

BOOK REVIEWS

Alexandru Boboc

Semiotică și comunicare. Conceptul modern de limbaj la întâlnirea dintre gramatică, logică și filosofie, Cluj-Napoca, Tribuna Publishing House, 2015, 292 p.

Conceived under the motto “Language is the formative organ of thought” (W. von Humbolt, 1836), the book entitled *Semiotică și comunicare. Conceptul modern de limbaj la întâlnirea dintre gramatică, logică și filosofie* (*Semiotics and Communication. The Modern Concept of Language at the Intersection of Grammar, Logic and Philosophy*) approaches theoretical and philosophical aspects relevant for semiotics, logic and ontology within an equation that connects meaning, value, being and truth.

The book is structured in chapters that illustrate the central themes in semiotics: Language and technical language. Traditional approaches and the semiotic approach; Semiotics and semiotic models. Types of signs and types of languages. Sign and symbol in the fundamental conceptions; Semantics and models of semantics. Basic concepts. Theories of meaning. Reference. “On Denotation”. “Object theory” and the problem of non-entities; Semantics and ontology. Interpretation and “possible worlds”. Semantics and hermeneutics; Semantics and logic. “Logical semantics”. Semantic categories. The semantic concept of truth; Semantics and syntax. “Logical syntax”. Syntax and text theory; Logic and grammar. The Modern concept of grammar; Pragmatics and communication. “The pragmatic turn” in contemporary thought; Instead of *Conclusion*: Semantic and magic in the language of communication. The annexes of the book present fragments of fundamental works correlated in a pertinent manner with the topics approached: “From Frege’s correspondence with D. Hilbert, E. Husserl, B. Russell and so on”; G. Frege, On Sense and Reference; H.-G. Gadamer, Semantics and Hermeneutics; R. Carnap, Old Logic and New Logic; Discussion about the Foundations of Mathematics”.

Alexandru Boboc shows that the semiotic approach is born in relation to the world of things, out of the creation of and change in meaning generated by the spiritual freedom and the conceptualization of being through language. Modernity crystallizes the rise to universality, as Alexandru Boboc underlines: “With this, the natural magic of the word is replaced by a true mirage: that of the sign and the symbol, by which the language appears as bearer of a spiritual meaning and yet it becomes the condition and the basic structure for the human universe, because man lives in a symbolic universe, not in a natural one. Language, myth, art and religion constitute parts of this universe, the multicolored threads that weave the symbolic fabric, the compact network of human experience. Any human progress in thought and in experience refines and fortifies this network” (p. 11).

As following we identify the main ideas of the book, which are relevant for the social scientists. Communication represents this actualization of language, which is an expression of a continuous nuancing and closeness to reality through the symbolic and semiotic means of human language that draws a sketch of the language-speech universe. This way diversity undertakes the forms of universality.

Language is an educator of thought, it is “*innere Sprachform*”, a “carcass of thought and thought decides in what concerns the use of language in a dynamism which is specific for the communication, generating that Humboldtian *Energeia* corresponding to the generative grammar of Chomsky, as well as to the “creativity specific to each speech act” (Humboldt). Language is responsible with the “specific organization of the data provided by experience” (Martinet). Although man lives in natural environments it is more relevant that man lives also in artificial cultural environments, among the “symbolic forms” (Cassirer).

Via speech and language man takes part in the creation of value, defining his own sphere of the humane. In this respect language as language is the manner of existence for the human being, *das Haus des Seins* (p. 21).

The universal determines the particular and in this respect the book identifies a Peircean status of the real resulting from the acts of thought, each act appreciated as a type of all-comprising Pol. Sc. Int. Rel., XIII, 2, pp. 210–223, Bucharest, 2016.

consensus. As well the triadic relation as the iconic signs, the indexes and the symbols are in a relation of correspondence with the set of concepts generated by the relation with the subject – the term, the proposition and the argument, Alexandru Boboc emphasizing the special relevance of the typology of Peircean thought for logic and the philosophy of mathematics.

The work pursues the capitalization of the Peircian tradition in Ch. W. Morris, M. Schullz, S. Marcus, G. Deledalle, E. Husserl, etc.

Interpreting the domain of culture, as it appears in the perspective opened by Ernst Cassirer, it appears as a realm of symbols, not just sign and expressions (*Ausdruck*), nor mere presentations (*Darstellung*), but also conceptualizations or assigning of meanings (*Bedeutung*) (p. 61). This process of acquiring meaning is found in correlation with the historical evolution of human communities and in this way semantics attains a pragmatic foundation.

The theoretical discussion associated with the study of meaning is characterized by diversity and pluralism. Al. Boboc emphasizes the conceptual identity and evolution of the field by interpreting the contributions of Carnap and Frege to “reference semantics” as well as by pertinent comments and correlations with perspectives sustained by other important authors such as J. Lyons, E. Coşeriu, Em. Vasiliu, T. De Mauro, A. J. Greimas, etc. The conceptualization of meaning emphasizes the plurality and the multi-directionality of the relationships between thinking and expression of thought, unveiling diverse philosophical orientations and finality. In H. Rickert we have an axiological and ontological theory of meaning. Meaning implies a value character through the value judgment and the theoretical value of meaning opening to interpretation also a “transcendent validity” of meaning.

The ontological perspective of meaning is capitalized from Husserl, provided the object-relation theorizing that intermediates meaning, without the overlapping between object and meaning. The philosopher discerns between the lack of objectuality and the lack of meaning as well as between the lack of meaning and absurdity. In Husserl semantics interacts with the ideational, a domain of ideal meanings or of the “meanings in themselves”, as he considers that only through interaction are the “expressed” meanings generated (p. 88). As following, the ontological engagement of modern semantics for the universal forms is emphasized.

Differentiating between *Bezug* (reference) and *Bedeutung* (meaning) Alexandru Boboc notices that Frege reintroduces the distinction between denotation and connotation and the correlation with the theory of intensions built by Carnap (p. 99). The Frege – Carnap comparison continues with the following main observation: if, in Frege, “the principle of substitution” acts unimpeded and in different contexts different meanings are expressed, in Carnap the principle is limited (intensions are primordial when compared to the extensions) and the expressions maintain their meanings despite the change in context.

B. Russell completes the Fregean analysis, but also defines his difference from it, in an interpretation of denotation and of the distinction between existence and being, as well as of the diverse modalities of existing as a being (*Seinsweisen*). The distinction between direct knowledge and indirect knowledge delimitates the meaning of denotative phrases and thus we can know directly. Denotative phrases involve the existence of denote and of meaning. From here emerge the difficulties in the case when it seems that there is no denotate and the utterance is about non-entities, maintaining the Fregean concept that only within a sentence do words as such prove to have meaning. With Russell, the philosophy of language approaches also the “denotative phrases that do not denote anything” (p. 119). The theoretical and methodological reconstruction of ontology represent a revival of the object theory and trigger new interpretative perspectives concerning “what there is” (Quine, 1953, v. p. 121).

The phenomenon of meaning leads to an imperative association of semantics and hermeneutics. What is expression and interpretation is also creation and comprehension. As Carnap showed, the value of truth is a determination of interpretation, sustainable in our world and in all the possible worlds. Alexandru Boboc captures the valences of the co-presence of expression, creation, interpretation, comprehension, logic and grammar in a complex interpretation of the value of truth in communication. At the same time, in a complementary manner, this analysis considers the mythical dimension, which brings about a value of human authenticity to human and social communication, to social communion and to human relations via the emphasis placed on subjectivity.

Henrieta Anișoara Șerban

Ion Dur

*Cel de-al treilea sens*¹ [*The Third Sense*], European Institute Publishing House, Jassy, 2014, 235 p.

There exists, in the process of *temptation*, in the art of *inquest*, as well as in the *investigative technique* – *not infrequently* – a reflexive implosion of that Sense placed at the crossroads between *energheia* and *enargheia*, a *Ion Dur* – *ian adyton* inside which one can prophesy using a *finger of light* and in which the *Oracle* (a philosopher does not play with the oracle, especially when, perverted and in disguise, the latter becomes no more than a quiz) revises its own initiatic-enigmatic kind of magic. The projecting formulation of this act reconfirms the equal proportions of *one* and *multiple*, and re-balances any posting/positioning of *the ego* inside a *metamorphosing relationship to the other*, in those particular situations which compose and define “the pharmaceutical balance and the esoteric cipher of homeopathic doses used by shaman – critics in their work” (p. 220).

In order to fulfill *the third sense* one needs to have traveled and assimilated (through *mastering*) the sign – symbol representing the interval of *sense 1* and *sense 2* (couple, coupling) but also to have accepted, from within these probationals, any Heideggerian propositions of premeditated thought able to organize their own transformation and charge with positive impulses any task of “determining what preoccupies it, and what is still controversial for it”, thus abandoning precedence in favor of a *third-degree stake*.

Ion Dur does not philosophize by/through using the corrupted, artificial strategy of the accidental (the *sometimes*); does not feel, even from – within- the- act- of- philosophizing itself, sometimes forced upon members of this profession, any impulse towards the fabrication of a marketable product at any cost; but, in his instance as *juggler of the Tungus*, as owner of exorcising therapies [*the third sense is a metalanguage* (p. 160)] he shamanistically puts reason to work through a system (a *fabulous disposition of the soul and mind*) confirming what Eliade already prefigured, *under the sign of the three*, in the being of the shaman – *high spirituality, coherent ideology, great nobleness*.

These *three attributes* demand to be used (in order to decipher the ritualistic uses of *critical exercise*) within the welding script of philosophically – organic background of authority, by declining any preordained role of value table builder (in a Nietzschean sense, “any culture activates the function of a quasi – cybernetic self – regulatory mechanism, which reassesses almost all its values”, p. 18) characterizing a specific field.

The third sense has a *corporeal existence* (targeting the metamorphosis of *civic man into inner man*, or underlining the sliding of unfinished bio-political disputes between *private power and public power* – p. 187), and the capacity to offer and recommend *adequate instructions for use* (see Eminescu at the beginning of posterity – p. 20) or optimal formulations facilitating *cohabitation and/or dual alliance preservation* (saving the philosophical discourse and conferring a certain/other identity upon it – p. 37). It also pleads for those *crossroads towers* inserted within the *philosophy – science – literature or philosophy – theology relationships*, within the existential regions, the margins, the literalness and the recessives of *the three*.

The method this present work (re)launches is one of involved judgments, philosophies, therapies, accretions, receptions and repositionings of the *sign/sense of tertium datur*, a possibility already in existence, decoding signs and functioning *if and only if* the person using it pertinently, with all the instruments of a Penelope-ian delay (in the sense of not weaving the fabric but of unraveling it) and the alchemical and cartographic landmarks of too –favorable positioning, orientation and placement towards the Axiological North, has a just attitude towards *our neighbor/intruder/stranger* (p.11) thus defining both the signifying matter and the seal of the Uroboros.

To this *three* would collaborate the *antonimy of coagulation* and dissolution, constituting a clear sense of that *wet – dry cycle* acknowledged by Hermetics, already revealed to *the critic* who (*neither author nor occasional lecturer*) reclaims for himself a privileged position and, with competence and passion, assumes the position of specialist and thus of *actante* of an “initiatic act”.

¹ A Romanian version of the review [*Softdur-ismul celui de-al treilea sens*] was published on *Argumente și Fapte*, 25 November 2015, <http://www.argumentesifapte.ro/2015/11/25/softdur-ismul-celui-de-al-treilea-sens/>.

This *soft – Durism*, already applied to *the third sense*, acts in a terracing manner upon any counterattack slope which would presume to address *the cover, the remake and the fake* (p. 12).

Constituting a *counter-method for any cover*, the post – 1990 Eminescian exegesis (Eminescu placed at the crossroads) has already experimented approaching techniques but also strategies of distancing to/from The Poet – a concept intrepidly offered by Ion Dur, who equates *separation* with a certain form of division, of achievable (through partition) dissension, which would act without a total and definitive disappearance of inter – part contamination, while taking into account their confluences/influences (pp. 23-24).

Within the same context (in the beginning was *the ... third -order relationship*, we note) one should endeavor to bring together, under *the sign of the three*, Blaga, Cioran and Noica (p. 37) inside the same note of a recessive binomial launched by Mircea Vulcănescu (both the work and the man) when he offered arguments built upon the *three* alternatives to a spiritual life. One should note here Vulcănescu's warning about "the third sense of spiritual life" – a way of overtaking, satisfying and fulfilling the ego's desires by passing beyond the two limits/senses (p. 67). Seen as a *node of remakes* preceding a Cioran -type handling of language, an avowed fighter in that war which hostility wages upon the present time, *the crossed – look* is able to *declare in one place and to signify in another place* (pp. 152-153).

The privileged (par)course of histories and falls, as a *timely* and *in time* reaffirmation of any prejudices and personal tastes, inquires about long periods of history estimated as representative units for the author's/work's posthumous destiny, while keeping within the boundaries of a good proportion calibrating dimensions and interstices which it considers relevant (p.75), preserving the sense and sheltering it from any reflexive modernity which might be at the same time tendential, liquid, multiple and multiplicative, alternative and non-uniform – in order to *stylize* them inside a Habermasian vision. Postmodern magic, as seen by Ion Dur, reveals a sort of primitive, semi- barbarous attitude of drama/adventure, common both to archaic man and contemporary man, filtered through the energy of myth production, the penetrating force of subconscious strata and the explosive force of social repression, (re)claiming a *healing-purifying exorcism* (p. 157).

Ion Dur performs an exorcism upon the conscience of contemporary intellectuals, in the sense of freeing it from *the fake demon*, and reaffirms an *ethics of authenticity*; "the binomial of an intellectual's intimate being is given by both openness and morality – to escape the limits of your own specialist field and to seriously consider an ethics of ideas, a morals which opposes its own aesthetics (in its search of the original, the piquant and the paradoxical) and, in equal measure, a mystique of ideas (a pretend – power of temptation and ecstasy). The one overtaking the limits of his own profession is called a "meta-intellectual" by Morin (p. 181).

Being placed *a bit to the front or a bit nearer* tries, with a too – genuine sense, to bring to the fore a continuous/continued way of deconstructing the subject, the producer of sense, subordinated to the anonymous powers of symbolic discourse/violence, through a discovery of its environment and its will to power, in different degrees and banking upon the *triad of being, doing, having* (pp. 183-185).

Coming back to the profound sense of the Greek *krisis* represents, for Ion Dur, an opportunity of deciding the *re-balancing* of revelation through knowledge and of expression through text, with the avowed purpose of *judging the aim and evolution of axiological measuring and textual performance*, seen as a shamanic act (in the same Eliade – like sense) which consists in the action of "intelligent and honest arguments used to build syllogisms, and to avoid the trap of everyday sophistries" and is finished by the attitude of a *contra pro* (pp. 220-221).

The third sense is able to appease irreconcilable dichotomies, to give up ambidextrous observations (in the Nietzschean acceptation of the slogan *I do not wish to write with just my hand*), to reclaim a communication basis (inside the code of a philosophical essay, in a Noica – ian key), to vectorialize, at the crossroads, a force field by estimating the place and time of that difference between *lived and philosophized*, by reclaiming the *three* as a *not-gone and not – returned; the sense/trajectory of any endeavor is more interesting than its target/finality*.

Ion Dur is *the handler of the third sense*, the magician who senses the horizon and detects the route – sense and the distances into which the critic's sandals are deployed.

Thus, Ion Dur is revealed to us as an Empedocles exiling the traditional gods of the double (the pseudo-god of native critics and that of easy criticism) in order to equate *the sense of the three*

with *Ananke*; an initiatic route in which the bronze sandal will not be forgotten, but left *exactly* at the crossroads where it had to be positioned (without sliding, mechanical interference and doubly – unsavory philosophical ingredients) under the *generic* sources and resources, actively/activated, of *the three*.

Viorella Manolache

Tomasz Zarycki

Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe, London, Routledge, 2014, 294 p.

What Tomasz Zarycki brings to the fore in *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe* is the endeavor of ex-communist countries, with an emphasis on Poland, to get rid of orientalist discourses in an attempt to include Western attributes in their identities. But in order to be successful, such an intellectual effort should have surmounted the local *dependence* and intelligentsia *doxa* forged by the orientalizing process that the Western core has been disseminating throughout Central and Eastern Europe from the very beginning of modernity. For the dependence doxa and the intelligentsia doxa have been so deeply embedded in the political imaginary of the intellectual elite of ex-communist countries, that local identity discourses have transformed old cultural hierarchies into new ones, with the result of preserving *Eastness* instead of acquiring *Westness* or coming up with authentic identities. In other words, Eastern and Central Europe's uniqueness will not be possible as long as identity discourses produced in this area refer to its dependent status in relation to the metropolitan core. The *dependence doxa* refers to the banalization/naturalization of the structural dependence on the West. The best example of the dependence doxa is offered by liberal discourses which address the economic backwardness of Central and Eastern Europe mainly in terms of political and cultural underdevelopment. Instead of exploring the hierarchies of power concealed by the "political and cultural underdevelopment" tenet, liberal discourses blame ethnic tensions, atavistic hatreds and irrational conflicts and thus reproduce the orthodox image of Central and Eastern Europe forged in the Western core. As a consequence, the dependence doxa constantly reinforces the symbolic violence constantly wielded by the Western core on ex-communist countries. The *intelligentsia doxa* refers to the central role played by the intelligentsia in the legitimization of the local economic and political elite and also to its role in the legitimization of the dependence position of a certain country in the hierarchies of the world system. The trouble with the intelligentsia is that it displays two different attitudes. On the one hand, the intelligentsia represents the Western civilization and its civilization mission in the peripheries, but on the other hand, it is also a patriotic harbinger and defender of its political community. Intelligentsia in Central and Eastern Europe is almost immune to academic contestation. Considering that the key of "Europeanness" is in the hands of intelligentsia, it has an immense influence on any identity discourses depending on its political and economic interest.

Zaricky relies massively on classic Western theory such as Wallerstein's world system theory, Bourdieu's relational analysis and Rokkan's analysis of geographical patterns. These theories are combined with Said's orientalism and Todorova's liminality of Central and Eastern Europe, a region that is depicted as an interface between civilizations. Viewed from this perspective, Central and Eastern Europe is rather a civilizational border instead of a military one, which displays different degrees of Eastness, depending on its ability to orientalize its past or other political organizations.

The methodology used by Tomasz Zaricky in order to carry out his research is an innovative one. He employs discourse analysis in his research but at the same time he carefully avoids the trap of discursive *reductionism*. He argues that whoever relies only on the discourse analysis approach has a good chance of missing certain power hierarchies made invisible by discursive reductionism. Therefore, Tomasz Zaricky combines discursive analysis with "insights from economic and political geography, sociology of knowledge, sociology of elites, economic analysis and, last but not least, critical geopolitics" (14).

Zaricky points out that three zones have emerged after the demise of communism and the EU enlargement. The first zone, called Central Europe, includes ex-communist countries that have joined NATO and the EU. One particular trait of zone one is that the rift between anti – and post-communists has been replaced by a cleavage between Euro-enthusiasts and Euro-skeptics. According to Zaricky, Euro-skeptics don't engage directly the European Union and its politics. Instead of describing the European Union as an exploitative hegemon, the Euro-skeptic camp savages its liberal counterpart for the mismanagement of the country. The reason why the Euro-skeptics criticize the liberals is that the latter ones have negotiated bad conditions of a one state accession to the European Union. Given that, certain power asymmetries inside the EU club have been constantly reproduced since accession. Regarding the liberals or the Euro-enthusiasts, they tend to believe that cultural and political complications are to be blamed for the persistent backward status of some ex-communists countries. Tomasz Zaricky stresses why the cultural factor still plays an important role in Central and Eastern Europe. Strong capacity states of the Western core have legitimized themselves mainly in economic and political terms in the 20th century. Such an advantage in terms of legitimization is due to the fact that most Western states had been national states before they turned into nation-states in the 18th and 19th century. Under such circumstances, cultural aspects have been already banalized and that is why "national cultures" have become immune to the deconstruction process developed in the academic field. Ex-communist countries, as low capacity states that have been hardly able to cope with social complexity, have encountered problems in the process of reinventing themselves as liberal states that display a thin societal culture as the new source of their political legitimization. Therefore, conservatives in zone one are particularly inclined to consider the deconstruction of national myths as a direct attack against the local "soul", the only guarantor of uniqueness and identity. Getting back to the symbolic geography that has emerged after the enlargement of the EU, Zaricky considers that zone one is an internal alterity, with different degrees of Eastness, of the core area, namely the Western states. The second zone represents an external intermediary alterity of the core area, where Eastness is quite prominent. The states from the second zone are ex-soviet republics that are now members of the Eastern Partnership. Ukraine is by far the most important state of this external intermediary alterity. Zaricky indicates that Belarus straddle the border between the second area and the third zone. Dominated by the Russian Federation, this third zone represents an absolute alterity for the European Union. Consequently, given that the Western core has a weak influence both economically and intellectually in the third area, this is where the only alternative narrative to the ideological hegemony wielded by the Western core occurs. The anti-liberal discourse forged in the third area depicts the Western core as anti-Russian-oriented. It draws on conspiracy theories and exerts a huge appeal on the Russian public.

Tomasz Zaricky comes up with interesting conclusions. The most important one contends that ideologies of Eastness, "understood as contextualized forms of orientalism", approach the identity of Central and Eastern European countries in terms of post dependencies and their negative aftermath. The trouble with such an approach is that it tends to cover up present dependencies and hierarchies of power. Moreover, because the ideologies of Eastness have already gained a prominent position in the academic field, the effort devoted by some Central and East European intellectuals to reconceptualise the identity of their countries in terms of uniqueness and authenticity will be hardly effective and simultaneously deemed as anti-Western. Therefore, a certain degree of orientalism will always be included in any identity formula of Central and Eastern Europe. According to Zaricky, the only way the countries from the first zone can get rid of their Eastness and thus be able to reduce the orientalist intake in their identity formula is to produce and disseminate orientalist discourses toward other political organizations. And yet, Zaricky concludes his book in an optimistic fashion. Now, that intellectuals from Central and Eastern Europe know the pitfalls produced by the ideologies of Eastness, they should be more aware of them.

One particular trait that makes Tomasz Zarycki's book stand out is the impressive amount of social theory that the author has been able to include in his endeavor to capture the development of *Ideologies of Eastness*. I have laid emphasis on this particular aspect because one important tenet of this book is the knowledge asymmetry between the Western core, a natural producer of social theory, and Central and Eastern Europe, where social theory is either underdeveloped or, if it has developed, gets hardly any recognition from intellectuals based in the Western core. To put it briefly,

the metropolitan area develops social theory whilst semi-peripheral and peripheral regions produce empirical data that validate the core's perspective. Tomasz Zarycki's book shows that the theoretical gap between the core and its alterity has decreased lately. And that Western theoretical perspectives that have been concealing new power hierarchies are easily unpacked by scholars from semi-peripheral areas. Moreover, the latter's theoretical perspectives get published by important academic journals and prominent publishing houses of the core area. And yet, in terms of producing and, more important, imposing social theory, the academic field of Central and Eastern Europe is just a follower.

Lucian-Ștefan Dumitrescu

Angela Botez

Concepte integrative. Conceptos integradores, Romanian-Spanish bilingual edition, Bucharest, Prouniversitaria Publishing House, 2015, 400 p.

Undertaking the route of comprehensive endeavors one encounters no more and no less than the human spiritual universe, fascinating and continuously prefiguring registering only scattered quintessential concepts. These are extremely significant for they sustain cultural models, characteristic for various historical periods of time, for the mores, the customs, the cultural landmarks that govern these cultural eras as generative instances for philosophy, science, art, politics, economy or religion etc. Professor Angela Botez's book *Concepte integrative: antice, moderne, postmoderne* brings to the fore in a bilingual Romanian-Spanish edition the place and the role of philosophy within *suma rerum*, in the universe of knowledge found at confluence with the spiritual universe.

From this perspective the work that we are presenting has two major qualities: first, an original interpretation of the philosophy of the cultural models, accomplished in the light of all the philosophical ages of humanity; and second, a plea for the understanding and respect of the place and the role of philosophy.

Through this remarkable volume philosophy is set on its natural course, with unparalleled richness of arguments from various fields, philosophy remaining situated once again in its specific realm and enjoying its whole specificity intact, at the same value stage as any other realms of human knowledge, spirituality and existence and not behind them. This is the avowed position of the author: "The book pleads for a philosophy situated at the same level of value with art, science, morality, economy and politics, not above, but nevertheless as a 'Cinderella' as some scientists, priests, writers, musicians and politicians attempt to situate it; for a philosophy diverse in orientations without the hubris of retaining the existential absolute, the integral rationality, or the unique human essence, as some metaphysicians or scientists and neo-positivists still believe; and without the desire to overcome any rational control, as the nonconformists' or magicians' speculations and essays desire" (p. 17).

The analysis itself is original, elegant and fluid, comprising in a holistic and complementary manner a myriad of ideas, themes and approaches from the philosophy of science, from the philosophy of language and from the philosophy of culture, relevant in overcoming the dichotomies which are characteristic mainly for modern philosophy: realism-antirealism, absolutism-relativism, scientism-constructivism, modernism-postmodernism.

Angela Botez shows: "For there circulate among the scientific, artistic, moral, religious, political (and, of course, philosophical – our note) realms, certain ideas expressed in typical propositions and words, which arrive to signify a true orientation of the respective culture and become integrative concepts. Existent in language as well before they acquire a dominant position, they produce at a certain point powerful manifestations of optimism, and even of paramount enthusiasm and extravagant hope concerning the value they are bearing. The (explicit or implicit) proclamation of the fact that the last and most adequate word of the human spirituality was spoken that occurs with every cultural mutation, the sensation that the spiritual Universe was rendered definitive and that it shall remain constant in its predilection for certain concepts, images and attitudes, became a sort of classical reaction. Every time, though, after a while, the cultural arrangement proclaimed to be definitive ends by transforming itself into another (ultimate cultural perspective)" (pp. 13-14).

Thus, one could easily notice the main political role of the integrative concepts, be they mainly philosophical, scientific, religious, cultural etc. – to instill order, a order of thought and a order of vision, specific for each epoch.

Mental reality is a creation that sometimes sinks into the meanings of the words and other times distinguishes itself from the words, and the history of philosophy, in a similar manner with the history of arts, science, moral, economy and politics registers these tendencies, this sort of continuous during the eras. The pillars of the cultural models specific for each epoch, the integrative concepts are in fact hegemonic ideas that illuminate and open the orientations of the time and the main works of an era.

Angela Botez shows that during the Greek antiquity we encounter integrative concepts in metaphysics – substance, good, idea, essence, harmony, configuration, reminiscence, logos, uniqueness, absolute, cosmos, *archē*, finite universe – in religion – purification, initiation, mystery, oracle, fate, hubris, divine law, the justice of the universe, excellency, – in art – harmony, participation, mimesis, beauty-good, purification, perfection – in science – nature, recognition, unity, identity, form, primordial cause, demonstration, spatiality, geometry, number, sphere, static. Scientific modern integrative concepts are the new science, contemplation, observation, experience, force, movement, phenomenon, measured quantity, mathematical method, infinite, determinism, mechanics, fact, law, calculus, instruments, and classification.

The author notices that in modern philosophy the role of integrative concepts is played by the following notions: empiricism, mathematics a priori, *machina mundi*, certitude, mechanism, individualism, utilitarianism, foundationalism, reflection, representationalism, truth-correspondence, criticism, unique rationality, formalism, analysis, logical atomism, evolution, progress.

Among the scientific integrative concepts from the transitional paradigm of the 20th century we find the following: critique, problematization, falsification, selection, particle-wave, spatial-temporality, relativity, quantic mechanics, information, system, entropy, complementarity, cybernetics, interaction, genetic code, relation, statistics, probability, uncertainty, mental experiment, synergetics, artificial intelligence, cognitive science. In art, the integrative concepts of the 20th century are: abstractization, essence, asymmetry, expressionism, cubism, symbolism, orientalism, cinematography, nonfigurative, synthesis, archetypal form, aesthetic, information, esthetic code, linguistic-iconic system, participation, and message.

In religion, many of the 20th century integrative concepts are common with the philosophical ones, as others are specific: holism, pluralism, multiple real through divine revelation, theology in progress, inter-confessional dialogue, relationism. In the 20th century's philosophy specific are time, hazard, relation, cosmic egalitarianism, irreversibility, intentionality, intuitionism, holism, relativism, interpretation, meaning, semantics, communication, value, spatial-temporality, object-subject, finality, archetype, paradigm, crisis, revolution, dialogue, comprehension, complementarity, antinomy, dialectics, becoming, probabilism.

The work interprets that among the postmodern integrative concepts we should include deconstruction, difference, "the end (the death)" of metaphysics, epistemology and humanism, alterity, ethnocentrism, solidarity, nihilism, dialogue, transversability, language games, episteme, weak thought, pluralism, mental-physical. A special role is performed in philosophy by antirepresentationalism and rhetoric, while in science appear the concepts of possible worlds, relativism, thermodynamics, antireflection, chaos, fractals, antirealism, fuzzy logic, internet, and in religion, New Age, orientalism, combination with science, syncretism, neo-Gnosticism, holism.

The hegemony of the integrative concepts is limited to a period of thought and the crises generate radical changes of attitude and perspective in conceptualizing the world: "The radical changes of attitude, methodology and behavior follow the crises and are called revolutions, a term which is present in as many domains as we can count when we pursue the imminence of the term 'crisis'. Revolution, crisis, the paradigmatic change of the programs, archetypes, models are concepts frequently encountered in social sciences, as well as in the natural sciences and in the sciences of the second degree – such as futurology and meta-science – and in diverse other spheres of human activity. Integrative concepts signify the mentality and the type of spirituality that believes in the possibility of revolution and acts to accomplish the social, industrial, agrarian, cultural, youth, colonial, technical and energetic revolutions in concepts, behavior, art or science. We discover that

the invasion of these terms maintains the transitional markers that characterize a new pattern of culture and civilization, towards a new form of the spiritual Universe” (p. 67).

Nowadays, we find that dissemination of knowledge describes a special ideal of actualization which captures the main characteristic of the kaleidoscope era of discoveries in rapid succession.

Henrieta Anișoara Șerban

Viorella Manolache

Philosophical-Political Hecate-isms. The Rule of Three, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, 215 p.

[*A visual metaphor instead of an introduction*] Ed Crane was one of the people who would have appreciated the thorough analysis that Viorella Manolache successfully made through her book *Philosophical-Political Hecate-isms. The Rule of Three*. For those who haven't seen the film *The Man who wasn't there* (Directors: The Coen Brothers-year 2006) and might wonder what kind of profound being Ed was, you would be very staggered that he was simply a cynical barber that saw his life passing by [in appearance]. Then why is he the one who could understand the meaning and significance of the book that brings into discussion the (post)modernist *lethes* (in a Heideggerian sense understood here as *concealed*) of our world – *so much explained, so much analyzed, so much (mis-)understood* –.

The character seems to pass by the historicity of his time and his small unfortunate experiences with his wife, the killing of her lover, the meeting of the young girl for whom he has a sexual attraction, everything topped by a false accusation of another murder which he did not do and for which he gets the death penalty. Unlike Camus' character who becomes anxious in the face of death, Ed is not scared of the problem of God, he doesn't have these problems anymore, and he just wants the confusion and noise to stop and maybe he will understand.

As from the viewer's point, the character's thoughts cannot be decrypted from his non-expressions in any given situation and from his excessive smoking in every scene. The depiction of *diplopia*, that is set in Viorella Manolache's first chapter of the book, makes Ed the best person that would understand and also the best example for the Hecate-isms that present themselves in his day-to-day life. Ed is the perfect citizen that understands the –isms we use on a philosophy of the day basis, but puts himself in front of the extensiveness of the nothingness which he embraces in the end without any opposition or questioning. He just wants the noise to end and maybe he will understand.

This perspective is taken in the utmost journey and analyzed in a series of contexts and moments of the post-modern man of the 20th century, by deconstructing events and experiences that are no longer explainable by science, because they are hidden in the trickiest forms of our language-metaphors. Viorella Manolache sets a unique framework which has been proposed by many more political and philosophical analysts of our time, but in an authentic method, by identifying and excluding the –isms that have failed to explain our world and *our-living-in-the-world*.

The indications of the book take the reader on a journey of the phenomena that occur in our immediate spatiality and bombard us in various forms of languages, starting from the best known one in the present time, *the scientific (private) language*; and ending in the limitlessness of discourse of the political elite. The multitude of discourses and –isms that govern the third ways of possibilities of our existence are identified and shown as the monsters they are.

Viorella Manolache successfully brings into light the post-phantasmas that have been created systematically by our perpetual misconceptions about the world and that mostly continues to govern our actions and continue to show us an infinitely third way of the otherness that we could take. Counteracting these signals still remains for us a new/old problem that has taken many forms and significations. An Ed Crane, more calm and objective, would react in front of this complicated situation by taking a more careful path in order to avoid these problems. But it's not just quite sufficient, because that situation is just another *hecate-ism*.

Mihai Bârsan

Gabriela Tănăsescu

Semiprezidențialismul din România. Considerații actuale

(*Romanian Semi-Presidentialism. Actual Considerations*), Bucharest, Editura Institutului de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, Publishing House, 2015, 172 p.

As the author asserts in her convincing “Argument”, the book *Semiprezidențialismul din România. Considerații actuale* (*Romanian Semi-Presidentialism. Actual Considerations*) aims to contribute “to the reduction of the degree of ‘sub-studying’ the semi-presidentialism in Romanian scientific community” (p. 10) and to open a possible dialogue with the Romanian specialists, and this objective is achieved by everything that offers the final result of a both rigorous and original research.

In a substantial “Introduction”, the author indicates the assumptions of his research: (1) the aetiology of the Romanian semi-presidentialism failures is not constitutional, but extra-constitutional; (2) a possible “constitutional engineering” correcting approach could aim: (a) to explain the presidential attribution of acting “as a mediator between the Powers in the State, as well as between the State and society” [Constitution of Romania, Art. 80 (2)] and (b) to specify the sphere and the forms of manifestation of the *transactional* relationship between the President and other centers of power, firstly the premier, for the President to materialize in an appropriate manner the equidistance of the role of “observance of the Constitution and the proper functioning of the public authorities”. (p. 18)

The first part of the book is devoted to the “Category of semi-presidentialism”. Here are exposed with analytical precision and amplitude of perspective the results of a careful exploration of the reference works and aspects on the theme: “Duverger’s concept and analytical model”, “The subtypes of semi-presidentialism – Matthew S. Shugart”, “Sartori’s analytical model”, “The ‘pure constitutional’ definition of semi-presidentialism – Robert Elgie”, “Indicators of the political outcomes of semi-presidentialism”: democratic consolidation, the quality of government, presidentialization, intra-executive conflict.

In our current literature is probably the most relevant presentation of the category of semi-presidentialism, starting from Duverger’s first definition in *Institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel* (1970), passing through the rewordings contained in his *La Monarchie républicaine, ou comment les démocraties se donnent des rôles* (1974) and *Échec du roi* (1978), and then through that comprised in his famous article “A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government” (*European Journal of Political Research*, 1980), by which has been disseminated the theme of semi-presidentialism in the scientific Anglo-American community and in which the French sociologist and political scientist has considered as being the main topic of his empirical research the explanation of the functioning in “radically different ways” of certain “relatively homogeneous constitution”. The presentation of the semi-presidentialism category joins to the Duvergerian revisited concept of semi-presidentialism through Matthew S. Shugart’s distinction between two types of semi-presidentialism: types *premier-presidential* (president coexistent with a prime minister as head of government and dependent on the parliamentary confidence) and *president-parliamentary* (in which the president and the parliament have authority over the composition of the government, the president appoints and dismisses ministers who are subjected to parliamentary confidence). This presentation also comprises the explanation of Giovanni Sartori’s rejection of Shugart’s “taxonomic innovations”, especially his preference for a positive evaluation of the semi-presidential regime and for “the mixed solutions”, for the “intermediate entity” between pure presidential systems (mono-headed, of American inspiration, dominated by the separation and full autonomy of powers) and the parliamentary systems – a president elected by citizens and sharing power with a prime minister permanently supported by parliament, i.e. in the presidential government “with and through other body” or a president with “added” government. In this respect, according to Gabriela Tănăsescu, the Sartorian analysis of the “French prototype” of the semi-presidential regime presents a great importance for the analysis of the Romanian semi-presidentialism, because in it are identifiable the reasons of the authors of the Romanian post-revolutionary Constitution to keep “a certain distance from the French model” and

to propose an “attenuated”, “weaker” semi-presidentialism, and at the same time are understandable the reasons for that, “within the limits of the regime envisaged by the Constitution, the Romanian semi-presidential system has not ‘the flexibility’ of the French one” (imposed by the Constitution of the Fifth French Republic as a result of Charles de Gaulle’s institutional reform targeting a “strong presidency” (pp. 46; 49). Finally, is presented a definition close to that “standard” of Duverger and also “corrective” in comparison with that proposed by Sartori, namely the “pure constitutional” definition formulated by Robert Elgie in order to exclude the subjective classifications of semi-presidential countries and to establish a clear-cut list of semi-presidential regimes”. In Elgie, “a semi-presidential regime [is that] in which a president directly elected or by popular vote for a fixed term exists alongside a prime minister and a cabinet who are collectively responsible to parliament”.

Gabriela Tănăsescu focuses the analysis and interpretation of the Romanian semi-presidentialism, which constitutes the second part of the book, on three aspects: “Circumstantial and conventional in Romanian semi-presidentialism”, “The constitutional design. The ‘weak’ Romanian semi-presidentialism” and “The extra-constitutional factors. The power of political parties and leaders”.

From the point of view expressed in this book, the most important motivation for choosing the semi-presidential regime was in Romania “the fear of the risk of authoritarian drifts and of autocratic presidential behaviors” and this is an explanation of an “evasive and even ambiguous” defining of the President’s role and function not only in Romanian Constitution but within post-communist Europe (p. 80).

After a sketch of the history of Romanian constitutionalism, Gabriela Tănăsescu considers that “in post-revolutionary Romania’s case, an immediate priority of the *material* constitution specific to French, in the sense of potentiating or ‘addition’ (‘usurpation’) of Power to presidential constitutional prerogatives, as in the case of De Gaulle, was certainly undesirable” (p. 82). On the other hand, due to a “scanty political culture” that allowed the impact of the populist and manipulative discourse (p. 86) and a selection of politicians’ “connected insignificantly to the meritocratic criteria” (p. 87), a predominance of a politics of obtaining the functions to the detriment of a certain specific policies and programs, appeared the phenomenon of “the partitioning of the society” or, in other words, that of “sharing the booty” (p. 88).

By constitutional design, detail presented by the author, the political regime in Romania has the general physiognomy” of semi-presidentialism, at least theoretically, both according to “Duverger’s classification from 1992 and to the ‘purely constitutional’ definition elaborated by Robert Elgie”. According to Shugart, “the *premier-presidential* constitutional regime of Romania is ‘almost identical to the French one’”, while according to Sartori Romanian regime is “to a small extent semi-presidential” or is semi-presidentialism with ‘weak’ character (p. 92).

According to Gabriela Tănăsescu, “Romania’s constitutional design is that of “a structure of dual power specific to a *premier-presidential* type of semi-presidentialism” and it is “cardinally modeled by the principle of preventing the concentration of power and avoiding the whole procession of *erosive* implications of the phenomenon at organizational, legislative and, broader, societal-democratic level” (p. 98).

In the third part of the book, the author presents “Options on the revision of the Constitution”, and these are the result of a study devoted to the Romanian constitutional thought and to formulate a point of view on the position of the President of Romania as a public authority introduced in March 2013 in the debates held under the aegis of the Parliamentary Committee for revising the Constitution and the Constitutional Forum. One of the ideas summarized in this larger project (attended also by the researchers Aristide Cioabă and Constantin Nica) is that “the proposals which aim the relations between president, government and parliament are likely to eliminate the ambiguities and uncertainties of the constitutional provisions and, accordingly, to eliminate the ambiguous interpretations, generating the constitutional conflicts and attempts of ‘forcing the Constitution’” (p. 147). Although after the collapse of USL (February 2014), “revision of the Constitution was no longer a priority”, Romanian President Klaus Johannis especially at the end of 2014 said in early 2015 that “the request for revision of the fundamental law should be resumed in order to achieve Constitution better” (p. 148). Although after the collapse of USL (February 2014), “the revision of the Constitution was no longer a priority”, Romanian President Klaus

Johannis elected at the end of 2014, has declared in the early 2015 that “the demarche of revising the fundamental law should be resumed in order to achieve ‘a better Constitution’” (p. 148).

The comparative analysis of the conceptual distinctions and foundations within the political science of semi-presidentialism as well as the attentive analysis of the specific semi-presidential political practice in Romania offered by Gabriela Tănăsescu in this book represents a unique approach in the Romanian academic area (as indeed unique is her book *Spinoza – freedom and reason*, published in 2010 also in ISPRI Publishing House). In both cases it is about not only of the originality and the professionalism of approach, but also of choosing and treating the theme.

The book *Semiprezidențialismul din România. Considerații actuale* comes after many years of scientific work and exemplary self-exigency, after the author has published numerous specialized studies and coordinated research projects and works of philosophy and political science such: *Theories of the Legitimacy of Power* (2014), *Conservatism. History and Present* (2007), *European Public Space. Ideas, Institutions, Policies* (with Gheorghe Ciascai, 2014), *Romania and Russia after 20 years* (with Dan Dungaciu, 2013), *Western Liberalism of the Twentieth Century* (2011), *Political Power. Current Approaches* (2008), *Current Trends in the Political Philosophy* (2006), all published, in Romanian, by the Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations Publishing House.

The work is remarkable not only due to the meticulous scientific analysis of the Romanian semi-presidentialism and the quality of its contextualization and interpretation, but also to the vast literature used and to the exceptional graphics of the volume – a professional achievement which invites to a thorough reading, meditation and debate.

Lorena-Valeria Stuparu

Günter Verheugen: Negotiating the Enlargement of the European Union

(ed. **Melania-Gabriela Ciot**), Institute of Political Science and International Relations “Ion I. C. Brătianu” Publishing House, Bucharest, 2015, 230 pp.

The Institute of Political Science and International Relations “Ion I. C. Brătianu” (Romanian Academy) published in 2015, the book entitled *Günter Verheugen: Negotiating the Enlargement of the European Union*, a collective work bringing together a substantial number of contributions written in English, edited by Melania-Gabriela Ciot. This is, as shown in the *Introduction (On EU Enlargement Negotiations and the Negotiator)*, about the desire to mark a moment of particular significance in the evolution of the complex entity which is the European Union today: on the one hand, more than ten years ago we assisted to the *mega-wave* of enlargement that brought in the EU ten European countries from the former communist bloc, and the conclusion of accession negotiations for Romania, which – together with Bulgaria – joined EU in 2007; on the other hand, the volume is dedicated to Günter Verheugen – professor and EU Enlargement Commissioner (1999-2004), then Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry (2004-2009), Vice-President of the European Commission (2004-2009) – whose expertise, coupled with his academic formation, has resulted in the execution of a complete opening of the difficult process by which the European Union addressed the area of Central and Eastern Europe. We are reminded in the introduction several moments in the decade of 90’ when the contours of opening the EU to Central and Eastern Europe were barely defined: the European Commission in 1997-1998 had an unclear strategy regarding the candidate countries of Central Europe; in 1999, when it becomes public the composition of the new commission under the leadership of Romano Prodi, Günter Verheugen takes the portfolio for Enlargement, coming up with an “offensive strategy”, but also with a methodology for accession negotiations, aiming to convert the enlargement policy in a wider vision and a more effective tool to promote EU values across Europe (p. 11), but without leaving aside intensifying European integration (*deepening*) and seeking for *win-win* solutions, for all parties involved (pp. 12-13).

So it is no wonder that, as shown in the *Introduction*, Verheugen can be considered the founding father of the New Europe, allusion to the already well-known expression that refers to the founding fathers of the very first European Communities. Like after the Second World War, when Western Europe felt the need to organize in order to recover and develop, but especially to construct its position of a credible player in the international bipolar order, after the Iron Curtain fall Europe was once again in the need to redefine itself in a new international context, marked by the failure of the Soviet Union and its satellite area, the affirmation of the US superpower, but also of other emerging powers. Günter Verheugen had a special role in all this process of redrawing the European Union in an international order, increasingly more complex, assuming the otherwise necessary leadership in this process.

Following the introductory text, the other two contributions are extracted from the award ceremony dedicated to Günter Verheugen, who was conferred the title of Doctor Honoris Causa, by the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca: *Encomium for Günter Verheugen* signed by Ioan Aurel Pop, rector of Babes-Bolyai University and *Laudatio – In Honorem Günter Verheugen* signed by the University Senate. Both contributions are an opportunity to talk about the *man, teacher and European* Günter Verheugen, about his support to Romania in the difficult process of entry into the “continental elite institutions” (p. 17), but also about expanding and transforming Europe in the decades of European construction during and after the Cold War. In response, Günter Verheugen signed a contribution entitled *EU Enlargement – Results and Challenges*; Romania, a country that still has not yet clarified the relation with its (recent) past, provides a concrete example which measures the ratio between results and challenges in the transformation – by extension – of the EU. On the other hand, Verheugen addresses the current situation in the European Union. The financial and global economic crisis, the integration of the European principle of solidarity, the circumstances and consequences of the various enlargements (from the UK, Denmark and Ireland in 1973 and to Romania and Bulgaria, 2007), but also the sensitive issue of the accession of Ukraine or Turkey are all challenges generating debates and waiting for decisions at the European leaders level.

In the study of *Prospect Theory – an Alternative Method for Analyzing the Accession Negotiations Decision*, Melania-Gabriela Ciot puts into relief the value of psychosocial approach to the decision analysis in the international sphere, focusing on the prospective theory, which offers predictions and explanations taking into account the influence of the external environment, of psychological events that may be relevant for the analysis of situations or processes. The mainstream dominated by realist and neorealist theories, including the premise of the rational actor, is enriched by nuances derived from the application of this new approach in the study of international relations.

Ciprian Gorita signs in this volume a study entitled *Implementing Commitments made in Accession Negotiations with the European Union. An Overview of the Public-Private Partnership Market in Romania*, an technical analysis focusing on the so-called PPP projects in the context of the negotiations chapters; and coming into today, the study puts in relief a gap of Romania compared to other EU countries, reflecting the poor market development of PPP projects in Romania and the lack of a strategic approach in this area.

The study *Enlargement – the Smart Power Tools for the EU*, signed by Noemi Luiza Szabo, examines the different waves of European enlargement from the perspective of propagating “a zone of peace, stability, prosperity and democracy”, using the theoretical tools provided by the concept of *smart power* as theorized by Joseph S. Nye. The author makes a refined analysis, taking into account, in the enlargement process, the positions of old and new states, but also the broader context of the global crisis, and concludes that the expansion remains the driving force behind EU evolution EU (p. 119).

Loredana-Nastasia Pop shows in *The Fifth Wave of Enlargement and the European Interdependencies*, the lessons that may be retained for the EU future developments from the great wave of expansion to the states of Central and Eastern Europe, as well from the way after the Iron Curtain fall Europe experienced a reconfiguration of the map interdependencies between western Europe on the one hand, and central and eastern Europe, on the other hand.

Dragos Paun, in the study *The Euro. Implications of the Enlargement of the Euro zone. Impact on the Modern Economy Context* emphasizes the role that the euro has in the expansion and economic integration of the European space, as “accelerator” of political union, and the conditions in which the euro could play an international role, particularly taking into account the role and importance of the US dollar.

Daniela Czimbalmos analyzes the *US Interests in the Agriculture Negotiations of the 5th Wave of Accession to the EU*, referring to the accession of 12 countries from Central and Eastern Europe to the European Union. The author presents the positive aspects and benefits, especially in the long term, the US have associated with the Eastern EU enlargement, leaving aside the fact that however, following new configuration results, relations between the US and the countries in Central and Eastern Europe will require certain modifications / adaptations.

Arthur Lakatos in *Romania and the study of “Western” World. A Short Overview of Romanian The foreign Politics in the Last Decades*, draws a map of Romania’s relations with the West during the Cold War, in the period 1989-2007, and with a glance at possible scenarios for the future. For Romania, on a theoretical level, we may discuss about Atlantic or European options in the future. But even in such a hypothetical scenario, Romania, the author claims, would remain a Euro-Atlantic state, interesting both for the EU and the US.

In concluding the volume, Cristian Diaconescu links all the issues approached in the previous contributions to a question that is not just an exercise in rhetoric: *How much Europe Do We Need?* In the context of a global world, a number of significant items reflecting the substance of the EU are discussed: enlargement to the East, relations with the countries of the former Soviet Union, frozen conflicts, difficulty or even impossibility of other expansions to Eastern or Southern Europe, economic and financial crisis, the refugee crisis, terrorist attacks, EU energy dependency, but also the position of the great powers and contributors of the EU – Germany, France, United Kingdom – all of them have a special weight in setting the pace of integration, reluctance, hesitations or enthusiasm for future EU developments. All these are real and far-reaching challenges for the Union, generating unfinished academic and political debates. Readers can find in this volume extensive information, details, nuances, interpretations, which calls for reflection, especially useful for the local public as studies are most often linked to the specific case of Romania’s EU integration.

Ruxandra Iordache