

NOTES

- ¹ See Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimationsprobleme in Spätkapitalismus*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1975, pp. 9-41.
- ² T.R. Burns and M. Carson, "Actors, Paradigms and Institutional Dynamics", in J.R. Hollingsworth, K.H. Muller and E.J. Hollingsworth (eds.), *Socioeconomics: An Institutional Perspective*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD, 2002.
- ³ R.A.W. Rhodes, *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability*, Open University Press, Buckingham and Philadelphia, 1997.
- ⁴ B. Köhler-Koch, "The Evolution and Transformation of European Governance", in B. Köhler-Koch and R. Eising (eds.), *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, Routledge, London and New York, 1999, pp. 14-35.
- ⁵ See Andrei Marga, "Sprache als Machtinstrument", in Krista Zach (Hrsgb.), *Rumänien im Brennpunkt*, Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, München, 1998, pp. 271-281.
- ⁶ See analysis of this aspect in Andrei Marga, "Cultural and Political Trends in Romania before and after 1989", in *East European Politics and Societies*, Yale, Volume 7, No. 1, Winter 1993, also in Andrei Marga, *Philosophy in the Eastern Transition*, Apostrof, Cluj, 1995, pp. 201-229.
- ⁷ Bartolomeus Grill, in "Die Zeit", 4 ianuarie 1991.
- ⁸ Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History. Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy*, Penguin Books, London, New York, 1990, p. 114.
- ⁹ Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Die vollendete Revolution. Rumänien zwischen Diktatur und Demokratie*, Piger Verlag, München, Zürich, 1990, p. 203.
- ¹⁰ Antonia Rados, *Die Verschwörung der Securitate. Rumäniens verratene Revolution*, Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, Hamburg, 1990.
- ¹¹ Andrei Marga, „Un pas înainte“ (One step forward), in *România literară*, nr. 30, 1991; see also Andrei Marga, *Explorări în actualitate (Explorations in actuality)*, Apostrof, Cluj, 1994, pp. 162-167.
- ¹² See Andrei Marga, „După 11 septembrie 2001“ (After September 11, 2001), in Andrei Marga, Nicolae Păun, Ladislau Gyemant (eds.), *Paradigme ale integrării (Paradigms of Integration)*, EFES, Cluj, 2002, pp. 331-339.