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INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION SOCIAL SPACE

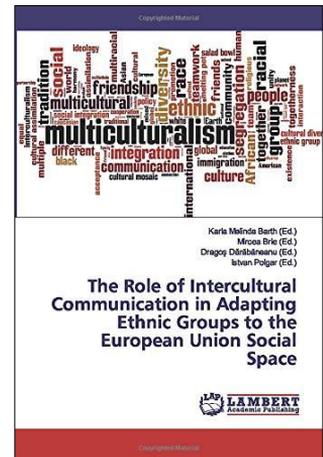
Anca Oltean*

Book review of Karla Melinda Barth, Mircea Brie, Dragoș Dărăbăneanu, Istvan Polgar (eds.), *The Role of Intercultural Communication in Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space*, (Lambert Academic Publishing, 2019). ISBN 978-620-0-45841-4.

The book coordinated by Karla Melinda Barth, Mircea Brie, Dragoș Dărăbăneanu and Istvan Polgar (editors) with the title *The Role of Intercultural Communication in Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space* and published at Lambert Academic Publishing in 2019 is divided into several sections: intercultural dialogue and interethnic coexistence in the European Union (after a comprehensive introductory study), the role of intercultural communication and European Education, and, last but not least, Social values, integration and multicultural compatibility in Europe.

The book starts with the introductory study “The role of intercultural communication in adapting ethnic groups to the European Union Social Space. Introductory Study” written by Karla Barth, Mircea Brie, Dragoș Dărăbăneanu and Istvan Polgar. The authors state that the world of the European culture is a world of cultural homogeneity, a phenomenon connected with the process of globalisation and cultural diversity. In the process of globalisation which implies standardization and uniformization of cultural norms, the regional specificities and the local culture are somehow undermined. The authors consider that “Cultural diversity, pluralism and multiculturalism are specific elements of the European space” (Karla Barth et al, 2019: 11). Referring to the integration of Muslims in Europe, the author state: “If Europeans are able to assimilate Muslim immigrants, or if there will be a conflict of values remain an open issue” (Barth at al., 2019: 12) This integration of different ethnic groups in Europe happens in the context of consolidation of economic, administrative and political bodies in the European Union. The opinion of the authors is that “Interethnic and intercultural relations are meant to ensure openness and cooperation between Europeans, this being the only way to strengthen a European welfare state” (Barth at al, 2019: 13) Intercultural communication in the university makes the stakeholders to ask themselves about the cultural dimension of their existence. Referring to Romania, the authors state that here we deal with a multicultural social space where lived together Romanians, other ethnic groups that brought their contribution to the development of Romania.

The first theme approached by the volume was “Intercultural dialogue and interethnic coexistence in the European Union” focuses on the form of interaction of the



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ethnic groups, including the emergent groups in the European Union which aspire to get a desirable social status in the European Union. It comes up the issue of Roma minority, the issue of migrations in the Republic of Moldova, the social and cultural values of the Catalans. Last but not least, it is discussed the role of the church in the life of different minorities. The second theme approached by this volume is “The Role of Intercultural Communication and European education”. It is important to have a pedagogical approach which to make cultural differences compatible. (Barth et al., 2019: 15) Intercultural education should not be implemented only by the educational institutions but as a form of social pedagogy (Barth et al., 2019: 15) The authors consider that education in general terms and intercultural education have an important role in determining social behaviour. Another aspect emphasized by this volume is about how schools in Romania will assume European values and how can be these transposed into society by means of intercultural dialogue. The third theme approached by the volume is “Social values, integration and multicultural compatibility in Europe”. The idea of social space of the European Union and of multicultural compatibility are realities and patterns for the European Constitution.

The first section of the volume has the title “Intercultural dialogue and interethnic coexistence in the European Union” and it starts with the paper of Dragoș Dărăbăneanu, *Intercultural Communication and the European Social Compatibility in the Romanian Society*. The author underlines that intercultural communication is essential in the globalization process (Dărăbăneanu, 2019: 23) It is necessary the adaptation of different ethnic groups to European Union social space, concludes the author. The author warns his readers upon a danger “We must also emphasize that ethnic purity sometimes develops into tensions and this takes place everywhere, due to the nature of man and the basic attributes of human society. This is why multicultural relations must be cultivated, monitored and evaluated”. (Dărăbăneanu, 2019: 24) The author underlines that integration is not possible without intercultural communication and that the humanity pursued the phenomenon of interpersonal communication allways. The author focuses the two types of social communication: formal interpersonal communication and informal interpersonal communication. Dragoș Dărăbăneanu shows that the context of many crisis in Europe is not only financial, but also “political, social, mental and even, ideological”. The author consider that the need for self-knowledge takes place in the context of interpersonal communication by communication interactions. Last but not least, the author Dragoș Dărăbăneanu quotes Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann who was the witness of the process of intimidation of the Jewish minority during the World War II. In the opinion of Newman, public opinion represents a social force, a mechanism of social control.

Ana Damaschin in the article *The Essential Role of Intercultural Dialogue in Social Cohesion, Equality Promotion, Reconciliation between Peoples and Peace among Nations*, asserts that the purpose of the article is to analyse the role of intercultural dialogue as a social phenomena in the European Union. In the actual conflictual context, in the present day European societies, it becomes obvious that the promotion of intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity must be a priority of the European mandate. The author considers that in the actual context “the acknowledgement of diversity, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and the essential protection of human rights are the main parameters for the consolidation of democracy, freedom, respect, equality, peace and social cohesion”. (Damaschin, 2019: 39) But the present day reaction on the European continent is contrary to integration, is the opinion of the author. It develops to grow a “self-protection feeling” because of nationalization and internalizations of borders. Xenophobia, racism and discrimination increased. In the part of conclusions, Ana

Damaschin asserts that “cultural diversity is not a problem in itself” but it often gives rise to conflict and misunderstandings. In the European integration process, different nation-states must work together in order to achieve common goals. The issue of cultural diversity must be addressed by a strong and cohesive Europe. (Damaschin, 2019: 50) By means of intercultural dialogue migrants and refugees are involved in the process of building an integrated union. Last but not least, the author said that the intercultural dialogue implies the acceptance of diversity, difference and otherness. (Damaschin, 2019: 50)

Christian Bergmann in the article *Switzerland- a multilingual state, not a nation state*, starts by analyzing the historical background of Swiss multilingualism, focusing on the most important pinpoints from the history of Switzerland and concluding that multilingualism in Switzerland dates back more than 1000 of years ago as any citizen master at least two national languages. The author points out that in 2019, Switzerland is still divided in three language regions, as for instance one for the German speaking population, one of the French speakers and one for the Italian speakers. German language is spoken by approx. 63% of the population, French is spoken by 22.7% of the population and the Italian is spoken by 8.1 % of the Swiss population. (Bergmann, 2019: 58-59). In what it concerns the religion, the linguistic border do not correspond with the religious boundaries, asserts the author (Bergmann, 2019: 61).

Elsa Pollozhani in the article “Distinguishing the multicultural from the multiethnic and EU integration: Albanians in the Republic of North Macedonia” talks about the multiethnic and multicultural aspect of the Republic of Macedonia. The author raises the question of what will we choose between multiculturalism and multiethnicity? Her research method in this study is qualitative research method. The author starts by making the historical analysis of the Republic of Macedonia. After the demise of communism, the pluralist system imposed in Macedonia. It followed a process of socio-economic and political transition. The author concludes: “The trajectory of socio-political developments during the last three decades in RNM- revolves around the triangle-ethnocentrism-multiculturalism-bioethnicity whereas political discourse is continuously flooded by syntagmas such as multiethnicity and multiculturalism”. (Pollozhani, 2019:88) The author underlines the complexity of state reality in Macedonia which is revealed on different planes: the multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, multi-confessional. There are several ethnicities in Macedonia, asserts the author: Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma people, Serbs, etc. (Pollozhani, 2019: 89) There are present several religions in Macedonia: Orthodox religion, Islam religion, Catholic religion, other small religions. Concepts like “communication”, “intercultural dialogue”, “inter-ethnic coexistence”, “cooperation” are not approached accordingly not even in present days, is the opinion of the author. (Pollozhani, 2019: 90) The author focuses its attention on the theme “discrimination based on ethnicity” by saying that marginalisation or exclusion of a certain group from a certain society is a phenomenon encountered in contemporary societies. In the Republic of North Macedonia is present the discrimination on the basis of ethnicity. Such cases of discrimination, it shows the author are present in employment in public and private sector. Roma people are more marginalized in the Republic of North Macedonia than other ethnicities. Other kind of discrimination is, in the opinion of Elsa Pollozhani, the discrimination based on ethnicity. The author created a survey where the majority of respondents believed that the phenomenon of discrimination is encountered in the “health sector, education, judiciary and security/ police”. Political discrimination is happening around the election campaigns.

In the part of conclusions, the author states that the Republic of Northern Macedonia is facing a paradox oscillating between its evolution towards a multiethnic and a multicultural society and the dominant monolithic, mono-ethnic and mono-cultural state. (Pollozhani, 2019: 98)

In the paper of Jusuf Zejneli and Faton Shabani, "Macedonia-Greece dispute resolution agreement and the constitutional amendments", the authors focus on the challenges of the signing of the Greece-Macedonia agreement and its priorities. In 1995, Greece and the Republic of North Macedonia signed an Interim Agreement and in 2004 a "Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of Offices for Consular, Economic and Trading" in Thessaloniki and Bitola. The author concludes the roads of these agreements: "On January 11, 2019, the Macedonian Assembly with 81 votes for, no vote against and restrained adopted the constitution changes envisaged by the Prespa Agreement and subsequently promulgated it. In this case, the new name will be: the Republic of North Macedonia. It is noted that these changes pave the way for membership in NATO and EU. During the constitutional changes, the opposition was not present in the Assembly Hall" (Zejneli & Shabani, 2019: 104) In the Republic of Northern Macedonia there are encountered elements of parliamentary system of government together with elements belonging to the presidential system. The power of the state is based on the system of separation of powers. Concerning the official relations of the Republic of North Macedonia in 2001 it was signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement and in 2005 the country got the status for EU membership, two notable achievements. (Zejneli & Shabani, 2019: 110) In the part of conclusions, the authors stress that the mutual pact achieved by Macedonia and Greece opens the way for Macedonia to join NATO and to begin negotiations with the EU, a notable historical achievement. The country accepted the name of Republic of North Macedonia which replaced the previous name of Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Natalia Putină in the article *Republic of Moldova's Policies in the context of liberalization of regime of the visa regime with the EU –The Impact on the migration process* asserts that the EU is negotiating visa liberalisation dialogues with some countries not belonging to EU in the continuation of the policy of Schengen acquis, issuing short-term visas from 90 days during half a year. Several countries led the negotiations for visa liberalisation such as: Albania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and another three countries which signed the Eastern Partnership such as Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. The implementation of visa liberalization agreements happened 5 years ago. The author focuses later on on the relations with the EU's Eastern Partners. The author focuses on the importance of Eastern neighbourhood for the relationships of the European Union with these countries. Regarding the visa policy, firstly were integrated the Baltic states, then the Republic of Moldova. Not the least, Natalia Putină focuses on the countries of destination for Moldovan migrants. Both EU and Russia, asserts the author, are countries of destination, for Moldovan migrants. There is a third actor which whom Moldova has migratory ties, namely Ukraine. The traffic Russia-EU requires law expenses, visa-free entry on Russian territory and knowledge of Russian, and this is why so many people use it. EU, is a target region for labour migration who work mostly in Italy, France, Portugal, United Kingdom, Greece and Romania. The migratory moldovan elements in EU are older and better educated, remarks the author. Later on, the author Natalia Putină focuses on the impact of the implementation of the visa free regime for Moldovans. In this sense, the author focuses "on the analysis of the statistics on migration and demographic circuit combined

with quantitative sociological research”. She used a questionnaire to collect data. 273 respondents were used in this questionnaire. By the introduction of visa free regime for Moldovan citizens, freedom of movement became a real freedom for the citizens of this country.

Emilia Nicoleta Şchiop in the article *The cultural values of the accession negotiations between North Macedonia and the European Union* mentions that a top priority of the European Union was its extension in the Western Balkans. But because the internal crisis, in this region, the enlargement was postponed. The author draws the historical context in which developed the attempt of EU to extend in the Western Balkans. Last, but not least, Emilia Nicoleta Şchiop focuses on the European Enlargement Policy, as a main priority of the EU. The author emphasizes the important role played by the association agreements: “Association agreements provided the legal framework for relations with potential members until accession, even after they were advance to membership: candidate status and pre-accession alignment” (Şchiop, 2019: 142) Last but not least, the author focuses on the current state of accession negotiations on an analysis on North Macedonia. The author quotes a report from 2015 when North Macedonia seemed to be at a high level of preparation for the development of a market oriented economy. There is a regress in public finance management. But in turn profit increased, investment increased, industrial production recovered, but labour market were affected by structural impediments and the unemployment rate increased, tax discipline evolved negatively in 2014 and 2015, points out the author, the budget deficit increased. Government-business cooperation decreased and the banking system remained stable. After the analysis of the current state of Serbian integration in the state of limited progress with the necessity of certain fields in conformity with the *acquis* (legislation on short term capital, agriculture and payments system), the author concludes that states outside of Europe can cause reasons of insecurity in the region and the fact that the region of Western Balkans has more chances to integrate but integration process postponed.

Irina Pop in the article *Lack of the intercultural dialogues as a room for xenophobia* emphasize an important conclusion, Western Romania shows anti-migrant attitudes without potential migrants. The government assignment of a quota of 600 migrants for the North-Western Romania pose the problem of the creation of a centre for migrants in Satu Mare, idea rejected by Petre Toba, secretary of internal affairs. A similar quota of 600 refugees is designed also for Bihor county. The author defines intercultural dialogue according to 2003 Opatjia Declaration: “Intercultural dialogue is an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other’s global perceptions”. (Pop, 2019: 160) The author brings into discussion hard intercultural dialogues of the prominent actors of the public life: “the officials, political parties actors, NGO’s actors, cultural actors, universities’ actors, religious actors, etc.” Other kind of dialogues defined by the author are soft intercultural dialogues, organized usually by same public actors, characterized by a “wise selection”, “a climate of dialogues”, a “savoir faire”). A third cycle of dialogues emphasized by the author is “mono-cultural monologues on intercultural dialogues”, expressed by the same actors. The author defines them as “they simply focus on imposing their perspectives, interests and values on the public sphere diversity” (Pop, 2019: 164)

Osmad Mohamed Elmahdi in the article *Refugee students education requirements in EU, example, deterioration of education in Syria* shows the consequences of Arab Spring in Tunisia with the Tunisian revolution from 2010 which spread in Syria, Libya,

Yemen, Egypt, Bahrain, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia. After providing the number of victims in the Sirian society in the years of the revolution, the author focuses on the educational crisis in Syria. Because of the war, several school buildings were destroyed and many children have no possibilities to attend the school (2.8 out of 3 million) and 50% of the refugee kids have the possibility to attend school in their refugee camps. The author suggests that the refugee camps from EU should be prepared with teaching staff, places, facilities, giving the example of the German refugee program, Ankommen. The author makes a trip to Bucharest where 5 Islamic-Arabic multicultural schools were registered (visited by the author and 12 schools were Arabic in total in the city) and study the activity of these schools.

Istvan Polgar in the article *Tools and models of minority integration in the European Social Space* talks about demography and migration as elements of modern society that impose the need to integrate the minority communities. The national state is considered by some authors as a bypassed model. The author tries to identify the obstacles existent at the Eastern and Southern Border of EU, considering that “the way that ethnic minorities are included in the democratic process strongly influences the inter-ethnic relations at the state level and the creation of an inclusive society is an important task for any democratic government”. (Polgar, 2019: 184-185) The author intends to focus on the financial instrument that allows the traditional and new minorities to be integrated into the European societies. Minority unemployment rates increase the rate of unemployment in the European Union. In the member states of the European Union, there are many states that have to assist migrants. Such funds are: European Structural and Investments Funds, Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, EU Programme for Employment and Social Innovation, Rights, Equality and Citizenship programme, Health for Growth programme.

The second part of the book is entitled “The role of Intercultural Communication and European Education” starts with the paper of Maria Cristina Florescu and Sorin Ioan Cuc, “Theoretical aspects of Romanian vocational education in European Context”, emphasizing the Liberal-English system, the Etatist-French System and the Dual-German System. Loredana Muntean and Adina Vesa in the article “Intercultural education through Art” presents, firstly some key concepts such as “intercultural education”, “intercultural communication”, “multiculturalism”. The second part of the paper presents art as a form of communication in multicultural education, point out the authors. (Muntean & Vesa, 2019: 221) Another paper presented in this section is the one of Georgeta Bara and Marioara Roşan, “Intercultural education in educational institutions in Romania. Various activities based on intercultural projects in the kindergarten. The authors consider that it is important to “learn to live together” with the development of communication skills with a case study to achieve intercultural goals in kindergarten bringing together elements of interference of different cultures (Romanian, Hungarian, Slovak). Claudiu Gabriel Bonaciu wrote the paper, “Educational cultural development in the rural environment in the European context”. The author asserts that the education is a component of the rural space. Education through the intermediation of European Funds in the rural areas is a good premise for development. Adela Bradea and Valentin Cosmin Blândul wrote the article “Teaching and learning in special education with information communication technologies project – A way of intercultural research”. The article intends to present some issues of the education of students with disabilities with the help of ICT. Adela Bradea wrote the article “Interculturality- a new general competence in the study of Romanian language and literature at the secondary education”. One of the competencies that the children in secondary education learn after pursuing the course of Romanian

language and literature is intercultural education, point out the author, intending by this article to make a qualitative analysis of Romanian language and literature curricula and textbook from the secondary education. Nicoleta Ramona Ciobanu in the article “The Multicultural Dimension of storytelling in the teaching and learning process” gives priority to the literature in the education process.

The other papers focuses on the issue of ethnicity, multiculturalism and education in the continuous communication processes. The volume remarks through diversity, variety of approaches, openness towards “the other”, interculturality, and different ethnic background of the authors which surely brought their contribution to the issue of intercultural communication in the various social spaces of the European Union.

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MIGRATION CHALLENGES FOR EUROPE

*Marian Ionel - CUTOI**

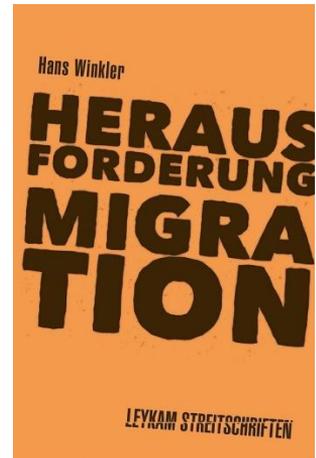
Review of: Hans Winkler (2015), *Herausforderung Migration*, Graz: Leykam

The migration phenomenon represents one of the most important challenges in the last decades for the European countries, most of them being under increasingly intensity of emigrant's flows, a challenge to which a coherent and unitary reaction of policymakers in European Union is tardily.

Winkler in "*Herausforderung Migration*", as a consequence of migrants flows intensification in the latter part of 2014 and the early of 2015, analysed the process of migration, starting from the sources of emigrants and influence factors, finishing with the recognition process of refugee status in the country of destination, presenting a multitude of data and facts, stating in the conclusion theses of migration.

More than 20 000 000 emigrants from Libya and the Horn of Africa, the Near East and Afghanistan, are on the move, aiming for the Europe territory. The number of emigrants will increase with the passing of time, one the one hand, due to conditions in countries of origin, civil wars, economic situation, political and social systems, disasters of nature, demographic explosion in Africa whose population is projected to reach 2 billion by 2050, respectively due human capital necessarily of a Europe on an ageing trend of the population, seeking to balance its deficit through these influxes. Modern means of communication and transport, led to the amplification of migration, through the easy transmission of information about "Life in Europe", in conjunction with the lack of perspective in the native countries of the remaining people, sparked the attraction and led to the willingness to pay the price of emigration, risking their lives and financial resources. Migration has become a global phenomenon, with around 60 000 000 people moving, according to the UNHCR report for 2014, 19.5 million emigrating from native countries, 38.5 being internal migrants, Syria occupying with 11.6 million emigrants by far the first place among the states considered a source of emigration. Europe is not the only one exposed to the phenomenon of migration, USA is confronted with the flows of emigrants from Mexico and Central America, Australia has taken special measures to reduce the number of immigrants, by intensively combating the phenomenon in the countries of origin of migrants through anti-emigration promotion programs. Another measure was to fund Papua New Guinea and Cambodia to take over some of the number of those arriving in Australia.

Migration became a business, the most important beneficiaries being "die Schlepper", persons who are involved in the illegal migration activity, helping and offering for a heavy fee, support, routes, hosting and transport for migrants, in order to



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reach one of the countries of destination. The testimonies of immigrants from refugee centres about the journey to Europe, without giving too much information about traffickers, appear to be the same, night marches, transportation in lightless cars, crossing the Mediterranean Sea, registration in refugee centres and the journey to the final destination. For these, each emigrant must pay around 10, 000 euros, most of them borrowed, having the obligation to return the loans once they are settled in the West. The duration of the journey may take between two months and three years depending on the available resources.

One of the negative aspects of migration and travel to Europe is the death of emigrants in the "Tomb of the Mediterranean", thousands of people finding annually their end here. After the fall of the Gaddafi regime, Libya became a favourable place for traffickers, developing here the main starting point for crossing to Europe, the Libyan coast Guard being unable to cope with traffickers due to precarious technical facilities. The boats used for crossing are not specific to the carriage of persons, being also overloaded, leading to tragedies such as the famous cases of the summer of 2014 in which 700 people lost their lives and the one in April 2015 when 800 people died in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. If in 2012 the number of those deceased in the Mediterranean waters account 39 for 1000 persons transported, in the first part of 2014 their number fell to 4 for 1000, in the second part of the year climb sharply to 50. The reduction of the number of deaths was due to the action „Mare Nostrum”, initiated by Italy, through which the boats of the financial guard met and took over the refugees, unfortunately this operation was replaced by the Triton programme managed by the external border service of the European Union, the negative results being observed.

The European Union was surprised unprepared. The large influx of emigrants, from both routes used, the Balkan or Mediterranean, caused serious problems for the states, that received them, or it was transited by the emigrants. The preferred emigrant's destination being the states with friendly policy for refugees and a social system built pro emigrants, such as Germany, Sweden, and Austria. In Austria the number of asylum requests reached 28,000 in 2014. The European Union had to find a solution in order to balance the distribution, on one side, of the refugees in the overcrowded centres in Greece and Italy, respectively those who opted for refugee status in a high proportion in countries such as Germany, Sweden, Austria or those who are waiting in France around Calais. The measures took by the European Union include: a common agenda for migration policy, more efficient strengthening and protection of external borders, reduction of illegal migration, a common asylum policy and a new migration legislation. Regarding the redistribution of migrants, two measures were taken, Relocation, based on article 78 of the EU Treaty, which provides the distribution of migrants based on quotas in all EU countries, respectively Resettlement, an operation under the aegis of the UN regarding migrant's redistribution. The proposal for quotas has encountered adverse reactions among EU member states, if countries like Austria have gladly received the relocation based on quotas, thereby reducing the pressure on overcrowded refugee centres, others have had vehement reactions against, countries like Spain, Poland, Hungary or the Czech Republic that refused this system, nor the Dublin agreement, with subsequent amendments, regarding the migration and asylum policy did not bring to much satisfaction in Italy, Greece or Malta, which was considered to be a major disadvantage for them.

Measures taken at the European Union level have been unsatisfactory for many member countries, forcing them to act individually so that they defend their own national interest. These measures include the construction of protection fences applied by the states

as Hungary, Bulgaria and Spain in its enclave in Morocco in order to halt the entry of emigrants into their territories and the transit. Another measure considered was the reintroduction of customs control in Schengen member countries, endangering the current format of this free movement system.

Regarding Austria, asylum applications doubled over a year, reaching 28 000 in 2014, data for 2015 showing an increasing tendency. A detailed analysis reveals surprising information, with men representing 75% from the number of applicants. Impressive is also the number of unaccompanied minors, which amounted over 2000. Regarding nationalities, in the top three ranked, Syrians represents the largest group with 3424 people, followed by Afghans 2393 and Kosovo 2206. Each immigrant must go through the mandatory stages, in order to receive the status of refugee in Austria. The first step is to register in one of the three EAST centres (first assignment centre) which are in Traiskirchen, Thalham and Vienna International Airport. It follows a verification of the refugee status under the Dublin II Treaty, after which the person is entrusted to care centres. Following a positive decision, the person with an asylum status receives the right of residence and travel within Austria. Even those with a negative response, who are in the situation that insecurity conditions in their countries don't allow repatriation, receive the subsidiary right of protection including the right of residence for a specified period of time within Austria. Particular attention is given to Syrian refugees, due to the dramatic conditions in the homeland, nearly half of the 23 000 000 citizens of the country are leaving their homes due to the civil war and the actions of the Islamic state. Most of them have fled to other areas of the country or in neighbouring countries, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, about 150 000 starting towards Europe, using the Balkan route and through Libya. For them, a special humanitarian programme has been created since 2014, with 1500 people being accepted by redistribution by the UN Migration Agency. This programme is coordinated by the Ministry of Interior, the UN Migration Agency and the Catholic Church in Vienna.

When we talk about migration and Austria, the first thing we think about is that migration is generated from areas such as Africa and the Near East, but the reality proves something else, namely that more than 60% of people of foreign nationality established in Austria in 2014 comes from other member states of the European Union, the first place occupied by Romania, followed by Hungary and Germany, 80% of European citizens coming from the new EU-joined states. Half of the foreigners living in Austria in 2014 were citizens of other member states of the European Union, accounting 518. 670 people, among the largest communities counting Germany, Croatia and Romania. In the field of university studies, 68% of the number of students enrolled at a public university is represented by EU citizens. 72.4% of the persons with a residence right from other EU countries were active on the labour market, above the rate of inclusion of Austrian citizens which is at 71.1%. The unemployment rate among European citizens established in Austria amounted 25% of all registered unemployed. They are not only the most frequently met among the unemployed, but a third amongst the beneficiaries of the social system are being registered for receiving the guaranteed minimum income granted to all non-employed persons or unemployment aid. Family aid is another component of the social system, whereby families with precarious incomes are financially supported, representing an attraction for social migration. Data on migration and their correlation with the beneficiaries of the social system in Austria, challenged Sebastian Kurz, the minister of foreign affairs at the moment, to seek an analysis and a reform of social

systems within the EU in order to reduce migration caused by most favourable social systems.

Moderate actions are not a solution to solve the migration. All the organizations empowered, all political and religious debates acknowledge that the resolution of this phenomenon can only be done by direct intervention into the generating source, but without doing anything or establishing a concrete action plan. Some sustain the variant of financial investments in the poor countries but ignore the fact that billions of dollars were invested in Africa for more than half a century, loans are granted at low interest rates, and now the African continent is worse than before. External financial aid is less costly than cleaning up those states, either we talk about the countries affected by internal conflicts such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria or the poor states from the Horn of Africa, Libya, or West Africa undermined by corruption. The solution would be to create a social and an economic environment through external intervention so that emigration no longer represents the last option for citizens of these countries. Europe's human capital needs for labour market were expected to be covered by these migrant flows, wanted to be assimilated as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, the evidence showed that only a small percent of them are skilled and can be integrated into the labour market.

The economic aspects of migration are complex with certain benefits for countries of emigrants. Money transfer from the West, made by the immigrants integrated into the labour market, helps to balance the financial deficits of the countries of provenance, for some poor countries like Lesotho or Moldova representing the main source of the gross domestic social product. It also contributes to support the cost of living for the remaining family members or in some cases to fund the journey to Europe for the other family members. These money transfers solve partial the problems in native countries, having just local and temporary development effects. For a significant improvement in domestic conditions, measures should be needed to tackle poverty at a general level.

The 10 theses of the migration policy set out by Winkler are:

1. *Migration is not a crime*, a lot of people made this statement with pathos, but it has a confusing underneath, referring to the fact that every person can travel anytime, anywhere to seek happiness. Indeed, migration cannot be considered a crime, but it is also true that rejecting migrants based on objective considerations is not a crime. Europe cannot be the rescue station of all the world's under-privileged.

2. *Both, illusions and twinge of conscience are not a good basis for politics*. What is happening in the Near East, the Iraq crisis, the civil war in Syria, or the disputes between Iran and Saudi Arabia are not only due to the interventions of the West, but also a consequence of disputes in the Islamic world and the terror installed by the Islamic State. The failure of post-colonial development and the sense of guilt for European colonialism in Africa cannot last forever, Europe as an emigration destination, cannot be the saviour's hero of millions of people from the African continent.

3. *Current migrations cannot be compared with those from the past*. Current emigrants wishing to reach Europe have different kind of motivations, from poverty, political instability, civil wars and Christian persecution. In the past, immigrants who arrived in Austria from Hungary and Yugoslavia were motivated by revolt and war pressure, their exceeding the actual number of emigrants, however fear and reluctance to the current migration is much higher. The answer lies in the fact that the number of those from Hungary and Yugoslavia was limited and could be approximated, much of them returning to the native countries after conflict dissipation, while the number of actual emigrants cannot be estimated, how many will be and how much will keep the migration,

being expected that a llarrived will remain. Another factor is that the emigrants in Europe came from the same cultural area.

4. *There is no mention in human rights that provides the right to life in Europe.* There is provision in human rights regarding protection against persecution, but there is no provision on the fact that man must and can live in a country he chooses. Being poor does not automatically mean that you have the right to emigrate to what country you want, and that country is obliged to approve the asylum request. The solution is that poverty should be combated in the country of origin by creating the premise of a satisfying life.

5. *Who opens the boundaries for all, compromises the right to asylum.* The right to asylum should have persons in urgent situations where their survival depends on this measure. Compromising the chances of all those who can and have the right to benefit from such a measure is possible by granting the rights of asylum and immigrants for economic and social reasons to other categories than that in question. In order to solve the problem for the other categories of asylum seekers, Europe should develop a strategic selection system in refugee centres in African countries of origin and transit countries, throughmore intensive cooperation with those countries on this issue.The selection and framing of a certain category of asylum-seekers should be made in these places, so it can be noted whether the person can be accepted as a refugee, a qualified person for work, covering the argued human capital deficit of EU member countries, or the request is denied.

6. *Tabuu falls under the pressure of reality.* One of these examples is the transfer made by the Austrian authorities, who have acted for political reasons and under the pressure of the organizations than from the willingness to help, of 500 asylum seekers in the centres of Slovakia, where they have to wait for procedures finalisation which grant asylum right for Austria, procedures which are carried out in Austria.

7. *In order to reduce immigration in the social state, Austria must reduce its attractiveness.* Austria is known among emigrants as a country, which in addition to the rule of law and the protection it offers, is also a state that provides social assistance as few countries in Europe do. With the recognition of the asylum status, the person is integrated into the social system, receives financial support to ensure the guaranteed minimum living level, and material, aid that can be equivalent with the income of anormal employee. The money received are not used for professional training, required for integration in Austria and the labour market, but is transferred to the remaining family members and used to ensure their living. This is a distortion of the purpose for which financial support is granted. A solution to this problem would be to replace financial aid with the provision of goods, services and food.

8. *Those who have received a negative answer on their asylum applications should be repatriated.* Rejected persons must be sent either in the country of origin or in the first country in which they entered in the EU, thus respecting the treaty of Dublin. Unfortunately, this is not the case because emigrants are reluctant to disclose their routes and the country in which they entered the European Union for the first time.

9. *If the EU does not reinforce external borders, the internal borders will reappear.* The security of the external border was the guarantor of free movement within the European Union. The members of the Schengen area have been accustomed to free movement at border crossings, but lately this routine has changed, the old controls being reintroduced at some points. This is a phenomenon that intensify if serious measures are not taken to strengthen the external border and neutralize illegal migration.

10. *Migration must be combated at origins.* It is clear that Europe is not an option of saving emigration for all the poor population in Africa, but it will always remain an

attraction especially for those who have no alternative in their country. Billions of euros invested by the EU in Africa were not used just for development, some of them being access by corrupt people and systems for individual purposes. Where the EU is financially involved, should do something more, to demand good governance, the key of development. African States will only have a chance if they are integrated into the globalization system, implicitly in the system of world labour division.

This analysis provides concrete data on migration and it can be stated that presently has become a global phenomenon, influenced by a multitude of factors (economic, social, political, natural, etc.) that put pressure on developed states, especially EU member states as consequence of an attractive social systems and pro-migration policies. In order to balance the migration, two types of measures should be implemented. The first category of measures are the internal measures across the European Union to revise migration policy, a uniformity of social systems and the improvement of the external border. Second category of measures relate to actions that combat migration in countries considered sources of migrants, through investments and measures that lead to the improvement of social and security conditions so that emigration becomes unwilling. Improvements of current conditions will require important resources and extended period of time till general significant results will be observed, costs that industrialised countries should be willing to commit.

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THE EU – ROMANIA’S CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

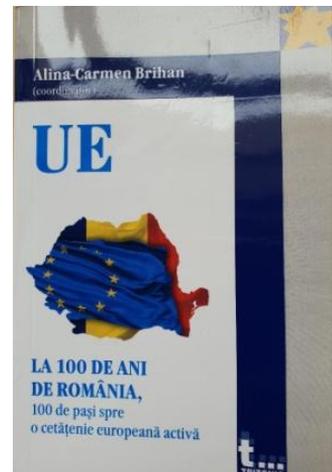
*Eduard Ionuț FEIER**
*Bogdan Nicolae MUCEA***

Review of: Alina-Carmen Brihan (coordinator), *The EU – Romania’s Centennial Celebration, 100 steps towards an active European citizenship*, Tritonic Publishing House, 2018

To date, much research has been conducted as regards the meaning of active European citizenship. Against such a background, this paper addresses two issues from the perspective of a major political event in the history of Romania, namely the celebration of 100 years from the fulfilment of the Romanian national state with the unification of historical provinces in a single state, called Romania. The innovative and unique character of this work is given exactly by the themes it approaches.

This paper represents, as pointed out by the coordinator herself, the framework of a project that seeks to capture structures and themes from different levels of the European Union governance. In terms of structure, it includes an Introduction, an introductory study, two chapters and the Conclusions. The theme of each chapter in this study is presented extensively in several studies, signed by several specialists and practitioners in the field of European affairs.

The first chapter is suggestively entitled *Between the Internal and the International Dimensions of the European Union: Institutions, the Decision-making Process, Policies, Channels and Means of Participation*. Here, the coordinator of the paper discusses issues such as: the Presidency of the EU Council, the activity of a Member of the European Parliament, the Jurisprudence of the Court of Justice, Financing from the European Union Budget, the Role of non-governmental organizations, and last but not least, the European Service for External Action (EEAS). All the topics discussed in chapter one continue to be considered significant for current theoretical approaches, all the more so as they are debated in the process of active citizenship in the European Union. In order to provide a deeper understanding of the topics addressed in the opening chapter of the study, the coordinator of the paper refers to the Romanian Presidency of the European Union Council with the beginning of the first semester of 2019. In that context, Romania had to manage important issues such as: completing the Brexit process, advancing negotiations with regard to the Multiannual Financial Framework 2021-2027, the definition of a new Ten-Year Strategy, the post-Europe 2020 Strategy. Nine specialists, who are also practitioners of European affairs, belonging to both European and national institutions, the private sector, NGOs and academic environments, presented their



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professional experience in a language as accessible as possible for the Romanian citizen. The coordinator of the book, by including these nine articles in the volume, aimed at informing citizens about various structures and topics that have as subjects information at European level and stimulating citizen participation, promoting active multilevel citizenship by showing channels and means whereby citizens can participate in the various stages of European decision-making and European policy-making.

The chapter continues with the presentation of the way in which the European Parliament, as the only European institution directly elected by the European citizens, is organized and carries out its activity. The topic of the European Parliament was approached from the perspective of how its attributions evolved during the formation of the European Union. Last but not least, the topic is discussed from the perspective of the attributions held by the Romanian Presidency during its mandate as regards legislative and non-legislative causes, looking also at its role in the consolidation of the European project, in the context of the debates on the future of Europe. Currently, a more active involvement of European citizens in the process of decision-making at the European level is perceived as necessary.

The coordinator of the publication proceeds to discuss the Jurisprudence of the Court of Justice, which establishes the citizens' rights. In this section, the contribution of the Court of Justice jurisprudence is discussed from the perspective of active European citizenship development by means of the preliminary sending procedure. The first part of the article describes the major role played by the Court in the progressive ensuring of direct protection of individual citizens rights, based on the interpretation of fundamental treaties. The second part of the study illustrates the fact that the contribution of the Court was possible largely due to the close collaboration with national instances as part of the preliminary sending procedure. This aspect is discussed as the most important instrument available to the national judge.

The study continues with a description, by the coordinator, of financing at the level of the European Union, which is regarded as a practical perspective. The analysis aims at contributing to the expansion of such an understanding, by demonstrating the entire life-cycle of such projects, while also presenting a practical alternative on the different stages. The author of the study, Mrs Anamaria Magri Pantea, defines active citizenship as an essential aspect in supporting the relevance of the European Union in a world that is both globalized and divergent.

The next study, written by Mrs Roxana Turtoi, The European Service for Extreme Action is presented as an institution with an instrumental role in the implementation of external and security politics of the European Union, carried out in the context of the Policy for Security and Common Defence. The study includes two parts: a brief presentation of the European Service of External Action, focusing on the institutional side and a revision of the Policy for Security and Common Defence, with a focus on the decisional and the procedural framework whereby missions and operations are launched with the view of managing the different crises that emerge in region of maximum interest for the European Union.

The second chapter presents the topic - The national and local level of governance in Romania: Institutions, Subsidiarity, Mechanisms and Tools for influencing the European decision-making process. The coordinator of the volume continues to present the role of the Chamber of Deputies in the European decision-making process and finally discusses the Romanian local public authorities in the multilevel governance of the European Union. As for the role of the Chamber of Deputies in the European decision-

making process, the author of this article, Mrs Roberta Anastase, presents, from the perspective of her professional experience, the key moments of the institutional reform process at the level of the Chamber of Deputies. It describes the role played by the Chamber of Deputies in the European decision-making process. The Committee on European Affairs, as the Committee on European Integration used to be called, was a common structure of the two chambers of the Parliament. After the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, the role of this committee has greatly increased. The Lisbon Treaty gave national parliaments a decisive role in the decision-making process.

In the article entitled: Romanian Local Public Authorities in the Multilevel Governance of the European Union, the coordinator of this book expresses her opinion that Romania's accession to the European Union was of particular importance, as it led to important transformations and challenges both in terms of the national decision-making process, and as regards the place and role of Romania in influencing the European decision-making process. The author of the article, Mrs Alina-Carmen Brihan, university lecturer, presents the way in which the Romanian local public authorities exercise their role and place within the EU multilevel governance and the European decision-making process.

The article is divided into three parts discussing: the structure of EU multilevel governance, the place and role of the county council in the structure of local public administration, and a case study on the positioning of county councillors from Bihor County within the EU multilevel governance; the role of the county council in influencing the European decision-making process. The correlation of the theoretical framework with the data from the sociological survey shows that, at European level, an issue has arisen: that of increasing the role of local and regional authorities in the process of decision-making at the European level; at national level it is necessary not only to increase the level of information but also to develop effective collaboration mechanisms with the actors placed at different levels and belonging to different sectors.

At the end of the volume, the coordinator includes both aspects that relate to the European level of the multilevel EU governance, and to the national and the local level of governance. Thus, within the single system of multilevel governance of the European Union, at a moment when the profile of Europe is configured for the future, both the Romanian and the European citizen should rethink and develop skills for drawing, as efficiently and responsibly as possible, the way in which rights and competences will be exercised at all decisional levels – local, national, European.

With the publication of this volume, useful information has been provided as regards the mechanisms whereby governance is structured at different levels. It was also highlighted how decisions are made and influenced and, last but not least, how the voice of the European citizen is taken into account so as he/she can become involved in the future evolution of Europe in a way that is as efficient, complex and constructive.

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THE PARADOX OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S FINANCING POLICY: BETWEEN EXPECTATIONS AND REALITIES

*Laurențiu PETRILA**

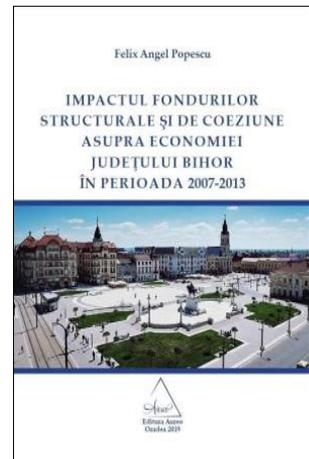
Review of: Popescu, Felix Angel, *Impactul fondurilor structurale și de coeziune asupra economiei județului Bihor în perioada 2007-2013*, Oradea: Aureo Press, 2019, ISBN: 978-606-794-213-2

Together with the introduction of social and economic cohesion policy in the European Union in 1986, and later on by the establishment of the multiannual financing cycles starting in 1988 (7 years successive programming periods), there came along a new preoccupation among theoreticians and practitioners from various fields of social sciences: how can Structural and Cohesion instruments can reduce the gap between more and less developed regions across E.U.? There was developed even an interesting branch of science, namely the impact evaluation field, with its specific hypotheses, assessment models and questionable results.

The author, Felix Angel Popescu, has tried to give a punctual response to the above stated question by doing doctoral research in the field of economic sciences where he used recent informatic - macroeconomic assessment tools developed by the European Commission. Putting together his multidisciplinary academic background, the author wrote the book in a dual manner – on one side, he used a set of prerequisites from the international economy field – but, on the other side, the book might be as well understood by the international relations and/or political sciences students, academics and researchers.

The book, entitled "The impact of Structural and Cohesion funds on the economy of Bihor county during the 2007-2013 period" (English translation of Romanian title) addresses, analyzes and interprets information, statistics and issues in the implementation of Structural and Cohesion funds. The idea of focusing the space of the research on Bihor county was outlined by the author in the sense of having a clear geographic delimitation, adequate economic and financial analysis instruments and available data on European funded projects. The concept of economic geography in relation with European funds is also stated in other authors works, like Ionescu-Heroiu et al. (2013) from World Bank, in their study about competitive cities in Romania.

The impact of European funds on a local, regional or national economy is rarely studied in terms of concrete achievements, so many authors bring into attention not only the economic and financial impact side (which can be translated into numbers or indicators), but also the social impact side (Tavistock Institute, 2003; Gârboan, 2006). After reading the scientific literature analysis made by Felix Angel Popescu in his book, it can be stated that the impact evaluation theory provides mainly 3 major directions of



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research bibliography: firstly, there are authors which deal with the method of ex-post cost benefit analysis; secondly, there are authors, which deal strictly with the method of theory-based evaluations; thirdly, there are the ex-post evaluation reports of operational programs, rural development programs and cross-border cooperation programs prepared by the relevant institutions in each Member State, which use the counterfactual evaluation method (the ‘with funding’ scenario versus the ‘without funding’ scenario).

From the point of view of the relevance of such research, whereas the theoretical aspects of the Structural and Cohesion Funds in the 2007-2013 programming period are made available by the European Commission and are well known and accessible in a large proportion, the book of Felix Angel Popescu focuses on studying and interpreting the counterfactual impact evaluation method, as well as on adapting, improving and applying specific simulations of macroeconomic models in order to validate this method. The book has a logical chain, starting with a comparison. at community level, continuing with an in-depth study at national level and culminating with a case study of impact evaluation on the North West region and on Bihor county.

The predicted difficulties regarding the research are highlighted by the author in various stages of his research. It should be noted that the evaluation of the 2007-2013 programming period means, in reality, the full study of the 2007-2016 time period (the $n+2$, $n+3$ rule), given that Romania sent the final balance of payment to the European Commission at 31st March 2017, for the closure of the respective programming period.

In the first chapter, the author highlights the difficulty of addressing the issue of absorption of Structural and Cohesion funds at Community level and triggers the need to compare Romania's position only with Member States that joined the European Union either in 2007 (Bulgaria) or in 2004 (Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) and only those that have in common a development model similar to that of Romania. In the author's opinion, general statistics related to the implementation of projects can indicate certain results of implementation and can be interpreted in relation with well-defined financial indicators, but it is very difficult to quantify an overall economic impact at national level (e.g. the long debated topic about the impact of European funds on national GDP, over-promoted by many authors).

In the second chapter, regarding the analysis of the absorption of Structural and Cohesion funds between the regions of Romania, the author shows that it is difficult to assign a degree of regional competitiveness in the implementation of these funds, given that Romania does not have yet a fully functional administrative regions system (e.g. like Poland, as mentioned by Felderean, 2018), and it is difficult to determine to what extent the financial allocations for projects were made in order to reduce the regional development gaps and to gradually eliminate the rural-urban socio-economic disparities. An obvious difficulty is to compare the degrees of absorption by operational programs at regional level, it is also almost impossible to quantify the impact of projects implemented through the Operational Program Human Resources Development, the Sectoral Operation Program Environment and the Operational Program Administrative Capacity Development (programs which functioned during the 2007-2013 programming period).

In the third chapter, at the level of the macroeconomic analysis of Bihor county, the author suggests that it is difficult to establish if the development objectives of the county are correlated with the projects financed by Structural and Cohesion funds of both public beneficiaries and private beneficiaries. The author analyzes the economy of Bihor county and reflects on the development strategies of the county for the 2007-2013 and 2014-2020 periods, bringing to the fore the financing needs and priorities of the county.

The author revealed the strengths and weaknesses of the economy of Bihor county, interpreted the development indicators of the county and their evolution and made an individual debate for all the cities and some of the communes of the county.

The fourth chapter addresses the case study in order to provide a clear and intelligible perception of the concept of assessing the impact of Community funding at regional and county level. The author's own contribution to the understanding of this phenomenon is reflected in the impact evaluation made at regional level - North West region (NUTS 2) using the RHOMOLO model and at county level - Bihor (NUTS 3) using the TIATool model. Input variables were introduced, simulations were run and interpretations were performed on the output variables. The results are very pragmatic and essentially demonstrate that on the long term, the effects of European funds on local level (region or county, in this case) have the ability to grow or fade through the evolution of economic indicators (like GDP, investments, imports, exports, unemployment rate, etc).

As a concluding remark, the book has lots to offer to any interested reader, from a basic knowledge on the influence of the absorption of European funds in the economies of the Member States, towards a general knowledge on the dynamics of the Romanian economy in relation with the absorption rate of European funds and towards an in-depth knowledge of the financial, economic and social impact produced by the implementation of Structural and Cohesion funds in North-West region and Bihor county.

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THE POPULISM IN EUROPE: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, PHOLITICAL SPEECH AND SUPPORTERS OF THE RADICAL RIGHT

Ovidiu LUNGU*

Review of: Mihnea S. Stoica, *The Populism in Europe: Historical development, pholitical speech and supporters of the radical right*, Cluj-Napoca, The University Press, 2017, ISBN: 978-606-37-0175-7

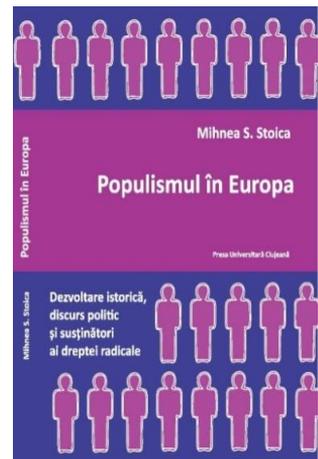
Mihnea Simion Stoica is currently a university lecturer at the Science Administrative politics and communication Faculty within Babeș Bolyai University, in the communication and public relations departament. During his university studies, Mihnea Stoica had as a main focus the study of political parties, the political phenomenon and the political ideologies. The far-right and the populism are the topics that specifically caught his attention and also the ones that represent the main subject of his thesis, which later materialized in the book that now stands as the object of this review.

It can be seen, even after a simple analysis, that during his last years, the term of populism/populist becomes more and more used within political speech, on media or in the studies of specialists in the socio-human sciences area. Most of the times, on the political stage, the leaders of the political parties or the ones that represent them, accuse their opponents by saying that they practise populism or that they see them as populists. More than that, some parties and their leaders assume their populist title in the public speech, talking about the approach of the people's needs.

The magnitude of the phenomenon can be observed by looking at the last election cycles that took place on the European continent. Within more states of the continent, upon legislative elections, the populist parties have exceeded the electoral threshold and obtained seats in the legislative gatherings. More than that, on some European political stages, these managed to take a place on the podium of the most important legislative parties. In some cases, the populists are part of the government coalitions owning important portfolios within the government.

The work is structured in two big parts, called: „*The theoretical approach*” and „*The empirical approach*”.

The first one, according to its name, aims to achieve an analysis according to the phenomenon. At the same time, this integrates several chapters in which the main focus is the clarification of several aspects about the definition of the concept, the history of the phenomenon, the geographic area where the populism has taken place, demographic



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theme, but also a detailed description of the populist movements from different European countries. The second part of the work, the empirical part, is focused on the phenomenon analysis itself. With other words, this concentrates on the collection, quantification and the presentation of the dates. Therefore, Stoica aims to outline the socio-demographic profile of the populist party electors, so as their opinions about some topics of current importance from the cultural, economical, and European sphere, in relation with the other parties.

Returning to the theoretical approach, but in a more detailed manner, the first chapter is dedicated to defining the concept of populism. The author points out the lack of an unanimously accepted definition by the majority of socio-human science researchers, a reason for which there are several types of understanding of the term. (Stoica, 2017, p. 25). Same as Mihnea, the majority of the authors in the social sciences field, that focus on the study of the populism, admit the difficulty of identifying an unanimously accepted definition. For example, in the „Sociologia populismului” translated by Dan Burcea, the author Guy Herment points out the absence of a common point of view in defining the political current. (Herment, 2007, pg. 36-44) Also stands in the ”Populismul Contemporan. Un concept controversat și formele sale diverse” work, coordinated by A. Caprinschi, G. L. Stoica, L. D. Dârdală, the absence of a common agreement on the term explanation is highlighted. (A. Caprinschi, G. L. Stoica, L. D. Dârdală, 2012, pg. 9-11) Another example is the „Populismul în Europa și cele două Americi: amenințare sau remediu pentru democrație”, in which the same idea is mentioned, a wide variation of distinct meanings of the phenomenon. (Author Akkerman, Tjitske. Bruhn, Manfred. Deegan-Krause, Kevin. Mudde, Cas. Rovira, Kaltwasser Cristóbal. Tăut, Codrin. Juverdeanu, Emil. Șandru, Daniel. Mișcoiu, Sergiu. Gherghina, Sergiu, 2015, pg. 7-10) The ambiguity of the populism term and the different connotations that it can have are also pointed out in „Extrema dreaptă azi: ideologie, discurs, electorat” work by Lavinia Florea (Florea, 2006, pg. 15-17)

In the first sub-chapter, Mihnea focuses on the historical-geographical approach of the concept. On a different note, he comes back to the origins of the populism in the 19th century, from where a chronological approach begins and it holds up until this day. The geographic areas included in the study covers the following continents: Europa and North America, more exactly, Rusia and Romania in Europe, and USA in North America. According to his opinion, the populism consecutively develops from the temporal point of view, both in the Tzarist Empire and USA, and it is the expression of farmers riots from the two states previously mentioned. Its first attestation on American realm is appreciated as being the second half of the 19th century, following the Civil War, as a result of agrarian riots started by farmers, as a reaction to the governmental policies which were unfavorable for them. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 26-33) A short incursion in the history of populism is also made by the author Lavinia Florea, having a similar approach from the point of view of the origin of the phenomenon and its chronological evolution. (Florea, 2006, p. 17)

In the Tzarist Empire, the populism is commonly known as narodnicism, and as in USA, has its origins in the farmers riots. Also, the phenomenon was maintained by cultural groups made of aristocrats, small bourgeoisie and young people. The Narodnicism was an expression of the agrarian riots, but we also have to remind the fact that it developed a strong anti-Tzarist current. These aspects which the Russian populism can be identified by, were also scattered by the socialism, the reason why the most part of the supporters emigrated there. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 33-35) A special attention is directed to the Russian populism, in the historical approach of the phenomenon and the author Guy Herment, having

a sub-chapter about it. This illustrates the Russian narodnicism in a similar form to Stoica's approach, presenting its origin, the manifestation type and its evolution in the tsarist/soviet space in a more detailed manner. (Hermet, 2007, pg. 145-147)

The author also discusses the Romanian populism, known as poporanism, which has manifested itself on the territory of our country at the end of 19th century. Among specialists there are two sides of poporanism's origin. Some believe that its origins come from the Russian narodnicism, while others agree on the fact that this appeared in a natural way due to the favourable weather conditions. The poporanism supporters didn't create a political formation, through which they could have sustained their ideas, so they promoted it through the PNL party, made up by more inner circles and opened to some extent, to support some ideas of populist nature. The end of poporanism, coincides with the transfer of ideas and their supporters in the National Peasant's Party. This step led to dilution of the group and the ideas of the poporanists (Stoica, 2017, pg. 36-51)

Regarding the populism's origins, Stoica and the majority of the science-politics authors agree that this started in the second half of 19th century and is one of the farmers riots result.

The next sub-chapter focuses on the linguistic evolution approach. On the other hand, Stoica, presents the semantic meaning of the term during time, pointing out its volatility. The populism term can be found in close contact with the following concepts: people and democracy. The first one can be considered the root of it, because all of the actions carried out by the current supporters are in the name of the people. At the same time, democracy is another concept that is closely connected with the populism. Sometimes, the adherents of this political current appeal to it, and not to democracy generally, but to direct democracy, which they consider to be the only and most useful form of people manifestation. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 51-64)

The chapter entitled „The Contemporary Populism- a concept under the sign of controversy” is focused on explaining some important aspects of today's populism. Therefore, in the first sub-chapter it is widely debated the framing of the political current, namely: are we talking about an ideology or a political strategy? Mihnea Stoica claims that the populism is a political supra-strategy and not a political ideology, because it doesn't include all of its characteristics. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 64-96) One of the main concerns of researchers' who focus their attention on populism, has to do with the current political framing, which raises some important question signs: are we talking about political ideology? are we talking about a political strategy? are we talking about something else? Specialists' opinions are divided in this way. For example, in „Extrema dreaptă azi: ideologie, discurs, electorat” work made by Lavinia Florea, the fact that populism is a „meta-doctrine” is mentioned, which translates through a general ideology. (Florea, 2006, p. 15) A similar opinion is also found in the „Sociologia populismului”, by Guy Hermet, translated by Dan Burcea, in which the difficulty of framing populism among ideologies is due to the „doctrinal poverty”. On a different note, it is said that populism is only limited to an idealization of people which leads to the doctrine idea. (Hermet, 2007, p. 45)

Later on, in the two following sub-chapters, two important concepts, tightly connected to each other, are debated, and those are: people and democracy. The last sub-chapter is allocated to the political topics used by populists to appeal the electorate, among which the following: media-the centrism/leader's image; the clericalism/ the appeal to religion; political reductionism; anti-elitism/conspiracy; stigmatization; the appeal to the absolute direct democracy. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 64-96)

In the last chapter of the theoretical approach, Stoica teacher, focuses all his attention on presenting the main populist parties from Europe, and those are: National Front (France); The Liberty Party from Austria (Austria); The Party for Liberty (Holland); The True Finns Party (Finland); UK's Independence Party (UK); So, the author illustrates an evolutionary image of populism over time, both on particular case, on state level, and also on continent level, outpointing today's populism image in Europe. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 96-180)

The first chapter of empirical approach is dedicated on identifying the socio-demographic profile of populist party supporters. The variations that have been taken in consideration by Mihnea for building the profile are: age, gender, religion, job status, education, interest in politics. The socio-demographic analysis is made on the basis of some statistics, provided by EUvox platform and made through European parliament election opportunity from 2014. As a result of the research, some common characteristic of the populist electorate supporters are identified, which can be found in the majority of the cases analyzed, like: the most part of the populist electorate is made of men, in more of the cases over 70%; the supporters are specially from the country side and the small urban side; they have average studies; they are employees or retired, they show a considerable interest for the politics; they belong to the developed regions of the countries etc. Of course, a fact has to be reminded; which is that in the studied cases, differences between populists can be noticed, an aspect found in Mihnea's analysis. For example, in the age variation case, differences between populists party supporters can be noticed. In France and UK, the populists electorate is made of old people, meanwhile in Osterlich and Finland, the electorate is made by young people. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 181-226)

In the last chapter of the empirical approach, the author is focusing on the analysis of opinions of the cultural, economical and European populist party supporters. The study is made for the populist parties which represent the object of the research. The cultural opinions of the populist electorate are in opposition with: immigration, which has to be reduced; the minorities in any shape or form; preserving the immigrants' culture, populists believe that immigrants must acquire their culture; the marriages between same gender people; the women's right of deciding on abortion. From the economical point of view, the populists' supporters agree with the fact that: the state should not intervene in economy; wealth should not be redistributed; the loans from the IMF and World Bank are not useful for the economy; and Russia should not be economically penalized. In relation with European Union, the populism adepts believe that the European bureaucracy is ineffective; the currency solely is not useful; the accession to the European community was not a good decision; the European integration should not continue. (Stoica, 2017, pg. 226-331)

As far as I am concerned, the work is professionally done, and it is very useful to the ones who embrace political interests. The structure is very well outpointed, and it gives the reader a chance to logically follow the study of the political phenomenon. The theoretical part creates a political image of the political current, which takes the reader on a documentary trip from where the populism started until this day. Later on, the complex populism and its different meanings are presented. Also, the author expresses his own thoughts and opinions about what populism represents and stands for today. All this, helps the reader create a wide perspective about the political current, which will help him to deepen the research developed in the empirical part. The empirical approach is also conceived, using the method and instruments most suitable for the research in question. The object of the research is carefully chosen and it includes a significant number of

populist parties from several European countries. The data used by the author is collected from highly reliable qualified platforms and processed with particular attention and the results obtained shall be presented.

The conclusions are expressed in a concise and clear way, in addition to the author's opinion. The bibliography is well-selected, including numerous books, scientific articles, studies and electronic sources, from both national and international literature.

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THE END OF EUROPE: DICTATORS, DEMAGOGUES, AND THE COMING DARK AGE

Ramona SFERLIC *

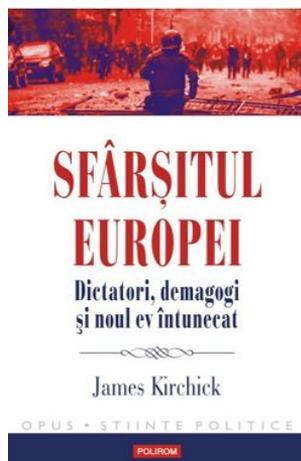
Review of: James Kirchick, *Sfârșitul Europei. Dictatori, demagogi și noul ev întunecat* [The End of Europe: Dictators, Demagogues, and the Coming Dark Age], Polirom, 2018

The End of Europe appears translated in Romanian at Editura Polirom in 2018, written by American writer James Kirchick, a former journalist for *New Republic* and an active researcher on European issues. The book is an interesting introspection, sprangled with subjective notes, of what the European Union is today and of what the European Union is about to become, in the absence of measures to strengthen ties between states and diminish the wave of exaggerated populism.

The stability of the European Union has been questioned for a number of years. If some say that there is a need for "more Europe" others are firmly saying that the European Union is down. Kirchick constantly states in the book that the European Union must now be more united than ever. The book, though it may be misunderstood, if we judge it by the title, is a pro-European volume and can be regarded as an invitation to uniting efforts, an encouragement to hope. *The End of Europe* is a book of the present, part of the family of books that open the reader's horizon of thinking, and the author is one of the writers studying European Union issues from an active observer perspective.

The volume is structured in 8 chapters: European Nightmare, Russia: on the edge of Europe, Hungary: Democracy Without Democracy, Germany: A New Rapolli, European Union: Tribulations in Paradise, France: Without Jews, Brexit: from Great Britain to Little England, Greece: From Polis to Populists, Ukraine: The New West Berlin. Each chapter is dedicated to the crises identified in the territory of a state, the problems presented are some that affect the state and the European Union.

In addition to the issues listed above, Kirchick also pays extra attention to US-European relations. He argues that America and the European Union must continue to blend the common values, values that have underpinned the latest modeling of history. Thus, the importance of the Europe-America alliance is treated with great seriousness by Kirchick. He states that the outcome of the US elections could not come at a more inappropriate moment, and the Trump's support to the pro-Brexit camp, the fracture of the European continent, cooperation with Russia and Syria could create irreconcilable ruptures. After over 70 years of mutual support, the withdrawal of American support is triggering an alarm signal. The author argues that in the absence of constant ties between the two powers, Russia will cure its authoritarian values.



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The author points out very well that Russia goes on the slogan to divide and conquer, taking advantage of all the existing crises of Europe, seeking to amplify them, concentrating on the destabilization of the European continent on all fronts. The issues in which Russia interferes are the inability of states to assimilate immigrants, the ever-increasing nationalism that is beginning to feel its presence in almost all states.

Kirchick also reminds of Russia's involvement in all actions aimed at destabilizing the order of European politics, recalling the occupation of Crimea in 2014, the invasion of Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014. Through these actions, Russia demonstrates that the transatlantic partnership is no longer present, being scarred by resources.

Not to be missed are Russia's attempts to intimidate NATO member states in its attempt to prove that art. 5 of NATO is worth neither the paper on which it is written. Russia is tackling aggressive tactics to weaken the transatlantic partnership. In other words, Russia wants to take part in the game without respecting the rules of the game. What Kirchick manages to demonstrate through this volume is that we are witnessing a paradigm shift. Until recently, the supremacy of the powerful states was the source of the main conflicts, we are now witnessing a new kind of Threat to the stability and security of the Union. Weak states such as Ukraine or Georgia have become the new sources of conflict between global power poles. Non-state actors are the ones who change the dynamics of security policies, Kirchick offers us examples of terrorist organizations as well.

Europe is now home to simultaneous crises, at a time when the sustainability of the economy, social cohesion, the eurozone and security are its most problematic chapters since World War II.

The author places the events, from the collapse of traditional liberal and conservative parties, to the rise of populist parties (Le Pen-France), the Syriza party in Greece. The book presents the common and fundamental values of states, values that need to be strengthened and defended against imminent risks to which they are subjected to.

The chapters dedicated to Greece and Brexit do not analyze in depth the problems of states. The author does not come up with a clear solution to resolve crises in the two states. In the case of Brexit, he recounts the groundless arguments of Nigel Farage and the UKIP Eurosceptics without the rhythm of one or the other, stating only that the UK has never been fully integrated into the European Union and that because it was not part of the Eurozone and Schengen.

Regarding the situation of Hungary, the author encourages Orban to recognize and accept history as he was, without continuing this demagogue role, by renouncing the Hungarian victims' complex and admitting that Hungary has never been more prosperous and more democratic as in the last years.

Illiberal democracy is another aspect that Kirchick approaches. The governments of Hungary and Poland are increasingly targeting extremism and populism, and this is due to the illiberal democratic wave. The West no longer trusts its own forces, and no longer has the force and resources to fight against the fanatical enemy. The volume is current, very well documented and structured, presenting Europe's current situation, the causes of the past that have led to the emergence of these problems, and outlining the measures needed to create a new Europe, a united and involved Europe.

The author argues that the elimination of populism inspired by a new generation of European leaders, starting from Le Pen and ending with Orban or Zeron, may be the solution to the balance of Europe. Kirchick makes an interesting parallel between the European Union and the fall of the Soviet Union, saying that, as no one expected the

Soviet Union to be, it was equally believed in Europe's political, social, economic and military stability until Brexit appeared.

Kirchick stresses that we must not forget that the European Union is the consequence of and the result of all the negative episodes of the past. He argues that since the past has spawned division, the time has come for the European Union to solve its problems in a collective manner, creating coherent fiscal policies, controlling borders in a common manner, updating asylum policies, encouraging trade.

The author asserts that more Europe, the solution that has always been used to respond to the crises of Europe, should not be understood in the form of a growing power delegation to Brussels, but in the form of increased cooperation based on the principle of Europe of the states of the nations.

The volume ends in an optimistic note, continuing with Winston Churchill's approach, and stressing that the EU may be the worst system of governance but is better than any of the alternatives.

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