BOOK REVIEWS

Victor Emanuel Gica and Dragoş Popescu (eds.)
Academicianul Alexandru Surdu la 75 de ani, Editura Kron-Art, Braşov, 2013, 492 p.

The anniversary volume — *Academicianul Alexandru Surdu la 75 de ani* — prefigures, from the foreword of the editors, the continuation of the series dedicated to the academician Alexandru Surdu, without preconceived notions and beyond any apparent haste concerning the overlapping of its publication with the Romanian holiday Dragobete, a fortunate coincidence of the Romanian tradition with the birthday of the above mentioned personality of the Romanian culture.

Discussing the philosophical activity during 2008-2013, the volume grants a balanced attention to the appreciations of the academician, to the memorable events, to the interviews and to bibliographic updates, stable landmarks for the dynamic work of the academician, situated within the scientific challenges and in relation to themes intrinsically linked to their Romanian resources, retrieved as viable subjects for contemporary discussion.

Within the debate over the so-called end of philosophy we notice, with all the drifting or, on the contrary, with the advantages of this warning the fact that Alexandru Surdu remains a philosopher, assessed on the background of the re-evaluations of the philosophical categories and of the balancing of the philosophical disciplines, from which he extracts the stimulants that are apparently latent in philosophy.

The volume emphasizes the philosophical contributions of the academician Alexandru Surdu, among which a central place has his interest for the philosophy of pentad, seen first as a freeing from the disciplinary practice, his vision evaluating theories relating to the passing from subsistence and existence, through being and reality, to the authentic existence.

However, the profile of the academician is described from the perspective of the Faustian encounter with the Book and the "devil", as an intermediate category luring us to look around superficially and fall in philosophizing, as a manner to protect the current and confliction state of affairs. The attitude of the academician Alexandru Surdu follows the *anti-Faust* imperative inherited from the Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica, a disposition confirmed also by the apparently unexpected but meaningful (*purposeful*) encounter with the hermit Lucian, next to his tree-house, one that surely might have been tempting as spiritual alternative for the religious being Alexandru Surdu, but which one-way stair case could not have been easily cut off, as an umbilical cord, between the world and the philosopher Alexandru Surdu.

Beyond the hallmarks of the stabilizing landmarks of a destiny with its "compressions" and its "dilatation points", the contours of a more complete profile of the academician, biblically place his personality closer to the perspective of serene reflection, farther equally from vengeance and from the will to take advice ("if it is about taking advice, I did not even follow Constantin Noica", confesses the academician at page 217).

Closer to that pentad philosophical architecture formulated as a therapeutic cure for a world adrift, Alexandru Surdu proposes for science, the truth, for art, the beauty, for moral, the good, for justice, righteousness, and for politics, freedom (p. 241).

In fact, this philosophical architecture can be easily identified in the eternal purpose of philosophy to account for what is going on in the world, the manner in which things go, why and how they should be, for us, reminiscent of Lucian Blaga's view, for whom philosophy is more useful than all the thing we hastily consider useful out of our cultural and social unexamined reflexes.

Inside the system and beyond the fragment, with the enlightenment of the sixth sense of the interiorizing reflection, the architecture of the philosophy of Alexandru Surdu remains under the sign of the "privileged structures" as the Greeks called them, and under the sign of the pentad, capitalizing on Spinoza, as in an intellectually beneficial approach of clustering within the world seen as a philosophical category. This approach is unfolded without concession to the philosophical situation beyond good and evil. Hereon the invitation of the academician to counterweight the signs of the dimming Romanian spirituality by the establishment of solid "sites" and recalling the discrete signs of remembrance into public attention — p. 253 (see also, in this respect, the works of the academician Alexandru Surdu, *Izvoare de filosofie românească*, 2010, *Şcheii Braşovului*, 2010, or *A sufletului românesc cinstire*, 2011 etc.).

The main purpose of the present volume is to envision the profile of the academician either in relation to the historical-religious image of the Hermit Daniel, or with "reporting" (*semădăi*) philosophers, according to Noica's expression. Alexandru Surdu is neither.

In a pentad view, his personality is inscribed into a Transilvanian scholarly model, placed under the sign of Dragobete, a Romanian ritual celebrating the profound life, through speculative detachment: philosopher, logician, academician, writer, professor.

Henrieta Anişoara Şerban

Cristi Pantelimon (coord.)
Modernități Alternative, Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations Publishing House, Bucharest, 2013, 250 p.

The collective volume *Alternative Modernity* delivers itself (with sufficient arguments) as a scholarly research approach continuing a semi-transparent perspective upon the Interwar Romanian cultural and political aspects (namely the philosophical project), proposed by Ion Goian in order to be in-depth studied and interpreted in the *Collection of Romanian Political Ideas*, in fact, through the permanent interrogation, recuperation and actualization of the subject.

Even though from the conceptualized title one can convene about the evidence that we are placed nearby some centered and conventional approaches, the volume offers a quite different perspective, establishing that a formula such as *Alternative Modernity*[1], *allows us not to deal with a strong ideologically inspired thinking but, rather, with a general philosophy of the modern world*.

The affirmation is sustained through the constructive implication in reinterpreting the *Interwar cultural project*, through the authors abilities to reuse ("in the action") a "general synthesis", not avoiding the precedent of some theoretical constructs easily to be recognize from the Romanian exegesis on the subject, or in the rapport to the philosophical and political decree of *modernity as an unfinished project*, immanent counter (in Habermas' acceptation) of modernity itself; or a Lyotardian way of reloading the articulations gained from the continuation of the exhausted modernity; and why not, of modernity as a Wallenstein's product of leaps (*cultural*, that of a *modernizing through culture strategy*[2]) inside the tensioned moments of the *saeculum*.

The research relevance is cautioned by the scientific endorsement of Ion Goian, to the circumstance announced by Aurel Codoban that "philosophy could easily pass by as one of the contemporary literature species"[3], a way of probing, tracing and re-capitalizing the relevant cultural and political phenomena, that cultural projects that are related to the instrumental aspect of a generation, or to the *normalizing culture — through-project*. Both represent alternative versions of an *Umwertung aller Werte* made in the name of a different modernity, with all the historical occultation signs or that of the paradox transformation of a generation (see *Generation '27*) in a paseist political ideology instrument[4].

Interpreting moving effect of cultural-political [from the combination of the *intellectual revolution* with the *philosophical* one, sustaining *the intellectual profile as a socio-political category, formed by individuals who transfer the gained prestige in exercising (sometimes eminent) of an intellectual profession (humanistic, in art, literature etc) in the public life*[5], with all the hesitations *words revolution vs. ideas revolution*] the authors intention is to regaining, into a transparent way, the less seen profile — *the less known manifest of a national revolution — of some anti-liberal* texts, with *energy and radical formulations, defining more a state of spirit.* This effect is involved a discursive way of the epoch, in fact a Ricœurian way of maintaining a suspicious cultural construct[6].

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[1] Opting for an imported construct — *Alternative Modernity* — recovered via the collective volume of Parameshwar Gaonkar (2001) — reactivated the *identity signs archive* (of Romanian thinking) coming from modernity as a generation collective spiritual state, as modernizing pluralism, multiple and multipliable, in fact alternative, with different speeds, leaving on a secondary row an autochthon way of reporting to modernity as *affirmation and negation* (modernism and anti-modernism — see Sorin Alexandrescu, Sorin Antohi, following Charles Harrison or Paul Wood) *a fractured and incomplete formula* (A. T. Sârbu, George Schöpflin) or even *tendentially* as Constantin Schifirneţ approaches it.

[2] Ion Goian, *Mircea Eliade şi Generaţia de la 1927 [Mircea Eliade and Generation '27]*, p. 13.

[3] Aurel Codoban, *Filosofia ca gen literar [Philosophy as a Literary Gender]*, second edition, Idee Design & Print Publishing House 2005, Cluj, p. 8.

[4] Ion Goian, *Mircea Eliade şi Generaţia de la 1927 [Mircea Eliade and Generation '27]*, p. 19.

[5] Ion Goian, p. 33.

[6] Ion Goian, p. 59.

In order to avoid the danger of lingering in the suspicious mentalities to which has referred also G. Călinescu when warned about the fact that bibliography should be consulted and selected in a rigorous way, the present volume studies opt for collecting and interpreting the documentary samples (a procedure almost unanimously inversed by the canonized interpretations on the subject), this research is confirming the cultural role in creating points of view, although any historiographical interpretation cannot avoid a "subjective" view.

With the necessary mention that the re-ordination procedures of the authors can be easily recognized also from the sequences where the theories and/or the profile notes enter into a dialogue, reciprocally completing the scientific arsenal, far from any unique perspective.

Mircea Eliade și Generația de la 1927[Mircea Eliade and Generation '27] (Ion Goian), *Nae Ionescu — Repere ale gândirii politice [Nae Ionescu — An Approach of the Political Thinking]* (Florin Müller), *Mircea Vulcănescu — o tâlcuire răsăriteană a modernității [Mircea Vulcănescu — An Eastern Interpretation of Modernity]* (Lucian-Ștefan Dumitrescu), *Mihail Manoilescu — Naționalismul ca dreptate și cale de modernizare [Mihail Manoilescu — Nationalism as Justice and Way of Modernization]* (Cristi Pantelimon) follow, in the same line of interpretation, the evolution and the intersections of the based reasoning, the direct effect of culturological, political, philosophical openings. Because, *the world can be described ideologically, but also ideologies are the result of subliming the historical realities of a historical moment*[7].

Although, Nae Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Mircea Vulcănescu și Mihail Manoilescu, are placed together in the same framework, they are not immobilized inside a preconceived scheme, the volume avoiding any temptation of a one perspective analyze[8].

Re-attaching the affirmation of the coordinator of the volume, Cristi Pantelimon[9], to the coagulating way of transcribing around the Romanian cultural synapses, avoiding the trap of fixed ideas denounce also by Ion Dur[10] as an operating framework of the Interwar period, the volume refers just to the joining process of the cultural excerpts with a critical and philosophical axis.

The unitary hypothesis is delivered by the intention according to which, the studies doesn't propose neither to rehabilitate the *tragic intellectual profile* (see the sense given by Ion Goian), nor the completion of some "stub" (allusion to the lacunars of Wikipedia), but it rapports to a *certain type of revolutionary reality*, that of the historical and political "problems" and to the cultural "categories" (having in mind what Manoilescu has proposed through bourgeoisie's political function / cultural position[11]); with all the evidence felt from the absorption/ defeat of the cultural by politic[12], of step in of the "political intervening" (*Politischen Eingreifer*) inside cultural.

The originality of the volume can be recognize in deposing and interpreting the Romanian Interwar "energetism" — a position which can leave the feeling of a "historical twirl" [reinterpreting Claudio Mutti's affirmation that "Conservative Revolution can be extended also to Romania and to the Legionary Movement, in particular"] recovering just the evidence according to which, every nation has its own revolution but also its own dialectical war with modernity[13].

We can accept, in this sense, Vulcănescu's clarification that between traditional and modern civilization there is no alternative[14], with all the Interwar generation charging from the differences *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*[15].

Researching Romanian *alternative modernity*, reporting it to the Interwar cultural pivots, targets in fact the affiliation criteria to a certain "program" of modernism values, consolidating a "revolutionary pattern" of intersection, a hermeneutical approach focused upon reactivating the predilection Interwar discussions; with the mention that, in order to investigate the alternative modernity, the present volume envisions the double recordation, speculative — operative reasoning which follows texts and contexts, in what the authors consider alternatives, meaning formworks, "deviations", intersecting points, or specific differences.

Viorella Manolache

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[7] Cristi Pantelimon, *Prefață [Preface]*, p. 6.

[8] Cristi Pantelimon, p. 5.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 6.

[10] Ion Dur, *Ciorne și zile [Drafts and Days],* "Lucian Blaga" University Publishing House, Sibiu, 2012.

[11] Cristi Pantelimon, *Mihail Manoilescu — Naționalismul ca dreptate și cale de modernizare [Mihail Manoilescu — Nationalism as Justice and Way of Modernization]*, pp. 245-256.

[12] Ion Goian, p. 60.

[13] Cristi Pantelimon, p. 8.

[14] Lucian-Ștefan Dumitrescu, *Mircea Vulcănescu — o tâlcuire răsăriteană a modernității* [*Mircea Vulcănescu — An Eastern Interpretation of Modernity*], p. 194.

[15] Lucian-Ștefan Dumitrescu, p. 191.

Marius Stoian
Proiectul România, Bucharest, ISPRI Publishing House, 2012, 170 p.

Within the far too long period of post-communist transition of Romania there were, according to the analysts, only two national projects: the accession to NATO and, then, to the European Union. Romania fulfilled to this end several minimal conditions that did not overcome by far the agreement or the theoretical level. The other levels — social, educational, military, concerning the environment or justice remained though almost petrified in the previous stage to that of pre-accession. This is the context and, at the same time, the opportunity for which the book of Marius Stoian, *Proiectul România*, appears by the end of 2012. The texts included in this volume capture the pre-accession realities and problems of Romania, as they are emphasized in the view of the author during more than two years, since 2010 and until the end of 2012. The main theme of the book is generated by the paradox state of the Romanian society of a state only formally member of NATO and EU, but with inadequate, unreformed, out-of-date institutions and rules. The form, one could easily understand during the reading of the book, it is the right one. The author pleas and militates and, most importantly, *finds solutions* for the eventual adequation of the substance of the institutions and rules to their form. This is the purpose of the „Project Romania", a national project that, for the author, should establish the priorities and the directions of the European Romania.

Most of the texts included in this book describe specifically aspects, parts of the "imperfect conjecture" (p. 88), that is, Romanian society. And, as with any conjecture of this sort each of the aspects envisioned generate the idea of projects, solutions that should be understood and employed to give meaning and consistence to a grand "Romania project". Media, the business environment and the political one, but also the educational Romanian systems, especially in their relation to the matter of elites, represent aspects of Romanian society that are described and analyzed most frequently in this volume. *New media*, *Anticorruption Corporatist Platform*, the reformed structures of *intelligence* and, especially, the *club, the network* represent, using the terms of the author, parts of „the necessary regeneration for the Project Romania". The meaning the comprehension realm of each of these concepts, their contribution to the optimization of the realities of Romanian society, are all to be found out by the reader in the pages of the book.

The author's vision on a consensual, trans-party national project and continuous (in relation to the political cycles) represents, as I have already shown from the beginning, the grand theme, the fundamental objective, around which the book was conceived. With his texts though, Marius Stoian attains another objective (intended or not from the very beginning): discussing the role of informal clubs and discreet social networks discovering and "humanizing" these social structures that the general public regards suspiciously, and, sometimes, with fear. These clubs, consisting of elite personalities, specialists in various fields and top of their trade, have all a first rank social utility. Synthesizing, they are mediators of society, generating ideas and directions at the internal and international level and as sites of "subtle powers" legitimated in epistemic ways, "creators of durable agendas" (p. 58). The ones interested by the problem of the influence of the informal discreet structures, type Bilderberg Club or Trilateral Commission, find numerous and useful pieces of information helpful in the specification or deepening the atmosphere and resorts of these organizations.

Understandably, for a corresponding Project Romania there are necessary both the intellectual contribution and the social imagination of the Romanian elite, which, according to the similar international models, should reunite and form "a type of network exchanging ideas in an informal context and that influence the personal options of decision by the interaction and height of its members" (p. 53). Concretely, the author shows, Romania needs a *power club*, which fundamental purpose should be to draw the action directions for the Romanian society, to answer clearly to the question "What is here accomplished?" Meanwhile, beyond the grand design, the task of establishing the institutional form of functioning for the European Romanian state for the members of this club, the *think-tank* elitist group has also the prestigious role to show "how is done" (p. 53), how are to be applied these ideas and directions fixed within the club. In fact, the plea for a Romanian think-tank is a recurrent theme of the book of Marius Stoian and several chapters are devoted to this theme.

Not only have the connoisseurs of the networks of subtle power found in these volume topics of interest, but also the (aspiring) specialists in geopolitics and international relations. The vision of Marius Stoian is, in this respect, somewhat a novel one. For instance, the fashionable geopolitics idea situating Romania as a bridge between West and East, between the West and Russia/Eurasia is rejected, the author proposing a different position for the country. We leave the reader the pleasure of finding out which one. In what concerns BRIC, SUE (the United States of Europe) and other concepts constructing reality on *regional unions* and the clubs of *wireless states* — all relating to geopolitics and international relations — are as well discussed in the book.

Proiectul Romania invites the reading of specialists, academic or business elites — as these are main characters in this narration — as well as of the general public, considering the force of ideas, the consequence of investigation and the interesting while accessible writing of a truly subtle work.

Diana Didă
Translation by Henrieta Şerban

Gheorghe Cojocaru

Ieşirea din URSS (Sortir de l'URSS), Editions de l'Institut de Sciences Politiques et Relations Internationales, Bucarest, 2012, 537 p.

Le livre *Ieşirea din URSS (Sortir de l'URSS)*, signé par Gheorghe Cojocaru, a été publié en 2012 aux Editions de l'Institut de Sciences Politiques et Relations Internationales de l'Académie Roumaine, faisant partie de la collection Politique et Diplomatie.

L'auteur est directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire, Etat et Droit de l'Académie de Sciences de Moldova. Il nous propose cet ouvrage, conçu sous la forme d'un recueil de documents recouvrant les années chaudes — 1990 et 1991: sténogrames des réunions du Soviet Suprème de la République Soviétique Socialiste de Moldova, transformé postérieurement en Parlement de la République de Moldova; déclarations et arrêts relatifs à la souveraineté de cet Etat ou à l'évaluation politique et juridique de certains documents ayant une importance capitale pour le trajet historique de ce territoire: le Traité soviéto-allemand de non agression et le Protocole secrèt du 23 août 1939 — précédes d'une étude introductive qui explique les difficultés du processus invers, par lequel l'Etat moldave sort d'un Etat gigantesque, artificiellement construit sur des fondements idéologiques, donc totalitaire et opressif.

La séparation de la République Soviétique Socialiste de Moldova par rapport à l'URSS a exigé un calcul attentif des pas à suivre, en commençant par la Déclaration de Souveraineté, du 23 juin 1990, jusqu'au changement de la dénommination d'Etat — en Republique de Moldova —, et la Déclaration d'Indépendance, votée par les députés du dernier Soviet Suprème, le 27 août 1991, en séance extraordinaire.

Les documents sélectionnés en reconstruisent le trajet, leur contenu indiquant aux lecteurs les détails et les subtilités que les politiques moldaves ont dû prendre en compte, en pesant le sens, le poids et les effets de chacun des mots qu'ils ont mis dans les documents qu'ils redigeaient, pour faire en sorte que leur démarche soit irreversible, stable, inévitable et légitime tant par rapport à l'URSS — qui prétendait vouloir se réformer en proposant aux Etats membres un nouveau Traité unional, à la place de celui constitutif, de 1922 — tout comme par rapport aux normes internationales.

La valeur de ces documents vient du fait qu'ils refont, outre la présentation des informations proprement dites — dont certaines sont déjà connues —, l'atmosphère de ces moments historiques, vécus par les politiques moldaves qui ont eu la responsabilité de prendre des décisions dans un processus inédit: la décomposition d'un Etat fédéral et d'une grande puissance mondiale.

Dans l'étude introductive, l'auteur se demande: *Qu'est-ce que cet événement de grande envergure sociale et historique a pu consigner: le point maximum du mouvement d'emancipation démocratique et nationale, un accident de l'Histoire, une décision imposée par les circonstances de l'époque ou l'expression de la volonté populaire?* (n. t., p. 11)

Les documents présentés dans cet ouvrage sont l'epreuve du fait que l'émancipation démocratique et nationale, la volonté du peuple, exprimée par l'intermédiaire des représentants politiques, ont eu un poids incontestable dans le processus au bout duquel la Moldova est sortie de l'URSS. Mais l'auteur ne peut pas laisser de coté le poids de l'imprévu, celui-ci accélérant de manière irreversible le processus déjà démarré et simplifiant radicalement les rapports entre les forces en faveur du processus, celles en faveur d'une réforme qui aurait pu le tempérer et, respectivement, celles s'y opposant.

L'échec du putch de Moscou, en août 1991, a annulé, à la fois, le plan de Gorbatchev — le noveau Traité d'Union, qui aurait donné naissance à l'Union des Etats Souverains, et la tentative de la faction orthodoxe de la structure pan-unionale de Moscou, qui voulaient empêcher, à tout prix, la décomposition de l'URSS. La chute de l'URSS a accéléré l'indépendance des républiques.

La Déclaration d'Indépendance du 27 août 1991, acte constitutif, a conféré à la nouvelle République de Moldova le statut de sujet de droit international. Pour autant, cette victoire n'a été ni simple, ni gratuite. Par rapport à la Bessarabie de 1940, la république actuelle a perdu la Bucovine de Nord et la Hertza, alors que le territoire à gauche du Nistre constitue l'enjeu d'un conflit resté sans solution. D'autre part, quelques uns des documents présents dans l'ouvrage font ressortir les coûts économiques de l'indépendance, inévitables si l'on prend en compte la dépendance des républiques soviétiques par rapport au centre.

Ruxandra Iordache

Jacqueline Marie Vieceli

A Philosophy of Global Pluralism. A Multicultural Approach to Political Theory, with a Foreword by Patrick O'Meara, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013, 302 p.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, science and architecture, the universally understood literature, the archetypes, or the power and deep meaning of the great myths of humanity — the myth of the saviour, the myth

of the golden age, the myth of unity etc. — are but a few examples of cultural products that shaped the universal consciousness of humanity.

Many contemporary thinkers (including Huntington, in his warning about the clash of civilizations) oversee the possibility "that some members of a civilization may have more in common philosophically with members of another civilization than they do with members of their own civilizational group" (p. 3), as some may have a lot in common with human ancestry and others may have more in common with the others than they might be willing to admit. Other particular situations are also possible. The undeniable existence of particularisms does not contradict the possibility of the universal dimension of humanity, but they only describe it, "colour" it, and provide its substance.

In this perspective, the Introduction and the first chapter of the volume explain that the major concerns of humanity have created a sphere of universal themes, values, (moral) norms, human rights and ideals that transcend cultural relativism and emphasize the need to reframe political theory from a universal and global vision, maintaining at its core the equal value of all human beings, cultures and human communities. Jacqueline Marie Vieceli discusses the question of commensurability and incommensurability of cultures, which philosophically is extremely captivating, but whose political shadow functions so that sustains the existence of "inscrutable others", a category not so distant from the unreasonable, dangerous and perpetual child-like others. Disagreements and differences within and among cultures could be "read" and construed — and this is the political shadow of ideas — either as insurmountable, or as contextualized illustrations of the very universalism some may choose to ignore. In this line of argumentation Chapter III, portrays the phenomenon that brings together the different traditions of thought in their dimension of quest for human virtue. Thus human virtue is forged in society either by the state (for Greek and Confucian thinkers) or by the religious elite (Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist and African traditions). But in all traditions, as different as they may be, from the Chinese legalists to the Hindu Kautilya, St. Augustine, Joseph de Maistre and Martin Luther, "the primary responsibility of the state is the suppression of wrongdoing through law and use of punishment" (p. 67).

None of human traditions is univocal or static. Thus the idea of divine mandate as source of political legitimacy is not related exclusively to the Western or Eastern thought and, similarly, the idea of the social contract generated by the authority and sustained by community is not exclusively Western (it is present in some form or another also in Hindu, Confucian and African thought, in Sunni Muslim thought and in Buddhist canon, p. 85). The pre-established image of Asian or African thought might indicate obedience to tradition, respect for elders and the virtue of hard work as main characteristics, while many ideas in these traditions are counter-intuitive for Westerners as they are dedicated to the limits of power, the right of people to free themselves of oppressive rule, enlightenment and concern for needs and wishes of the people are also Asian values, too. (p. 86) On this foundation of "liberal" Eastern thought the Eastern ideas of good government were developed and abound in all cultures with ideas of political obligation. The right of the people and the duty of rulers were the two pillars of political thought with relevance for political practice that gradually shaped the road toward the pinnacle of themes related with human rights and democracy.

Although ideas of human dignity and human right are not exclusive to Western political literature, the legal instruments and the legal forms that developed civil, political and economic rights are developed in systematic manner in Western societies. These are interested more in individual autonomy and in the limitations of the interference of the state, and in implementing these ideas into practice. Human dignity, though, provides sufficient common ground for an increased cultural comprehension and inter-connection in the world.

"The Economy and the State" (Ch. VII) makes interesting parallels in the political economy thought East and West. The idea of the state promoting free markets and individual action, while protecting these spheres from crime developed by Adam Smith is investigated in relation to the ideas of social welfare guided by Church (Pope Leo), the vision of state as patronage, and as regulator; neither as a player, nor a monopole (Confucius, Mencius, Kautilya, Ibn Khaldun).

Is justified to use political violence in resisting oppression? The following chapter answers the question and identifies a duality of positions: some accepting revolutionary violence and other advocating nonviolence, forgiveness or even the resistance without any reaction. Where these positions meet is the common ground of a Lockean perspective on human nature — rational human beings, able to seek improvement, able to correct themselves and animated by some idea of good, freedom and justice that they have in common. The more severe social cleavages, though, the further we are from the possibility of non-violent reconciliation leading to peaceful reform.

The most difficult of all particularisms appears to be the topic of the causes for differences in women's status among various civilizations, which casts a dark and thick shadow on The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The core argument for this difficulty is that "men and women in any of these traditions have available to them various and sometimes contradictory images of women, as well as the lives of actual individual women on which to base the visions of gender relations which they consider desirable" (p. 210). The informal power that women enjoy in all cultures in their family-like environments (the universal dimension) is partially contradicted to various extents in different cultures by the deficient formal power and integrity of political and human rights

for women (the particular dimension). The spiritual accomplishments of women (the universal dimension) are counter-weighted by "the negative images of women as intellectually weak and inherently sinful"(the particular dimension).

The separation between state and church presents as well an intricate distinction between the West and the East, as well counter-suggestive, since both "Western and non-Western thinkers have rejected the linking of religious and political authority" (p. 232), although the rejection of truth claims made by religious authorities is rather a Western specific characteristic of the Western political thought. In all societies some favour a conjunction between church and state and some recall the discrimination and persecution associated with the intrusion of the religious power as a disguised inhuman political power, advocating a severe separation between the state and the church.

The global perspective on political philosophy teaches us that we could be further in securing a common ground against inequity, tyranny and conflict, and closer to understanding the importance of human life in decency, only that the intercivilizational dialogue muted by misconceptions. The similarities of many ideas, arguments and directions of political philosophy offer a possibility of dialogue about differences.

Ernesto Laclau proposed a vision where "there is no beyond the play of differences", a vision of "weakened universalization" where any universal value is dimmed by particularism, by context. Also, pure particularism is impossible because each description and definition of position has to be defined as difference from something which attracts other differences "within a whole system that reconstructs certain universality"[1]. In Laclau's view, while Marxism moved toward a discourse of universality that was incompatible with difference, and struggled to eliminate differences, the problem of democracy is that it creates a society of the multiplicity (of cultures, demands, interests, and so on), which *seems* the ultimate argument for particularism.

A Philosophy of Global Pluralism shows that the interplay between universalism and particularism both strengthens and weakens universalism and particularism. Particularisms of all sorts only emphasize more clearly (their) universal dimension, and we should start talking of "This universalism which is not one".[2]

Henrieta Anişoara Şerban

Maleeha Lodhi (ed.)
Pakistan: Beyond the 'Crisis State', Oxford University Press, 2011, 391 p.

Intellectual Background and Social Context

In post 9/11 period, Pakistan, a nuclear state in a volatile region, has turned highly unstable; notably, it has been facing an unprecedented political, economic and social turmoil since 2007. While Pakistan has been confronted with multiple challenges, the resilience and potentials of its people have enabled it not to be beaten by multiple crises. Pakistan's promising potential lies in a number of attributes: competent professionals and technically trained people, a hardworking labor force, a growing middle class, an enterprising business community, an energetic free media, and a lively arts, literature and music. Pakistan's substantial industrial base, an extensive infrastructure of roads and communication links, a modern banking system, a large domestic market, and a thriving informal economy have enabled it to face severe global financial crisis. However, successive governments have been unable to exploit this potential for success, making Pakistan's progress and development retarded. Drawing strength from this perspective, "Pakistan: Beyond the 'Crisis State'" is inspired by the belief that Pakistan's problems and challenges can be overcome.

Previous Stages of Knowledge

In view of Pakistan's prevailing instability, a number of western analysts have attempted in recent years to build possible scenarios about country's future. Their writings, based on present-day indicators and trends, have developed a general consensus on the 'middle' way, something in between success and failure, as the Pakistan's most plausible outcome. In 2010, Jonathan Paris, a London-based American analyst, has suggested three scenarios for the near future of the country. Based on the review of a number of variables, including economy, civil-military relations and Islamist trends, he concludes that Pakistan will 'muddle through' rather than become a successful or failed state. Stephen Cohen, in his book 'The Future of Pakistan' (2011), has discussed seven scenarios for the next five years. In his view, Pakistan will remain 'establishment-dominated' and the most likely scenario is some form of 'muddling through', a situation in which 'the state is always in transition but never arrives'. A workshop organized in 2011 by New York University's Centre for Global Affairs has suggested three broad scenarios for the future of Pakistan to the year 2020: Radicalization, Fragmentation and Reform. Lodhi's 'Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State' underlines five possible scenarios for the next few years

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[1] Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, London:Verso, 1996.
[2] Linda M. G. Zirelli titled her review of Emancipation(s) "This universalism which is not one" in *Diacritics*, volume 28, no. 2, summer 1998, pp. 3-20.

of Pakistan's future course. Collectively, the seventeen chapters of this edited publication, written by Pakistan's distinguished practitioners and scholars, add a new dimension to the ongoing debate on 'Whither Pakistan'.

Subject

'Pakistan: Beyond a Crisis State' depicts five possible scenarios for Pakistan in near future, emphasizing that 'Pakistan's challenges are surmountable' and that 'the impetus for change and renewal can only come from within'. The first is muddling through, which, in view of present trends, assumes that political and economic dysfunction will keep on feeding on each other. The second scenario is a military backed civilian technocratic rule assigned to implement urgent structural reforms and avert a financial breakdown of the country. The third scenario is social breakdown brought by mounting challenges, leading to state collapse, and possible takeover by Islamist extremists. The fourth scenario refers to the possibility in which one or more of the established political parties, seeing the changing socio-economic landscape, consider adjusting themselves to new dynamics of the political culture. The fifth scenario, the most promising one, looks to the potential of transformative role of the middle class that spurs the public to vote for change and leads a reform movement to carry out fundamental changes in governance mode.

The writers discuss the issues related to governance, security, economic and human development, and foreign policy, taking into account the complex intersection of domestic and international factors.

Firstly, the country's current predicament is traced in its troubled past, arguing that 'national paranoia' has prevented a 'critical historical tradition' to flourish and hence a strategic course of change. Religion has been used for multiple objectives including nation-building and security but now the blowback of this practice has become an unprecedented challenge for the country.

Secondly, it is reasoned that optimism about Pakistan lies in its vastness, diversity, traditions of co-existence, evolving democracy, and reservoirs of natural resources. There is an intense debate about the nature and character of the Pakistani state: modern and functional state vs. theocratic state vs. a balance between the two. Presently, a paradox exists between Pakistani state and society: a weak state and a strong society. The socio-economic landscape of the society has started to transform since a decade or so but the political landscape is still characterized by patronage-dominated politics and governance failures. 'Once politics catches up with these changes the foundation would be laid for a functional and responsive state'.

Thirdly, army's repeated political interventions have marred the long-term objective of building democratic institutions. Changing domestic dynamics and emerging national consensus on restricting the political role of the military will strengthen the democratic process and performance.

Fourthly, the book explains how the economic challenge is the most daunting one. It recommends reforming civil service and building 'institutions of restraint' in order to improve economic governance. To make Pakistan a viable state, it needs a 'regime-change in economic policy-making and implementation of key reforms'. A coordinated policy can help to address the energy crisis solution of which is indispensable for economic revival.

Finally, the range of strategic challenges that Pakistan faces today have been assessed from the perspective of Pakistan's strategic decline due particularly to economic weakness, lack of domestic harmony and strategic confusion. Pakistan's major strategic challenges are the internal threat from militancy, its interests in Afghanistan, a pervasive challenge from India and post-9/11 relations with the US. Pakistan needs effective and comprehensive measures to deal with militancy. Pakistan's role will be critical in determining whether the region descends into chaos or moves towards a negotiated settlement that ensures peaceful withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan. Despite a progress in normalization of relations between India and Pakistan, Kashmir dispute will keep on haunting the relations between two neighbors and therefore lasting peace requires an amicable settlement of this core dispute.

Muhammad Riaz Shad

Antoine Heemeryck, Cristi Pantelimon (coord.)
La globalisation en perspective. Elites et normes, Editions Niculescu, Bucarest, 2012, 205 p.

Le livre *La globalisation en perspective. Elites et normes*, paru en 2012 aux Editions Niculescude Bucarest, réunit, sous la coordination d'Antoine Heemeryck et Cristi Pantelimon, plusieurs études en langue française, qui se proposent d'aborder, à partir de perspectives différentes mais complémentaires, le phénomène ample et complexe de la globalisation.

Les auteurs viennent de directions différentes — anthropologie, sociologie, philosophie, économie — mais l'accent qu'ils mettent sur le rôle et la position des élites dans la globalisation leur est commun et contribue au caractère unitaire de l'architecture du volume.

L'etude d'Antoine Heemeryck, *La globalisation en perspective. Politisation et objectivation*, démontre que la globalisation est un nouveau contexte, et souligne qu'il existe une équivalence entre celle-ci et la guerre froide ou la période d'entre-les-deux guerres. L'auteur précise le critère — le seul, d'ailleurs — de cette

comparaison: ces périodes sont des „unités perennes de même grandeur" (p. 5) L'auteur cherche un fondement dans ce que la globalisation a de particulier — „ses structures sociales, politiques, économiques et culturelles et l'articulation de ses échelles du niveau international au niveau local". (pp. 5-6) et il essaye de démonter certains pièges ou lieux communs véhiculés dans le débat sur la globalisation — la tentation de séparer, artificiellement, lé domaine économique du domaine politique; la tentation d'analyser la globalisation en termes dichotomiques, sans opérer avec les nuances nécessaires: bien et mal, opportunité et malheur etc., etc. De même, le premier chapitre constitue l'occasion pour l'un des deux coordinateurs d'annoncer les chapitres suivants, dans une clé qui explique l'intention générale du volume.

Le chapitre suivant, *Unicité et pluralité des normes dans la globalisation. Une approche anthropologique,* de Bernard Hours et Monique Selime, se propose de placer, sur l'axe du temps, le moment de début du phénomène: la fin du XXe siècle, plus précisemment la fraction de fin du siècle qui a apporté le démantellement de l'Union Soviétique. A partir de ce moment-là, un nouveau monde est né, un monde qui héritait quelque chose de l'ordre antérieur, mais qui est venu avec des normes, valeurs, pratiques restructurées et réconfigurées (p. 40), auxquelles la majorité des gens sont exposés, passivement ou activement (p. 19).

Le chapitre *Moralité, religion et matérialisme. Les contradictions de la globlisation,* de Cristi Pantelimon souligne le lien existant entre la globalisation — en tant que phénomène de „perte de mesure" — et l'affaiblissement religieux du monde et l'augmentation dangereuse, sans précédent, des forces économiques.

Mathieu Caulier, dans le chapitre intitulé *Les politiques et la globalisation philanthropique. Dynamique de l'activisme global au Mexique,* nous propose un parcours sur les actions philantropiques dans un espace délimité, avec ses dimensions locales — Mexique — dans le but de prouver comment la globalisation politique des identités intersecte-t-elle les contextes nationaux (locaux), en s'adaptant aux agendas politiques locaux.

Antoine Heemeryck, dans le chapitre *La dé-communisation conservatrice en Roumanie. Le communisme comme matrice de dé/légitimation politique*, construit son thème d'analyse à partir, lui aussi, d'un espace délimité. L'auteur constate que, dans les sociétés post-communistes de l'Europe de l'Est, les gens continuent à utiliser, d'une manière surprenante, vingt anx après la chute du communisme, de mots tels: communiste, bolchévik, meurtrier, traitre, nommenclaturiste, informateur, en opposition avec: morale, éthique, liberté, courage, anticommunisme, société civile etc. L'auteur s'interroge, en étudiant l'exemple de la Roumanie, restreint jusqu'au niveau d'un quartier bucarestois, et en constatant le fait que les individus se rapportent de manière différentes à des événements-repère — la Révolution de 1989 — sur les causes et la nature des tensions persistantes encore dans la société roumaine concernant le positionnement face au communisme.

Le chapitre *Education et globalisation*, de Emilian M. Dobrescu, met en lumière l'importance de l'éducation pour le développement de l'individu, et oppose éléments pérennes du modèle educationnel à la globalisation: le volet négatif de la globalisation écarte les individus des normes et valeurs apprises dans le processus d'éducation, les projette dans une hyper-réalité qui leur nuit, et, au même temps, réduit la possibilité d'accès élémentaire à l'éducation pour les gens vivant dans la pauvreté extrème.

Le chapitre *L'Etat post-moderne et les risques de la globalisation,* de Mihai Milca, met en évidence les transformations subies par l'Etat moderne comme conséquence de l'affirmation de la primauté de l'individu — avec ses attributs d'impersonnalité et anonymat. L'auteur explique la transition de l'Etat moderne vers l'Etat post-moderne, processus en déroulement, en soulignant, avec de nombreuses références, les effets de la globalisation sur l'entité de l'Etat — dans toutes ses dimensions.

Le chapitre de Radu Baltasiu, *Globalisation et anthropologie régionale. Développement du capitalisme et construction de la réalité sociale*, insiste sur la composante anthropologique de la globalisation et sur ses connotations économiques. La répartition inégale du développement mondial — sur les axes Vest-Est, Nord-Sud — constituie un point de départ pour l'hypothèse que la „ globalisation... a un impact sur l'humanité tout au long de ses lignes géographiques de développement, comprises en tant que rapprochement du bien-être ou de la pauvreté" (p. 170).

Le volume offre aux lecteurs des développements, ramifications, argumentations, opinions et interprétations amples, riches et diverses — soutenues d'un appareil solide de références bibliographiques — qui ébauchent le tableau maintes fois contradictoire de la globalisation. La présentation très schématique de ses chapitres ne fait que lancer une invitation à la lecture.

Ruxandra Iordache