PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES ON THE IDEA OF EUROPEANISATION

Professor PhD **Antonio SANDU**
Faculty of Economics and Public Administration
Stefan cel Mare University of Suceava, Romania
antonios@seap.usv.ro

Abstract:
This paper aims to explore the idea of Europe as a premise for constructing the identity of the European citizen. In our opinion, this model of metaphysical reporting to a fundamental unity of the world is philosophical, originating in Plato's theory of ideas, but has spread at the level of European political thinking through the imperial idea and the repeated attempts to revive the Roman Empire. The political model of the European Union translates this idea of Oneness – many constituting a single political organization – such as the union of the states, that although keeps its sovereign character, it devolves part of its sovereignty to institutions constituted at the level of the Union. What is more, European citizenship doesn't replace national citizenship, but is additional. We will present the constitutive values of the European cultural model and their translation in political institutions.

Key words: United Europe, European citizenship, the idea of Europe, cosmopolitan, European cultural model

JEL classification: Z10, Z11, Z12, Z13, Z19

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to explore the idea of Europe as a premise for constructing the identity of the European citizen. The central idea of this paper is that the European cultural model is based on the reiteration of the Multiple-One (Noica, 1993). In our opinion, this model of metaphysical reporting to a fundamental unity of the world is philosophical, originating in Plato's theory of ideas, but has spread at the level of European political thinking through the imperial idea and the repeated attempts to revive the Roman Empire.

2. THE LEGEND OF EUROPE

The earliest mentions of the term Europe can be found in the poem Theogony by the Greek poet Hesiod. Europe is the name of one of the sea nymphs, also known as Oceanides, considered to be the daughters of Ocean and the goddess Thetis. The beauty of the Nymph attracts the master of the Gods, Zeus, who presents himself as a white bull (Miettinen, 2013). From the love between Zeus and Europe the first dynasty to rule Crete is born (Nistor, 2014).

Another legend talks about a Phoenician princess, who dreams about the old Asia and a new earth that Zeus wants to keep apart from Asia. The master of Gods reveals himself to Europe as a white bull, and convinces her to follow him to Crete, where together they develop the first European dynasty, the Cretan one (Bârzea, 2000).

3. THE WEST, THE EMPIRE AND THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL MODEL

The origin of the term Europe is Semitic, a language in which the term oreb or ereb means sunset, dusk. Both legends above presented, as well as the origin of the term, show that the idea of Europe has been connected from the very beginning to the idea of the West (Sunset). Its historical destiny is the one to give birth to western culture, which has imposed – from our point of view as belonging to western culture – cultural sovereignty, universal vocation and cultural imperialism.

The supremacy of European culture (Noica, 1993; Biru, 2004) foregrounds among other things, the culture of the law and the supremacy of its norms (Ignătescu, 2013; Duminică, 2014),

democracy and the liberty within its regulatory framework. Another particularity of the European cultural model is represented by its position on the horizon of temporality, as history and reminiscence. The particular relationship between the one and the many (multiple) makes European culture a synthesis of the model of the one - multiple, being the model in which – according to Constantin Noica (1993) – the exception becomes the rule. There is no hierarchy in the relationship between the one and the multiple, the one exists forever in the multiple, distributing itself within without dividing (1993).

We cannot help but observe that this model of one – multiple is the hermeneutical key to understanding the European Union as an expression of the miracle that is the European cultural model. The European Union is a political construct which unites the European States in customs, political and monetary union, by having valid legislation which applies to the entire Union, European political institutions etc., but without the component states losing their identity in a federation. Statal sovereignty is not dissolved, but transfers its sovereignty to the European Union as a subject of law.

The most famous creation that Europe has contributed to the culture of the humanity is – in our opinion – democracy. Democracy is also one of the ideological foundations of the current idea of Europe, although this is not the model that has kept the idea of Europe alive throughout history. The history of the idea of a united Europe is the result of the nostalgia for its imperial origins.

Democracy originated in Athens, being a cultural and socio-political creation of ancient Greek thinking. The Polis – the citadel city – represented more than a community, it was based on similarities of origin, interests, traditions and beliefs (Drâmba, 1984), whose ideal number of citizens was around 5000, which allowed the existence of the feeling of community and the direct participation of the citizens. The direct exercise of power by the citizens through free expression of opinions in Agora involved equality amongst citizens, both before the law and among each other, in exercising the rights of citizenship (Fotopulus, 2009). Athenian democracy instituted by Pericles was based on two principles, the first one being equality among citizens, and the second, the freedom of each citizen to live and think as he wishes, and to educate his/her sons according to his/her own ideas (Sandu, 2012). Not all Greek polis knew democracy. Sparta experimented with military tyranny, the citizens sacrificing a part of their liberty, and any idea of comfort in the service of military efficiency. The contact of Greek civilization with the world outside Europe, and the beginning of the construction of a European consciousness as a an individual civilization as distinct from the foreign cultures with which the Greeks used to come in contact, was facilitated by the wars led by Alexander the Great of Macedon. The European consciousness, that of liberty, of Greece – and that of tyranny, met in Asia (Nistor, 2014). The difference between Europe and Asia was significant both from the point of view of customs, of political organization and individual ways of thinking. Alexander of Macedon was the first to bring the idea of Europe to the spirit of that time, and along with it the first clash of civilizations, and the first idea of empire (Nistor, 2014).

The Greeks were fully conscious of the notion of liberty and wanted to defend it against the barbarism of those who obeyed without putting up a fight against despotism and remained ignorant of democracy, whether citizens of Asia or Europe. The empire, as a form of state organization, was without doubt known to the civilizations outside Europe, India and China from the time of Alexander Macedon, but Babylon also had state organizations that could be acknowledged as an empire. However, the first empire that our history, as descendants of the European cultural tradition, and in general, the western one, knows belonged to Alexander the Great, and had the merit of universalising – broadcasting as a whole the idea of law, corollated with the idea of liberty which is a correlative to the law (Nistor, 2014). Although the idea of state of law may be prefigured by the Code of Hammurabi (Sandu, 2015), western culture has inherited their ideas from the Athenians, in which Socrates accepted the cup of hemlock so as not to deny the laws of the city, which he defended and promoted his entire life. The ideas of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle wouldn't have been kept alive is they hadn't been left to the world as the cultural inheritance of the first Empires: the Macedonian Empire and the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire was the one that gave the world its legal system, which is still the basis of legal systems around the world. The Roman Empire constituted the cultural and civilizational matrix of Europe, stretching its mastery over all of Europe that was accessible at that time, between the Rhine and the Danube, up until the southern edges – and beyond them – of Europe (Nistor, 2014). The Roman Empire was the one that truly universalized its ideas, organization, system of thinking, and model of law. It made the Roman a citizen of the world, whether he came from the Eternal City, or rose from the legionnaires that ensured the expansion of the empire and Roman peacekeeping. The most important contribution of the Empire to European culture was the transformation of Christianity from the tiny culture of an obscure group of citizens of Israel, to which a few believers were added from the inferior strata of the Empire, into the universal religion of the Empire and further, of Europe. The element through which the European cultural model was imposed, both in Europe and in the rest of the world, was the Christian missionary, sometimes accompanied by secular powers in the form of crusader armies, the Reconquista, and the armies of conquistadors that decimated the indigenous populations of South America – currently Latin America.

The Roman Empire didn't have a clearly defined idea of Europe as a distinct political entity. On the contrary, the Empire stretched across three continents, the European, the African and the Asian, and imposed its own rules through imperial domination and the famous Pax Romana in all its provinces, and in territories under its control directly or indirectly (Ceaușescu, 1994).

From a certain point of view, we could say that the Roman Empire was a high point of the idea of European civilization, the next centuries constantly returning to it and trying to recreate it. Western Europe has returned systematically to the imperial model: the Caroligian Empire under Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire which was united by the German langauge, the Habsburg Empire, the Napoleonic Empire. Eastern Europe also follows the model of the reconstruction of the Empire, not of the Western Roman one, but of the Eastern one – the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium has continued to dominate what once was the Roman Empire, after the transferrance of the capital to Constantinople, by the Emperor Constantine the Great and his successors. The fall of the Byzantine Empire was followed by another imperial initiative, this time Muslim. The Ottoman Empire dominated the east, and partially the Centre of Europe from the 14th century until the 17th century. The Tsarist Empire had as a model – including heraldic - the symbol of the Byzantine Empire, the two-headed eagle. Peter the Great, followed by other tsars Ivan the Terrible amongst them, wanted to rebuild the Byzantine Empire, the Eastern Roman Empire, starting from Russia around Moscow and reuniting all of Eastern Europe and a significant part of Tsarist Russia, and of orthodoxy.

The Roman imperial model was the basis of the construction of democratic institutions even in the United States of America, where not only the Eagle – the symbol of the Roman Empire – but also the political structure is reminiscient of the ones in Rome during the Republic. The political, social, religious and legal institutions of the contemporary world are rooted in the old civilization of Rome.

In our opinion, the most important contribution of the imperial idea to the construction of the Idea of a united Europe is the vision of Universal Citadel. This name was originally given to Rome, then, under the Christian influence, it was seen as an ideal city, considered the City of God (Augustin, 1998). The Universal Citadel which assigns all its citizens citizenship of the entire universe, is also today the basis of the construction of the idea of citizenship itself, and especially European citizenship, which is held jointly with the national citizenship of each country member of the European Union. The idea of universals – among which, politically, we talk about the Universal Citadel, a unique law applied to all citizens, etc. – originated in Plato's theory on the existence of a world of ideas, universal and unique, in which existing things participate. One thing is beautiful precisely because it corresponds, one way or another, to the idea beauty. Mutatis – mutandis we can say that we belong to Europe because we correspond to the Idea of Europe, through everything we contribute to the cultural, social, political, etc. life. The existence of a world of ideas, transcendent to our world, provides unity and intelligibility. The idea of conservation on the essence of things, as

a transcendental idea that goes beyond the tabgible, represents one of the axioms of the European cultural model, giving it coherence, transforming it into another capable of shaping the entire modern world to fit into his own Procustian bed. Christianity has contributed to the universalization of the European cultural model. The idea of good – introduced in Greek philosophy by Plato – became, under the influence of Christianity, Universal Good understood as God. The Logocentric model of Christianity has allowed the reception of old Ideas as Divine Names (Pseudo-Areopagitul, 1993). The– Catholic (Universal) Church has substituted throughout the centuries the inexistence of the Empire The Papacy whose seat was in Rome – with few disruptions throughout history – made the Roman Empire a spiritual one, which despite being invisible, constituted, until the Reformation, the source of temporaryauthority of the Princes, Kings and Emperors of Europe. Like the Roman Empire itself, the influence of the Catholic Church was intended to be universal and not limited to the European area.

Although the two institutions: political – the Empire – and spiritual – The Catholic Church – didn't include in their own ideology the idea of Europe, and much less one of a united Europe, they contributed decisively to the construction of the European cultural model – in practical terms to what led to the construction of a European identity beyond the national identities of the inhabitants of the Old Continent.

The idea of a united Europe didn't appear suddenly in the political consciousness of the inhabitants of the Old Continent], but experienced a series of qualitative accumulations (Duțu, 1999), which led to the Idea of the Roman Empire, of a United States of Europe (Novalis, 1999) and subsequently to that of European Union (Sandu, 2009).

4. CHARLEMAGNE AND THE MEDIEVAL IDEA OF EUROPE

It was the merit of Charlemagne to transform Imperium Romanorum into Imperium Christianum, a reality consecrated by Alcuin which substitutes this name in the religious canons. A major substitution aims to distinguish the stranger from the position of barbarian in contrast with the unbeliever. The Universal Empire is an Empire of Christians, and the barbarians – those of different faith, are strangers to the Empire of God on Earth – the Empire of Charlemagne, and the following kingdoms resulted from its dissolution (Nistor, 2014). The Empire of Charlemagne no longer stretched over three continents, but was a European Empire, and therefore Europe became a political entity itself, which extended its influence gradually over the other continents through an expansive policy against any non-Christian elements.

5. KANT ON UNIVERSAL PEACE

Kant (1972) brings to philosophy the idea of cosmopolitanism as a drift from "universal history" as an explanation of how freedom emerged and its historicity. Kant (1995) achieves a true metaphysics of human liberty which refers both to the field of knowledge, where it formulates the critique of pure reason – as well as the filed of action – seen as the metaphysics of morals. Between those, the philosopher from Konigsberg places his political theory. Its starting point is the idea of liberty, understood as a capacity of the rational human being to express intellectual and volitional qualities according to their own reason elevated to the rank of a supreme moral principle (Kant, 1972).
For Kant, human nature has a moral finality, namely the gradual development of human capacities to manifest their rational nature in the phenomenal world (Hunter, 2008).

This idea is taken up by Hegel (2000) that will build the dialectic, showing that the history of humanity is the same as the history of the Absolut Idea and its incarnation. The idea of the rationality of history, and the intelligibility of it, leads the philosopher to his own vision of cosmpolitanism as a chance to achieve universal peace. The idea of cosmopolitanism comes from Greek and Roman philosophy where it denoted a vision of universal citizenship – beyond the Greek city-states and the provinces of the Roman Empire.

The term cosmopolitanism refers to a philosophical and political vision that denies the national state, the concept of sovereignty, the idea of nation or ethnicity, as well as that of patriotism, pleading for a global society and transnational institutions. Kantian cosmopolitanism, drifting from his normative vision, Kant (1795; 1991) proposes cosmopolitan rights as part of public rights, together with constitutional and international rights. In this new branch of law, states and citizens should be subjects of law, equality based on positive rights that the individual has as a citizen of the entire earth, and not only as a citizen of a certain state.

The Kantian desideratum applies, nowadays, in the international Law of human rights as a branch of law, which divergesfrom the issue of implementing the European convention regarding the human rights. The establishment of European Court of Human Rights partially translates the Kantian idea into a European institution which legally protects human rights, jumping in where the national courts of right and the state governments that signed the European Convention of Human Rights fails to respect those rights (Kleingeld and Brown, 2014).

From an institutional perspective, Kant promotes the idea of universal supranational institutions, among which the most important is the League of nations, an idea formulated in 1795 in the paper "Towards a perpetual peace". Eternal and universal peace can be obtained when the states are founded on democratic and republican principles – ideas that today would be translated through democracy and state of law — and at supranational level, the states will meet as a league dedicated to resolving military issues peacefully, and be devoted to respecting human rights. The Kantian ideas on the League of Nations rose to the level of political institutions through the foundation in the interwar period of the League of Nations, followed after the Second World War by the constitution of the Organization of United Nations.

It was the idea of Fichte (2000) that starting from the Kantian vision on cosmopolitan organization of the world and universal citizenship, to propose the idea of transferring sovereignty from the level of sovereign states to a federation of united states whilst maintaining an external policy that keeps its sovereignty regarding the internal policy.

Giving up statehood and the formation of a fraternal republic is an idea originating with Friedrich Schlegel, and with the romantic philosophers in general (Kleingeld and Brown, 2014). The criticism brought to cosmopolitanism concerns him as a source of inequity and in international relationships as a perpetuation of the oppression in the underdeveloped areas of the world, but also as the violation of international interests regarding human resources, access to jobs and resources etc.

The objections brought concerning cosmopolitanism also target the deficit in democracy introduced by the existence of transnational organizations, the increased importance of coorporations and the need for constitutionalization of international law (Habermas, 2013). In many cases, the same criticisms are addressed by eurosceptics at the European Union itself. Even the idea of a European constitution in the true sense of the word, which originated in Kant's work, is for now rejected by the citizens of Europe (Rusu, 2008).

Jürgen Habermas shows that there isn't necessarily a connection between the State and the Constitution, but between the citizens and the constitutional state that is based on shared common values, and a democratic post-national loyalty (Habermas, 1998; 2001a; Rusu, 2008). Basically Habermas (2001b) disputes the idea according to which there is not a single European people, therefore the foundation of European constitutionalism can't exist. At the opposite end, the representatives of euroscepticism show the non-existence of a European demos, therefore European constitutional powers cannot be legitimately instituted (Tănăsescu, 2006; Vlăduțescu, 2014; Ungureanu, 2015). Habermas (2001a) argues the need for a European nation and the essence of a European identity, showing that social experience rather than national experience empowers a community to have their constitutional fundaments. It is therefore Kant's (1991) idea to have introduced the germs of the idea of European constitutionality, in talking about a federation of nations that make up sovereign states but who accept the transfer of sovereignty towards a postnational federation.

6. ROMANTIC EUROPE

In the Phenomenology of the Spirit, Hegel (2000) identifies reality as the development of the Absolute Idea. In this regard, Tudor Ghideanu (1999) states that, for Hegel, the meaning is not outside the being, because the being is the same thing as the being that thinks of himself. For Hegel, God is the absolute in whose knowledge the spirit becomes free of any finite form (Sandu, 2009). For the Romantics, the reinterpretation of Christianity and the feeling of religiosity constituted important topics. From the religious conception of Schleiermacher results a new kind of tolerance. People are no longer seen as equal kids in front of their Divine Father, but in a new rebirth, unique and unrepeatable of the entire Universe through the religious feeling. For Schleiermacher, the entire Universe can be concentrated into I, and every new religious experience is a reflection of the infinite in the finite (Sandu, 2009).

From a spiritual perspective, Novalis (1999) proposes in Christianity or Europe a model of European construction specifically Romantic. The cornerstone of the European unity is for Novalis (1999) the awakening of the sacred feeling. Novalis' Europe (1999) is seen as a Union of States of Europe, but not in the administrative sense, but in the organic one (Râmbu, 2001). The unification of Europe constitutes for Novalis (1999) a first step towards the restoration of the unity of human race. Mutatis-muntandi: European Union is already a political reality. It appears as a supranational construction that is based on the political and monetary union. Is this European construction generating identity? Beyond the phrase European citizen, will there be a real European identity, as feeling of belonging to the spiritual reality of a unique Europe, or will Germans, French, English, and Italians remain? In this context, a particular question might worry us, the Romanians: What will the destiny of a minor culture, such as the Romanian be in a the cultural space of a united Europe?

Novalis' Romantic project (1999) became a historical construction of the european society. Can we say that the European Union fulfils Novalis' Romantic dream? In political theory, the European Union has the status of a confederation of states that chose this integration to better manage the resources, public policies, defence or external policy. At the foundations of the European Union there should be a unique vision, or at least a coherent one of the citizens of Europe of a common future. The rejection by France and Denmark of the European Constitution pragmatically questions the success of the spiritual project of European integration (Sandu, 2009). The integrating vision is however the specific difference proposed by the transmodern construction of the organic construction proposed by the Romantics.

7. EUROPE OF THE FOUNDING PARENTS

The political idea of the European Union as a realization of philosophical ideals regarding tolerance and political equilibrium based on the state of law first took form in the Napoleonic idea of a sacred alliance that would lead to a unique European legal system, and European court of cassation and a unique currency. Although the initiative of Napoleon didn't resist the political ideas that were the foundation of it, partially being taken from the French revolution, they spread and led to the full modernization of Europe until the beginning of the XXth century. The XIX-th century brings to attention the desideratum of European Unity in its political aspect. Thus Victor Hugo used, in 1848, the name of the United States of Europe, an idea that would be taken up again in 1946 by Winston Churchill (Rusu, 2008) and then by Robert Schuman who used the term European Federation. The position of the doctrine regarding the nature of the future European Union was not immediately clarified as to whether the transfer of sovereignty would become more pronounced, the national states presenting their identity gradually, and the Union would become a federal state, or we would continue to have a Europe of Nation States. The political ideas of the founding parents Winston Churchill, Jean Monet etc., targeted a gradual integration that wouldn't endanger the national dignity of the member countries, but would, at the same time, allow the development of a European identity that would become stronger, allowing the national differences based on the

accent to diminish and be superseded by a common European cultural background and the European cultural inheritance.

European integration has taken two directions, the first approach being the intergovernmental one that led to the establishment of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, whose main instruments are the parliamentary assembly, the committee of Ministers and the European Court of Human Rights. The communitary approach itself, based on a progressive transfer of sovereignty, partial and voluntary, was the one that led to the constitution of the current European Union. The founding parents of the Union are considered to be Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide De Gasperi.

The first achievement of the ideals of the Union, and implicitly the first form of the organization was the European Community of Coal and Steel, coming to transpose the Schuman plan. From a political-legal perspective, this plan was targeting the establishment of an independent authority that would shape and control a common policy in a certain field, where states would be equal, each of them giving up on sovereignty and their own policy in the field, in favour of the newly created authority. This is the institutional foundation of the future constitutive treaties that will entrench common European policies. The principle will be that of subsidiarity, the intervention of supranational authorities having the role to coordinate the member states in applying common policy. The European Community of Atomic Energy will constitute, along with the European Economic Community 1957, the first step in the European integration of member states, at that time: RFG, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. The European common policies instituted by the Treaty of Rome 1957, are: Customs Union, a common agricultural policy and the policy of competition. Basically, instead of having an external and defence policy rejected by the member states – the European Economical Community sought to enhance the liberty of the movement of persons, goods and capitals by eliminating the customs duties between the member states, encouraging common and coherent policies that would facilitate the development of a unitary and interdependent economy.

Economic unity and interdependency is the one that, in the vision of the Treaty of Rome, would be capable of generating wealth and balance. Through the Treaty of Maastricht 1992, the European Economic Community became the European Union. As legal order, it is imposed by the Treaty of Rome and is superior to the legislation of nations, but different from the international law. European law prevails over the internal one based on the principle that the European Common Interest has priority over the national interest. The basic principles of the European Union are the ones of Subsidiarity and Proportionality.

Subsidiarity aims at the limitation of the sphere of action of the superior transnational instances in relation to issues which cannot otherwise be solved. In a more general conceptual context, subsidiarity considers the value of man as citizen, both at national and European level, instituting the governance based on reasponsibility of the individual and the accent on rights in the framework of a dynamic balance of power. The principle of subsidiarity as it was formulated in the Treaty of Rome: "Community doesn't intervene in the fields that do not reveal to be of its exclusive competence unless and insofar the objectives of that action cannot be fully reached by the member states, being better achieved at community level" (Art. 3B).

8. EURO-SKEPTICISM AND CRITICISM OF EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION

There are a few criticisms of the European idea itself, and they target European cultural imperialism and the principle of supremacy of the European cultural model. The export of democracy started from a messianic vision on the role of the civilization of European culture. The European cultural model is based on the constitutive assumption regarding the rationality of the world and the supremacy of reason in any form of knowledge.

The rationalist European logocentrism cannot admit the existence of the multiple other than of One-Multiple, the only one that doesn't contradict the principle of sufficient reason. This approach leads to a rejection of Otherness that is barbaric and needs to be brought within the limits of our

own cultural model. The culture of diversity is recent in the western space, not only in the European area, and is the result of the deconstruction of universalist pretensions that constituted real founding myths of the European idea: the continuous progress of humanity, the acceptance of the identical and the rejection of alterity and the universal empire as the City of God.

The criticism coming from the skeptical philosophers regarding the major destiny of Europe and its culture announces the "decline of the West" – by West, Oswald Spengler understands Europe – the end of history etc. The European construction is also criticized for its deficit in democracy (Habermas, 2013), transfer of sovereignty, export of inequity etc. The deficit of democracy refers to a series of aspects that are open to criticism, such as: access to important functions at European level, no direct elections based on the national representativeness, a nontransparent policy at the level of the Union (Amititeloaie, 2013) and even a nontransparent agenda, not controlled by the electorate regarding the federalization of the Union through the process of constitutionalization.

Another major criticism is that the citizens of the developed countries are obliged to bear the costs of the European integration of the states that entered the Union in the second and the third wave of expansions, among which Romania was one. A Europe with two speeds is considered unacceptable both for the citizens of the more developed countries of the Union, and for the citizens of the other member states.

Another major criticism concerns the very cosmopolitanism of the Union and the fact that the processes of integration are synchronous with globalization, with negative effects on the national identity of the citizens of the member states. The upsurge of nationalism comes amid the economic crisis, having strong destabilizing effects for the political path of the Union. This indicates the non-existence of a real European nation with European values.

In the context of the current Greek crisis, and of the referendum held in this country in July 2015, shows that the danger in which the European construction is right now, when having to manage the welfare of the European citizens. With this popular consultation referring to the acceptability of certain measures of austerity requested by Greece's international creditors, we find that populism with national accents remains a significant political option, especially when the states fail in the policies of wealth management. The model One-Multiple, or more specifically One found fractally as essence in the multiple, is constitutive for the European construction, but is more than the simple unity in diversity. One, the Ideea – here in the case of Europe- is associated a series of constitutive values such as democracy and the rule of law. Historically, the two are not totally convergent, the rule of law – and the state of right as its corollary – targets the protection of the individual towards any form of tirany, including the one of majority, but also the fact that no-one, regardless of the social position, doesn't have to be above the law, and democracy targets the primacy of majority in the decisions of public concerns. The Wrong Experiment uses the legitimacy of the referendum – expressing direct and participative democracy – in order to place the Greek citizen in a priviledged position above the law – towards other European citizens, obliged to support the costs of Greek's failure in own fiscal policies. However, the possible exit of Greece from the Euro area, and possibly from the European Union, doesn't constitute itself a failure of the very idea of United Europe, but rather a reaffirmation of the fragility of these ideas, when they are separated from the impereliasm of the fortuitous unity.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The criticism of the Euro-sceptics, most of them justified, should constitute the subject of forthcoming negotiations at the level of the Union, so that European cultural imperialism can be matched by the idea of multiculturalism, centred on tolerance, the idea of the deficit of democracy to be matched by the idea of participatory democracy, a clear transparent policy directed towards concensus and efficient communicative action of the European Union for its own citizens. National identity shouldn't be substituted by a European one; the latter should instead be complementary and based on the recognition of common values instead of the exacerbation of differences. The political model of the European Union translates the idea of One – multiple – an idea centred on the

European cultural model – as a single political organization – such as the union of states which keep their sovereign nature, while delegating sovereignty to the institutions constituting the union. What is more, European citizenship isn't a substitute for national citizenship, but it adds to it.

REFERENCES

[1] Amititeloaie, Alexandru. (2013). Deficitul de democraţie în politica decizională a Uniunii Europene. *Juridica*, 1, 184-212.
[2] Augustin, Aurelius. (1998). *De Civitate Dei/ Despe Cetatea lui Dumnezeu*. Bucureşti, România: Editura Ştiinţifcă.
[3] Bârzea, Cezar. (2000). *Politicile şi instituţiile Uniunii Europene.* Bucureşti. Accessed online at: http://www.lefo.ro/europa/spring/BirzeaPoliticiinstitEu.pdf..pdf .
[4] Biru, Emanuela. (2004). *Constantin Noica în context european*. Roman, România: Editura Muşatinia.
[5] Ceauşescu, Gheorghe. (1994). *Naşterea şi configurarea Europei*. Bucureşti, România: Editura Corint.
[6] Drâmba, Ovidiu. (1984). *Istoria culturii şi civilizaţiei*, Vol 1. Bucureşti, România: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică.
[7] Duminica, Ramona. (2014). The Relationship between the Law, Legal Norm, Legal Order and Normativity in Postmodern Society. *Postmodern Openings*, 5 (3), 21-35.
[8] Duţu, Alexandru. (1999). *Ideea de Europa şi evoluţia conştiinţei europene*. Bucureşti, România: Ed.All.
[9] Fichte, J. G. (2000). *Foundations of Natural Right*. Neuhouser, F. (ed.), Baur, M. (trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[10] Fotopulos, Takis. (2009). *Democraţia directă şi democraţia economică în Atena antică şi semnificaţiile sale pentru ziua de azi/ Direct and Economic Democracy in Ancient Athensand Its Significance Today,* 2009. Accessed online at: http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/fotopoulos/other_languages/romanian/18668180-Take-Fotopoulos-Democratia-Economica-Si-Democratia-Directa-Ateniana-Si-Semnificatiile-Sale-Azi.pdf
[11] Ghideanu, Tudor. (1999). *Ekpirosis sau Posesia focului*. Bucureşti, România: Editura Institutului Naţional pentru Societatea şi Cultura Română.
[12] Habermas, Jurgen. (1998). *L'inclusion : association ou enfermement? Du rapport entre nation, Etat de droit et démocratie in L'intégration républicaine*. Trad. R. Rochlitz. Paris, France: Fayard.
[13] Habermas, Jurgen. (2001a). *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
[14] Habermas, Jurgen. (2001b). Conférence de Jürgen Habermas: Pourquoi l'Europe a-t-elle besoin d'un cadre constitutionnel? Cahiers de l'Urmis, N°7, *Débat: la nation, l'Europe, la démocratie* – June, France.
[15] Habermas, Jurgen. (2013). Plea for a constitutionalization of international law. Paper presented at *XXIII World Congress of Philosophy. Philosophy as Inquiry and The Way of Life*, Athens, August 4-10, 2013.
[16] Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. (2000). *Fenomenologia spiritului*. Traducere de Virgil Bogdan. Bucureşti, România: Editura Iri.
[17] Hunter, Ian. (2008). *Kant's Cosmopolitanism from a Historical Viewpoint,* 2008. Accessed online at: http://www.ched.uq.edu.au/NewDirections/Hunter.Kant.long-version.pdf .
[18] Ignatescu, Camelia. (2013). The Flexibility of Good Faith Concept, *Revista Romaneasca pentru Educatie Multidimensionala*, 5 (2), Suplimentary 1, 33-39.
[19] Kant, Immanuel. (1795). *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, with essays by J. Waldron, M.W. Doyle, and A. Wood, P. Kleingeld (ed.), D.L. Colclasure (trans.). New Haven: Yale University Press.

[20] Kant, Immanuel. (1972). *Întemeierea metafizicii moravurilor*. Bucureşti, România: Editura Ştiinţifică.

[21] Kant, Immanuel. (1991). *Kant: Political Writings*. Ed. Reiss,H., trans. Nisbet H. B. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[22] Kant, Immanuel. (1995). *Critica raţiunii practice*. Trans. introductory study, notes, index by Nicolae Bagdasar, Bucureşti, România: Editura IRI.

[23] Kleingeld, Pauline, Brown, Eric. (2014). Cosmopolitanism. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), 2014. Accessed online at: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/ .

[24] Miettinen, Timo. (2013). *The Idea of Europe in Husserl's Phenomenology. A Study in Generativity and Historicity*. PhD diss. University of Helsinki.

[25] Nistor, Ionuţ. (2014). *Istoria ideii de Europa*. Curs, Universitatea Al. I. Cuza, Iaşi.

[26] Noica, Constantin. (1993). *Modelul cultural european.* Bucureşti, România: Editura Humanitas.

[27] Novalis (1999). *Cântece religioase: Creştinătatea sau Europa.* Traducere de Constantinescu Ioan. Iaşi, România: Editura Institutul European.

[28] Pseudo-Areopagitul, Dionisie. (1993). *Despre numele divine. Teologia mistică*, Iaşi, România: Editura Institutul European.

[29] Râmbu, Nicolae. (2001). *Romantismul filosofic german*. Iaşi, România: Editura Polirom.

[30] Rusu, Gabriela. (2008). "Bruxelles şi Lisabona 2007: Uciderea Visului Constituţional European?" *Buletin Ştiinţific UMK*, Vol. 17, ISSN: 1221-4876. Accessed online at: http://www.umk.ro/images/documente/publicatii/Buletin17/12_bruxelles.pdf

[31] Sandu, Antonio. (2009). *Dimensiuni etice ale comunicării în postmoderitate.* Iaşi, România: Editura Lumen.

[32] Sandu, Antonio. (2012). *Filosofie social construcţionistă. Direcţii epistemice, etice şi pragmatice*. Cluj-Napoca, România: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană.

[33] Sandu, Antonio. (2015). *Etică profesională şi transparenţă în administraţia publică*. Bucureşti, România: Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică-RA.

[34] Tănăsescu, Simina. (2006). "Between a Treaty with Constitution Authority and the Authority of a Constitution". Paper presented at *Colocviul organizat de Fundaţia Noua Europă*, Bucureşti, Mai 15-16, 2006.

[35] Ungureanu, Nicoleta. (2015). Modern and Postmodern Perspectives on Social Values. *Postmodern Openings*, 6(1), 87-94.

[36] Vlăduţescu, Stefan. (2014). Transdisciplinarity and Communicative Action. A Postmodern Perspective (Editorial). *Postmodern Openings*, 5 (4), 9-14.