlargement or of Global Economy, the investment plans etc.—are just a part of this work working concepts.

From circa one thousand authors listed in the Index (p. 933 and following), we will list only the ones refered to in the volume's Content: Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide de Gasperi and Winston Churchill.

I quote a sample from the article "Europe's angenda – 2020" (pp. 470-1): by Adrian Corpădean, vice-dean of the department of European Studies:

"Launched in March 2010 and adopted in June the same year, the Europe 2020 Strategy inherited the main themes of the Lisbon agenda, regarding education, innovation, stability and social inclusion, but this time placed under the dome of improved gouvernance and community level, due to the Euro Plus Pact and the Stability and Growth Pact [...]".

As it stands, the foremost priorities of European Union for 2002 are the following:

- "75% of members aged between 20 and 64 should have a workplace";
- "3% of the Union's gross domestic product shall be allocated to the research and development sector";
- "the emissions greenhouse gases shall be reduced by 20%"; "20% of the energy used within the UE shall be of renewable sources"; "a 20% increase in energy efficiency compared to the reference point of 2005, and computed in oil tones equivalents" "these priorities became known as the 20-20-20";
  - "school dropout rate of below 10%";
  - "40% of members aged between 30 and 34 should complete tertiary education";
- "a reduction by 20 millions of the group of individuals at risk of poverty and social exclusion".

Two more especially relevant quotes, the first from *Prolegomena* and the latter from the Afterword belong to the coordinator of the volume, Professor Nicolae Păun:

"The splendid palace with its abstract architectural lines, that the city of Strasbourg built on the Ill's shore in 1994 to host the European Court of Human Rights, embodies the success of European Council, six decades since its founding; dominating by height the headquarters of other European institutions, this ship-like building of aluminum and glass, anchored symbolically at the Ill's shore, seems meant to serve as a beacon light across Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Danube Delta. Among the neighbouring buildings, across the modern highway, there is the new Palace of the European Council, *Palais de l'Europe* (hosting the meetings of the European Parliament since 1987, and for a long time afterwards); on the opposite shore, the grand and new edifice of the Parliament (since 1999), built like a translucent see-wall, with a main body reminiscent of a massive circular tower, with transversal concrete panels. Until very recently, the whole complex testified of the intents and dreams of the early Council from the fourties, that is to forge Europe in a «United States»—like shape." (pp. 44-45).

"... collective leadership, by integration of multiple interests, striving toward optimal gouvernance, thus contributing to progress and stability, these are the greatest assets, both principially and factually, that recomends the European Union as an unprecedented political-economical, social and cultural experiment, and as an undeniable evolutive stage in the reconfiguration process of world order [...]" (p. 882).

The careful reader of this treatise of European studies will be able to join Augustin in saying: "I consider myself as one of those who have written on what they have learnt and have learned what they have written".

The three words best describing the volume are Realism (from Past), Actuality (to Present) and Modelling (to Future), all necessary capacities toward the goal of preserving the ideal of European Union, and termed in diverse manners, such as: unity, association, comunion, communication, community, collaboration, company, participation, partnership, solidarity, companionship, unity. We suggest the volume should be part of the bibliography of any work aiming toward exhaustivity, as it proves to be a useful and even indispensable tool for any serious historian or European studies scholar from the Romanian space.