The road towards the New Europe: the facets and the developments of an on-going process
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The Road towards the New Europe. The Facets and the Developments of an On-going Process.

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Review of: Bărbulescu, Iordan Gheorghe. *Noua Europă. Identitate şi model european* [The New Europe. Identity and European Model]. Iaşi: Polirom, 2015. ISBN 978-973-46-5127-6.

The book named *Europă. Identitate şi model european* [The New Europe. Identity and European Model] represents the first of the six volumes that will compose the new series called "The New Europe", written by the Romanian academic Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, Dean of the Department of International Relations and European Integration, National School of Political Studies and (SNSPA), Bucharest. The Professor Bărbulescu, with a professional expertise in the domains of European studies, diplomacy, international relations and the evaluation of programs and public policies, has undertaken a prestigious and extensive work in the domain of the European affairs, through his thirteen books and monographs, and hundreds of articles, analyses, reports and studies, published at national and international levels.

Why "The New Europe"? As the author mentions in the first pages of his book, after the Treaty of Lisbon we are facing the moment of an important "leap" in the European development, as Europe has entered in its explicit phase of federalism and constitutionalism[2]. But the two models do not exist in pure form; they are adapted to the European realities: a federation of nation – states and a material constitution. Therefore, the major elements that characterize the New Europe are both the deepening and the enlargement of the European Union. According to Professor Bărbulescu, the unification of the EU is realised through its enlargement, while its federalisation – through integration[3]. If at internal level, the EU has a social - liberal model characterised by integration, federalisation, market economy, solidarity, common values, democracy, citizenship, constitutionalisation, unity, subsidiarity and diversity, at external level – we observe the extrapolation of the EU's internal model through an active policy of peace, political and economic cooperation with all the states that have a political system compatible with the European values. As a consequence, the author states that the European Union has defined its own identity, both internally and externally, by developing, internally, a new political regime, a new legal order and a new social - economic model, and by projecting it, externally[4]. These evolutions define a new model of the EU, internally and externally, and the endeavour towards the creation of a European identity.

As regards the topic of the first volume of the series *Identity and European Model* the author considers that the EU builds and affirms, in a progressive manner, a true European identity, based on an economic and monetary union and expressed through a

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[2] Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, *Noua Europă. Identitate şi model european* [New Europe. Identity and European model] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2015), 21.
[3] Ibid., 27.
[4] Ibid., 25.

political union, a common foreign policy and a strategy aimed at ensuring a common security and defence, in the near future[5].

The book is structured in three parts and twelve chapters, covering: the European Idea – the historical and theoretical bases (first part); from the European Idea to the European Union – integration and federalisation, enlargement and unification (second part); Europe – a new model of society (third part).

The first part of the book – the historical and theoretical bases of the European Idea – consists of two chapters: the history of the European Idea and theories and models of integration. The approach of the chapter dedicated to the history of the European Idea is organised around several coupled concepts that define the European Idea: unity and integration, integration and federalisation. Beginning with the idea of the European unity along the history of the European thought, following with the foreign threats seen as an unifying and federalising element (according to George Podiebrad, Piccolomini, Juan Luis Vives, and during the 1848 revolutions), the author moves forward so to analyse the first European projects of federalist union (in the work of Amos Comenius, the project of abbé de Saint – Pierre, Immanuel Kant, Friedrich W. Schelling, Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Mazzini, etc.), during which the author states that the work of Pierre – Joseph Proudhon contains some visionary ideas about the European federation understood as a multi-level organisation and as a result of the agreement of the parties[6]. The XXth century represents the century of the development of the federalist theories and of their functional application through the creation of the European institutions, so it is the century of the movement for theory to practice with regard to the functional – federalist ideas[7]. In this context, it is analysed the debate between the intergovernmentalists, confederalists and federalists, and Professor Bărbulescu concludes that federalism without supranational cannot exist, while supranational without federal can exist[8].

In the process of transition from the European idea to the European Union, the author consecrates a subchapter to the Romanian contributions to the development of the European Idea. The transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in a federal state (the federalist plan of Aurel Popovici - 1906); the Danube Confederation Plan; the creation of the Economic Community of the Little Entente (1933); the Tardieu Plan of the Danube Confederation (1932) or the Balkan Pact (1934) – were all examples of the Romanian input, in the XXth century, to the European thought of creating Europe as a unique entity. The Romanian case in point also shows that the endeavour of thinking Europe as a unique entity has manifested, simultaneously, in the Eastern and Western Europe, and it has developed, in parallel, with that of building, at a continental level, of a federal-type structure, so that the ideas of federation and European unity have gone, mostly all the time, hand in hand[9].

The second chapter scrutinizes the "Theories and Models of Integration". The analysis of the new international order, from the perspective of International Relations and Political Science, has revealed that the European Studies domain (developed in the '60s) is situated on the border of the two above-mentioned domains, and it has an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary character[10]. Professor Bărbulescu describes a two-fold typology of the

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[5] Ibid., 29.

[6] Ibid., 40.

[7] Ibid., 41.

[8] Ibid., 44. The issue of federal Europe was largely approached also by Cristina-Maria Dogot in *Le fédéralisme, fondement intellectuel de la construction européenne. Le fédéralisme personnaliste de Denis de Rougemont* (Saarbrucken: Editions universitaires européennes, 2011).

[9] Bărbulescu, 64.

[10] Ibid., 71.

new theories concerning the European integration: that of "double perspective" – International Relations (neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism and the liberal intergovernmentalism) vs. public and comparative policies (institutionalism, multi-level governance, supranational governance, the role of the institutions in the EU functioning) and of the EU study – regarded as a political system (Simon Hix)[11]. The author considers that each of the two new theories mentioned before relates to one of the two theories of European integration – federalism and intergovernmentalism; that each of them tries to clarify an aspect of the European Union – actors, political system, decision-making process, etc.; and that none of them aims at being universal and exhaustive, and this shows that the EU functioning cannot be explained by a single theory[12]. After discussing the theories derived from International Relations (intergovernmentalism and federalism) and the ones derived from Political Science (functionalism and neofunctionalism, the interdependence theory, the new theories of integration, etc.), Professor Bărbulescu affirms that there is not an academic consensus regarding the meaning of the "European integration" term, so that the European integration definition is realised through a theoretical mix of International Relations (ensure the general understanding of integration) and Political Science (explains the sectorial issues of integration) theories, none of them being sufficient for the explanation of the phenomenon, a compulsory interdisciplinarity being needed[13].

The second part of the book is dedicated to the road Europe has followed between the European Idea to the European Union, a road characterised by integration and federalisation, enlargement and unification. In this part were approached six themes, corresponding to six chapters (from chapter three to chapter eight): the EU objectives and actors; the method, nature and progressivity of integration; the new European legal order; the formal and material competences and European public policies; the enlargement – political necessity and historical opportunity; the impact of enlargement and unification.

In the third chapter, the author discusses the initial and the subsequent objectives of the EU, from the ones that promoted the peace on the European continent and the economic unification, to those that regarded the political unification, democratisation and European social identity. If the evolution to the political dimension of the EU was achieved through the Maastricht Treaty, the political unification has been emphasised as the communities democratised. The author's conviction is that the EU's democratisation develops the political dimension and that the political unification is accomplished through the raising to the status of law of values as human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, state of law, etc.[14]. Meanwhile, the attainment of a European social identity has been done through the expansion from an exclusive economic community to one that had, in addition, political aims[15]. The author also focuses on the actors, from the role that the national actors play in the EU (as the member states continue to be the constitutive actors) to the role of the EU's common institutions (Council of the European Union, European Parliament, European Commission, European Council, etc.)[16].

The fourth chapter approaches three issues: the method, the nature and the progressivity of integration. As regards the method of integration, it comprises aspects as: unification, integration, cooperation, enlargement, consolidation and deepening. In this

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[11] Ibid., 77.
[12] Ibid., 78.
[13] Ibid., 112.
[14] Ibid., 123.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., 135.

context, the New Europe is attained through two complementary processes: deepening (this process occurs as a result of the tensions between integration and cooperation) – seen as vertical development, and enlargement – considered as horizontal development, while protecting the consolidation of the achieved progresses[17]. The European Union is the result of progressive integration, in which the states were demanded not to give up to their sovereignty, but to the dogma of absolute sovereignty[18]. The transfer of sovereignty, administered by the nation states, to a supranational community, is in itself an expression of sovereignty, as it doesn't mean the loss of it, but the common exercise of sovereignty at the EU level. In this regard, Professor Bărbulescu considers that it isn't justified the fear that the European Union would proclaim itself a "state" over the will of the member states and of their peoples', as the EU has only the competences attributed to it by the states and any change made to these competences can be done only with the states' will and agreement[19]. At the same time, cooperation represents the states' availability to work together with the aim of accomplishing some common objectives, without giving up their sovereignty[20]. Moving further, the nature of integration is analysed through the political and legal dimensions of the European Communities / EU. From a legal point of view, it is argued that the European Communities and the EU are not subjects of the international law, to the detriment of the member states, but along with them, and that the European Communities and the EU are not vested with "the competence to establish competences"[21]. As regards the relation of the EU law with the international law, the European Communities and the EU have enriched the structure and functioning of the international law, contributing to the improving of the International Relations' techniques[22]. The European Communities and the EU's independence from the international law is more difficult to be established than their independence from the national law of the member states[23]. Referring to the third dimension of integration – the progressivity, both the use of the specific tools of integration and the attainment of its objectives have been done, from the very beginning, in accordance with the idea of progressivity[24]. But the author considers that the progressivity of the general plan shouldn't force the process of integration, nor to lose sight of the assurance, step by step, of the treaties' objectives fulfilment[25]. Professor Bărbulescu asks the question whether there is enough stability in a legal – constitutional system that is subject to change every four – five years (through the treaties)[26]. As a consequence, he affirms that the EU system should complete its evolution, should stop having a provisional character that would put an end, in consequence, to its legal and political deficiencies – that are the result of its continuous becoming. Subsequently, the progressivity – positive, up to a point, can't become permanent as it transforms in lability. Professor Bărbulescu suggests, therefore, that the EU should have the force and wisdom to achieve the great reform that would lead to a fundamental act, such as the evoked constitution[27].

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[17] Ibid., 137.
[18] Ibid., 142.
[19] Ibid., 143.
[20] Ibid., 144.
[21] Ibid., 155.
[22] Ibid., 160.
[23] Ibid., 161.
[24] Ibid., 162.
[25] Ibid., 163.
[26] Ibid., 166.
[27] Ibid.

The fifth chapter focuses on the new European legal order. The European Union is a normative system both in relation to the member states' and their regions' law, and in relation with the international law[28]. In this regard, are analysed: the sources of Community law – the primary law, the secondary law and the jurisprudence of the Court of Justice of the European Union; the application of the Community and EU law; and the Community and EU law versus the constitutions of the member states. The primacy of the Community law is progressive, as the communitarisation of the sectors of the national policies develop, and as its applicability is extended, namely the competences are transferred from the member states to the European Union[29].

The sixth chapter addresses the formal and material competences and the European public policies. The author affirms that the integration and federalisation of the EU cannot be understood without the knowledge of the formal competences of the EU[30]. The origin of the common competences resides in the process of limiting the national competences and in the transfer of the states' attributions to the Communities and to the EU[31], and they have extended as a result of the system's progressivity[32]. In the competences' classification, the control competence defines the fulfilment of the treaties' objectives, while the competence of action characterizes the competence of the Communities and of the EU to carry out the actions that aim at the fulfilment of the treaties' objectives and those of the Communities' and of the EU's, in general[33]. The Treaty of Lisbon has established the categories and the domains of the EU's competences: exclusive, shared and of supporting, coordinating or supplementing the actions of the Member States. At the same time, the elaboration of a "catalogue" of the EU's competences has brought clarity to the system, allowing the European citizen to know "who does what" in the EU, and it represents a federalist – type instrument, whose aim is the clarification, distribution and development of the common competences[34]. The more objectives are established and achieved, the more competences are for the Communities and the EU; therefore, as the Community evolves, are growing the number and the magnitude of competences (material competences) – from the sectorial to the general ones, from the economic to the political ones[35]. Regarding the common policies and actions, it is stated that to each objective is associated a competence and one or more European public policies. In this context, the author focuses on three large groups of policies: the common market, the economic and monetary union and the internal market[36]. The Treaty of Lisbon modifies the categories of competences and, consequently, the common policies, which are redefined, and enumerates the principles on which it is realised the delimitation (the principle of conferral) and the exercise of competences (the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality)[37]. In correlation with the principles of subsidiarity[38] and

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[28] Ibid., 168.
[29] Ibid., 221.
[30] Ibid., 223.
[31] Ibid., 224.
[32] Ibid., 229.
[33] Ibid., 227.
[34] Ibid., 230.
[35] Ibid., 249.
[36] Ibid., 252.
[37] Ibid., 254-255.
[38] Ioan Horga, "Multilevel Governance (Mlg) and Subsidiary Principle in White Paper of Mlg of the Committee of the Region (CoR)," in *Regional and Cohesion Policy – Insights into the Role of the Partnership Principle in the New Policy Design*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Debrecen & Oradea: Debrecen University Press & Oradea University Press, 2011), 158-164.

proportionality, it is analysed the role of the national parliaments and that of the regions and local communities. The national parliaments acquire the control function regarding the exercise of the European competences and the transfer of the new competences, to the EU. The inclusion of the national parliaments in the functioning of the EU represents an absolute novelty that is thought, *a priori*, as consolidating the democratic character of the EU and the development of the European federalism through the participation of the member states, not only at the governmental level, but also at the parliamentarian one[39], in the EU's decision-making process[40]. As regards the recognition and the guarantee of the regions' competences, this denotes one of the stakes found behind the principle of subsidiarity and the introduction of the political and legal control mechanism of its accomplishment[41]. The Treaty of Lisbon gives legal means to the regions, even if indirectly, to bring proceedings against the European legislative acts that violate the principle of subsidiarity. Consequently, the Treaty of Lisbon represents an important progress in providing, to the regions, the tools to protect their own competences against the undue interference of the national institutions[42].

The seventh chapter is consecrated to the processes of enlargement and unification, and it analyses the accession process of the different waves, with a particular focus on the Central and Eastern European states' accession to the EU. Correlated to this chapter, the eighth chapter addresses the impact of the EU enlargement towards the ten Central and Eastern European states, as the enlargement towards this area represents a central element of the European unification and of the creation of the New Europe[43]. Following a comparative analysis of the European Union and the Central and Eastern European states, it is scrutinised the influence of the unification on the EU's common institutions (this enlargement accelerated the EU's institutional reforms and foreshadowed the great reforms brought by the Treaty of Lisbon[44]) and on the European public policies (EU financing, budgetary policy, common agricultural policy, internal market, environment, energy, etc.).

The third part of the book, *Europe, a new model of society*, comprises four chapters that regard: the federal – intergovernmental Europe (chapter 9); the European social market economy (chapter 10); the political Europe (chapter 11); and the EU – seen as a political – legal synthesis of a federation of nation-states, regulated by a material constitution (chapter 12).

The ninth chapter, devoted to the federal – intergovernmental Europe, is based on the author's assumption that, at this moment, it can be noticed a consolidation and an explanation of the European intergovernmental federalism[45]. In this context, the EU is defined as an union of states and peoples, based on a sovereignty exercised in common, according to whom the states and peoples decide the sectors in which they want to develop common policies (federal policies) and the ones in which they want to maintain their independence and to develop intergovernmental policies[46]. In the EU, the political process is a federal-type one, and the federal model has been constantly present in the European construction; this led to an institutional system that has been, continually, a mix of federalism and of an international organisations - like system. Starting with the European Single Act, all the reforms introduced by the following treaties are intertwined and all prepare the essential ones meant at completing

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[39] Ioan Horga et al., *The European Parliament, Intercultural Dialogue and European Neighborhood Policy* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2009).
[40] Bărbulescu, 257.
[41] Ibid., 258.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 284.
[44] Ibid., 299.
[45] Ibid., 326.
[46] Ibid., 327.

the EU's federal and constitutional model[47]. The author analyses the model's democratisation through the constitutionalisation of the EU's reform method (the Convention) and he states that the next EU treaty has to reflect the intergovernmental – supranational dimension resulted from the federalist – intergovernmental character of the European construction and of the Convention method[48]. As regards the Treaty of Lisbon (considered, formally, as a treaty, and materially, as a constitution), Professor Bărbulescu declares that the new characteristics that the EU has achieved are: the emphasize of federalism and the explanation of the federal model of the European construction; the attitude's change regarding the role of the European actors; progress achieved concerning the development of some "taboo" - considered issues (the EU acquires legal personality, the creation of a catalogue of competences, etc.); the explanation of the European model of society; the evolution to a political and social model defined as specific to the EU; the EU's role in the international arena, etc.[49]. After defining the European intergovernmental federalism as being asymmetric, multi-level and explicit, it is said that the deepening and the enlargement are the two processes through which the EU is redefined. With reference to the Europe – wide extrapolation of the model, in the last twenty-five years, the EU model has transformed, progressively, in a European one and, in the common consciousness, Europe has become more and more identified with the EU[50]. In this regard, the author says that the only unanswered questions, till now, are: the speed with which the model will become a European one, through progressive integration and enlargement; and the degree to which, based on this European model, it will reach a European federal union[51]. Professor Bărbulescu debates, also, the insufficiency of the intergovernmental reform method in a multidimensional Europe; he affirms that, as soon as the EU will acquire a political nature, it will have to move away from the format specific to the classical international organisations, and also from their reform method – the diplomatic method. The organisation of a Convention, before the Intergovernmental Conference, will definitely modify the reform model from a classical one, to a federal one, that will lead to the consolidation of the EU model in a political one[52].

The tenth chapter undertakes an analysis of the European social market economy. After defining the EU's economic model of integration (the existence of the sectorial economic Communities; a method of transformation, from the national to the supranational level, through the progressive deepening and the integration of the economic sectors; an Economic Monetary Union, with a single currency; the perspective, in the future, of a deeper economic integration, etc.)[53], the author proceeds to an historical approach of the economic unification and integration and, then, to the its conceptual approach (common market, single market, internal market)[54]. In this regard, it is analysed the evolution from the common market (the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community – 1951 and the Treaties of Rome - 1957) to the internal market (as it was first defined in the Single European Act – 1986, when it was explained by reference to the common market and to the single market), with a particular focus on the Treaty of Lisbon, where the internal market is

[47] Ibid., 332.
[48] Ibid., 337. See also Cristina-Maria Dogot and Ioan Horga, "Enlargement Process, Classic Geopolitics, and EU Internal Priorities," in *Eurolimes* 14, *Enlargements, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities*, ed. Ariane Landuyt et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press/Bruylant, Autumn 2012), 161-180.
[49] Bărbulescu, 344.
[50] Ibid., 350.
[51] Ibid., 352-353.
[52] Ibid., 354.
[53] Ibid., 356-357.
[54] Ibid., 375.

defined as a space without internal borders, in which the free movement of goods, people, services and capital is ensured according to the Treaties' provisions. If the first part of the chapter is devoted to the economic dimension, the second part approaches the social dimension. The author considers that the social Europe is part of the European model of society and that it is referential to the social – liberal policies. As regards this latter issue, the argument for considering Europe as a model of social – liberal policies is that it implies the positioning of society in the centre of the market – state – society triangle[55]. Therefore, the European society takes a step forward and requests the attainment of a social and political format in which the citizen, the region, the state and the EU, as a whole; in the same time, this model has to respect the market rules without disadvantaging the citizens in front of the market[56]. Related to this, the Treaty of Lisbon postulates the institutionalised participation of the civil society in the EU decision-making – through the focus on the participative and representative democracy principles and the role of the regions in the EU's activity - as part of the EU's economic and social model[57].

The eleventh chapter, *The Political Europe*, comprises four main directions of research: the political model of the EU; the representative and participative democracy; the European citizenship; and the EU – a new political reality. The political model of the EU is defined in the treaties (beginning with the Treaty of Maastricht) and it incorporates a set of values and principles; it establishes the power relations; it institutes the EU's own institutional system and a decision-making system; and it is defined by an own legal system and an own legal order[58]. In the development of the European political model and of his building method – the intergovernmental federalism, an important role is played by the further deepening of the European integration. Professor Bărbulescu affirms that, in the centre of any debate regarding the future of Europe, it is situated the understanding of the European model, to whom some additional topics are connected: the political and federal Europe versus intergovernmental Europe; technocratic government versus political government; single integration speed versus multiple integration speed; the neoliberal Europe versus the social – liberal Europe; the common values; the EU's role in the world. The nature of the European construction has completely and progressively changed through the transition from an economic European Community to a political European Union. Intrinsic part of this process of change were the actors and their roles – both of the governments' and of the new actors entered on the European arena – civil society, the social and political European forces, regions, etc.[59] A particular attention, as regards the political model of the EU, is given to the internal policy and to the foreign policy of the EU. Concerning the EU's internal policy, it is analysed the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, a sector that has experienced a late incorporation in the European construction for several reasons: its difficulty, amplitude, diversity and the importance of its policies (immigration, asylum, fight against organised crime, etc.); the member states' reluctance of transferring competences regarding sectors that have been previously considered as pillars of sovereignty; the institutional and decision-making' complexity of this domain; or the difficulty of harmonising the instruments used in the implementation of its policies, at national level[60]. The author discusses the evolution of the Area of Freedom, Security and

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[55] Ibid., 411.

[56] Ibid., 413.

[57] Ibid., 418-423.

[58] Ibid., 433.

[59] Ibid., 445.

[60] Ibid., 446.

Justice; the competences and application areas, the institutional structure, the decision-making process, the instruments used; as well as the provisions stipulated in the Treaty of Lisbon[61]. With regard to the EU's foreign policy, it is considered to encompass the international dimension of the European model and the EU's international personality – consisting of the external action, the common foreign and security policy and, lately, the common security and defence policy. Consequently, Professor Bărbulescu effectuates an analysis of: the evolution from the European Political Cooperation to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (through the Treaty of Maastricht); the foreign policy versus the defence policy; The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP); the principles of the EU's external action; external action versus foreign policy (the author considers the notion of "external action" less rigorous and ambitious than the "foreign policy" construction; if the latter implies the existence of a philosophy, of some assumed political programs[62], the "external action" concept reunites, in a single framework, the EU's instruments of external action; the author affirms that there can be noticed the early presence of a "political government", as a result of the merger between the Commissioner for External Relations function with that of High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy[63]); European common diplomacy versus intergovernmental external representation (the author asserts that the EU's legal personality demands the accomplishment of its external unity and visibility, and also of a European common diplomacy[64]); military power versus civil power (one of that differences between the characteristics of the EU's foreign policy and that of the member states' is that the first is based on common interests and values articulated around the notion of "civil power"[65]); the geographical limits versus the political limits; the European model of a globalised international society (the need for strengthening the visibility of the EU's external action can be noticed, also, through the "EU decisions" and the "EU objectives" collocations[66]). According to Professor Bărbulescu, despite the fact that the EU is an international organisation, it behaves like a state; its *sui generis* character and the deep integration of the institutions, decisions and policies, including the external one, make the EU a "special" subject of the international law, a status that brings a permanent tension between the supranational and state levels[67].

In the approach of the representative and participative democracy - are scrutinised, in the beginning, the EU's values and principles, according to the Treaty of Lisbon, the democratic deficit issue and the problem of democratic legitimacy. The author stresses that inside the EU – state – citizen triangle stands the respect of the fundamental rights, that is compulsory not only for the member and candidate countries, but also for the states that want to establish relations with them[68]. The human rights and fundamental liberties issues are, therefore, dealt with by an overview of their evolution since the constitutive treaties to the Treaty of Lisbon; by their legal formalisation (the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, the Treaty of Lisbon); and by the obligations that the member states and the third countries have concerning the respect the fundamental rights and liberties[69]. With regard to

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[61] Ibid., 447-470.
[62] Ibid., 486.
[63] Ibid., 488.
[64] Ibid., 489.
[65] Ibid., 490.
[66] Ibid., 496.
[67] Ibid., 499.
[68] Ibid., 517.
[69] Ibid., 530-531.

the relation between the UE and the member states, the Treaty of Lisbon also provides the respect for the national identity of the member states (the political and constitutional structures) and for their essential functions (in the protection of the territorial integrity, public order and national security)[70]. Three concepts are discussed, as well, with respect to the EU's democracy: loyal cooperation (among all the actors, at different levels; all actors' obligation to adopt the general and particular measures in order to transpose the EU's primary and secondary law; the actors' obligation to fulfil the EU's objectives and the integration process, and to participate to the activity of the common institutions[71]); solidarity (it is mentioned that the European solidarity shouldn't be seen in opposition with the member states' protection of their national interests, and that the common institutions should show solidarity with the member states and they shouldn't prejudice, through their actions, the member states' interests[72]); and transparency (it is important for the citizens' understanding of the EU decisions; at the same time, the author says that a more transparent Union is a more democratic one and more attractive for the European citizen[73]).

The European citizenship, whose origins are found in the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), occupies, since then, a central place in the EU's treaties, and its creation generates several effects: the economic barrier is overcome; it is put the basis for a political union; and it is created a new legal institution that allows the exercise of the citizens' rights beyond the nation-state[74]. The legal status of the EU citizenship (that doesn't replace or eliminate the national citizenship) is addressed according to the Treaty of Lisbon: the rights of the citizens from a member state are extended to all the citizens from other member states, that live on the territory of the respective state; the rights stipulated in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU are compulsory for all the member states (the freedom of movement and of residence, the right to participate to the political life in the country of residence, the right to diplomatic protection beyond the EU borders, etc.)[75]. Professor Bărbulescu considers that, by including the rights, obligations and the participation to the political life, the European citizenship aims at consolidating the EU's image and identity, but also the citizens' deeper involvement in the process of European integration[76]. In correlation with the concept of EU citizenship, are analysed the concepts of European identity and that of Europeanisation. If the European identity is defined by: a common political culture, common institutions, common values, common objectives, common policies, etc., the Europeanisation is given many meanings. With regard to Europeanisation, the author believes that, irrespective of the process's direction (from up to down, or bottom up), the concept refers to the building and to the formal and informal dissemination of norms, principles, beliefs or attitudes, regarding the impact of the EU political system[77].

Concerning the EU – as a new political reality, the subject is treated in the light of the balance of power in the EU, between the big and small countries, North and South, East and West, etc., so that the votes assigned to the member states are important, as well as the voting procedures (double majority, qualified majority, mixed vote, etc.). The author considers that the EU decision-making process represents a continuous and multiple process of negotiations

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[70] Ibid., 519.
[71] Ibid., 522.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 523.
[74] Ibid., 533.
[75] Ibid., 534-540.
[76] Ibid., 540.
[77] Ibid., 547.

that regard not only the present, but especially the future[78]. Also, Professor Bărbulescu signals the necessity of being found a formula that shouldn't take the small states out of the game, which may become, in these conditions, uninterested of the decision-making process and of the EU, in general; his suggestion is for a mixed, fix and variable vote[79]. The last issue discussed in this chapter is the constitutionalisation of the EU. In this regard, the Treaty of Lisbon not only explains the EU's economic and social model, but it also marked an undeniable progress regarding the constitutionalisation of the European social model, through the formulation of its objectives, the inclusion of its necessary instruments (gender equality, protection of the environment, etc.), and the drafting of its "social clause"[80].

In the twelfth chapter – entitled "The EU – as a political – legal synthesis of a federation of nation-states, regulated by a material constitution", are analysed three topics: national versus supranational and intergovernmental versus federal; confederation versus federation and international treaty versus European constitution; political compromise and legal symbiosis - federation of nation-states and material constitution. Following the examination of all these questions, Professor Bărbulescu asserts that the specificity of the European federalism resides in the symbiosis between the national interests and the European ones, and that this process hasn't weakened the member states and their identity as nation-states but, on the contrary, it strengthen them economically, politically and as presence in the world, so that the European integration was beneficial for the member states, internally and externally[81]. In his opinion, the practice of "the common sovereignty" and the dynamic of the "unity in diversity" principle represent the basis of the "new federalism", that may generate a functional - (common competences), institutional - (EU and national institutions) and holding - type federation[82]. Because of the distinctiveness of the European construction, the author defines the EU as a federation of nation-states[83]. But, as regards the final "leap" to a European federation, Professor Bărbulescu considers that it may be possible in 10 – 20 years as, for now, the supranational intergovernmental method – practiced in the EU – excludes the building of a European super-state. Still, the Treaty of Lisbon has some merits: of method and of model (the explication of the EU's political model); therefore, the Treaty marks a new beginning and gives a new direction to the EU, and proposes a big step ahead in the construction of the political Europe[84]. Last, but not least, the author concludes that, nowadays, we are witnessing a symbiosis that allows for the creation of a new model of federation - a federation of nation-states, based on a classical treaty, but also on a constitution – in terms of its content, so that we have a material constitution and a functional federation[85].

In the book's conclusions, Professor Bărbulescu expresses two beliefs: that Europe is prepared to make a step ahead, as soon as it implements all the instruments and policies established by the Treaty of Lisbon; and that the Treaty will be interpreted in an ambitious manner, so to lead to a "more political and federal Europe" and to "more social Europe"[86]. At the same time, he rejects the Euroscepticism and he brings two counterarguments: the Europe 2020 and the Europe 2030 strategies. As a consequence, the author considers that: the building of the New Europe has been done progressively, from economic to political,

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[78] Ibid., 554.
[79] Ibid., 557.
[80] Ibid., 558.
[81] Ibid., 582.
[82] Ibid., 583.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., 585-588.
[85] Ibid., 588.
[86] Ibid., 591.

from national to federal; Europe has federalised through integration and has unified through enlargement, having as a model of development the model of social market economy; there is a European political model and a building method – the intergovernmental federalism; the New Europe is political, with a powerful social market economy[87].

The book represents an exhaustive and clearly structured analysis of the evolution of the European construction, up to nowadays, but, in the same time, looking to the future. Focused on the facets and the developments of the on-going process of building the European model, the book considers, as the latest reference point, the European Union's last treaty – the Treaty of Lisbon (2007, 2009), the novelties it brings with regard to the EU's internal and external policies and the perspectives it opens for the New Europe, but also for the European identity. The first volume of Professor Bărbulescu' six volumes series – called "The New Europe" – represents a useful tool for students, practitioners and any European citizen interested in the place and role that himself / herself, his / her town, county, region and country can play in the XXIst century's Europe. A place and role that will be further deepened through the next five volumes dedicated to "The New Europe", which will approach: the European political construction, the EU institutions and decision-making process, European public policies and an explanatory dictionary of the EU, in Romanian.

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[87] Ibid., 593.