Abstract. It might happen that Romania faces a lot of problems to sort out in order to get out of its secondary position. But, to the extent of a decisive approach, it has only one major problem: the vision as to getting out of its secondary position. Any detailed approach is almost irrelevant having, to the best, a low strategic relevance in case the overall approach is missing.

While rationalizing is pushing us to focus on the detail, the natural evolution is obliging us to get a picture of the whole at its full extension. The fragment can indeed be better controlled but the efficiency of the control is certified by the effects being globally cumulated effects only. When focusing the effort on the daily issues, both the priorities range and the perspective may become ridiculous. Losing the perspective leads to the situation when the roundabout path, the vicious circle become possible.

Besides, the tendency is not the outcome of the separate parts management but the result of favouring the confluences. The tendency is merely a contextual matter, in which the diversity is negotiating its characteristics and functions on a long term basis.

The evolution cycles should be understood in order to let the economy and the society line up, always, with the tendency side. The key point as regards defeating the un-development, escaping the very last extermination camp which is, actually, the purlieu, consists of the way in which we are defining the fragment mission in order to take the advantage of the infallibility of the whole.

Key words: convergence potential; modernization; euro-focussing; societal deficit.

REL Classification: 10J, 19H, 20B, 20F
1. Formulating the issue

Connecting the evolution of a country, region or community to the times tendencies represents the very essence of the modernization. The history is proving that this operation has been performed every time, as an undertaken project of the creative segments inside the territorial entities. There are no miracles known in this respect.

Anywhere and anytime the civilization set up and poured out its outcome by traditionalizing the innovation on various plans, starting with the societal one up the technological one (Giddens, 1990). The offsetting mechanism between applying to the goods practice, as fixed by the historical dowry, and the inclination towards the progressive changes, by testing the new and the traditional practices, proved to be the most solid achievement of the developed societies. Invariably, any time, this mechanism to produce performance failed, the un-development became a life mode while getting out of the a secondary position proved to be an adventure of the impossible and endless effort (Chirot, 1976).

It must be noted that setting up the formulas for the connection to the tendencies for getting out of the secondary position has been always linked to the idea of order, including the behaviours as well, to the disseminated knowledge, to the institutionalized innovation as well as to the idea of resources control, concentration of the economic or military power, etc. (Harvey, 2002). In fact, the rationalization keeps on remaining the absolute determinant of the modernization, as it has been initiated along with the enlightenment ideology (Habermas, 2000). The rationalization is in fact the very purpose of the human action, escaped, by secularization, from the emotional constraints of the supernatural. In other words, the evolution as result of a battle for tendencies is not occurring by itself; is it merely the consequence of a project, of an ample and of long run vision, even if, sometimes, it failed into social engineering.

The way to come out with solutions was different from stage to stage as well as from country to country. Anytime there was stake on the miracle of the social engineering, the failure proved to be unavoidable, while in the case the organic vision of the rationalization prevailed as a guide mark and, meantime, as a test of validation for the individual initiative, the welfare accumulations have acted as a rule.
The situation the most frequently met is that one where the historical context is decisive (Weber, 2001). Being inside the context or being outside the context equals to the chance of getting developed or, on the contrary, to get engulfed by the secondary position. During the modern times, there were two contexts: first of all, being inside the tendencies defined by the industrial revolution and the setting up the functional state-nation and, more recently, caching the crest of the globalization, being defined in our case as a project of integration in the European Union (EU) (Dinu, 2006).

2. Identifying the project

The key of success as far as the modernization project is concerned, which support is given by the integration of Romania in the European Union, is represented by the convergence potential (Dinu, Socol, 2006). The perspective governing this determination is a double one: on the one side, the modernization issue by activating the convergence potential is of an ultimatum nature (this meaning the inevitable option under the alternative “either, or”) and, on the other side, the project terms eliminate the doctrinaire dilemma and sharpen the national emergencies (“how” becomes the rule for a “what” already tested by the consolidated welfare experience of the tough nucleus of the EU). The metaphysical propensity, recognizable as to Romanians, is for the first time over the history adventure, forced to become ridiculous against the propensity the European model of integration. This fact implies the consistency with the yielding performance and urges to the identification with the good practices universe. Thus, the self-focusing on the alignments of the specific destiny having an autarchic vocation is diluted by the promises of the euro-focussing. This is just the beginning of founding exercise which exceeds, by its effects, the cycle being opened by the founding myth of our Roman origin and our dependency of the way being traced in the history by the Roman Empire.

The difficulty in positioning the project seems to be a constant of the evolution on these regions (Chirot, 1989). Leave apart the natural, psychological and circumstantial grounds, all real or figured, inherited or assimilated, there is the testimony of the visible data of the reality drawn up thousands of years ago. Despite the fact that these data offers the relevant image of some casual performances, extremely difficult to
ascertain, nevertheless never enough consolidated in order to cancel the un-development reproduction, they are granting to the integration project the super-determinant value of the founding myth as well as the ineffable substance which allows the will to get out of the secondary position to germinate. Obviously we are talking about a potential situation which runs the risk of remaining inert in the absence of consistency commitment, represented by the self-effort, on the rational ground of an undisputable strategy as far as the modernization of Romania is concerned. Practically, this implies: 

1) a committal vision on the integration in EU, as a modernization process;  

2) the modernization guide marks to be defined as targets of the real convergence, socially, economically and territorially shaped;  

3) the strategic instrument to focus on activating the convergence potential, underlying the process of activating the self-effort for development;  

4) euro-focussing to keep on remaining a strategic on a long run (avoiding thus the traditional run after two rabbits).

The integration exercise has no pre-eminent circumstantial features. Even though such features seem to arise, they should not alter the vision which favours Romania. If the integration is treated as a vehicle for the stringent project of the modernization, maybe the only one we can use on the long run perspective which is specific to this project, any temporary incompatibilities have no more relevance. The transfer of the meaning follows the interest logic i.e., of the interest of braking the vicious circle of the secondary position condition which invariably assimilates and reproduces the un-development.

The persistence in crisis is generating a pathological fixation on ground of the depression, dependence of scarcity, accommodation to failure situations, conflict compensation, poverty preservation, misappropriating the initiative etc.

In a decisive manner, by integration, as a limit project meant to enable Romania to get out of the secondary position, there is the attempt being instituted with the purpose of overcoming the crisis habitue, to rise the performances reached by another model of combining the resources to the rank of motivating values, towards we are aiming also by integration.
3. Modernization ultimatum

Romania acceded to the European process of modernization by about two centuries later. The essence of the modernization process, bearing a contextual relevance of historical nature, depends on the starting of the industrial revolution and of the national revolutions since the XVII-th century (Barbu, 2005).

The attempt of turning the sense of the major options from the tradition of the dependence of the nature rhythms to the accommodation to the innovative changes on a yielding and social level has never been radical and has never resulted in cancelling the secondary position. The modernization which, as far as the Occident is concerned, has been accompanied by the industrial civilization, in Romania remained limited to the starting of the industrialization process, which effects have never get entirely matured. For instance, the eloquent guide mark in this respect is given by the socio-occupational configuration of the population, which keeps a specific component of the pre-industrial economy. Practically, the urbanization and, simultaneously, the endowment of the agricultural activities with industrial technique have dragged on, maintaining even now certain pre-modern features.

In real terms, the modernization, meaning the assimilation of the industrial revolution effects, proved to be a sinuous, incomplete and slow process. Generally speaking, it can be stated out a reduced capacity of accommodation to the modern, of assimilating the social procedures generating the performance. There is a failure in respect of the process meant to institute a self-stimulating state of the modernization, so that the evolution keeps on move within the guide marks of the modernity, in order to reproduce, invariably, the modern sources and resources.

In Romania, the modernization recorded steadily a deficit of modernity, perceived as a backwardness, gap, non-synchronization, inadaptability.

If we agree with the fact that the modernization being started by the industrial and national revolutions resulted in the first modernity while presently we are facing the threshold of the second modernity cycle (Beck, 2003), being defined within the spectrum of meaning of the globalization, for Romania the modernization strategy has exceptional challenges:
a) the evaluation of the consequences of lack of maturity as far as certain processes typical for the first modernization is concerned;

b) the limitation, mainly at the socio-cultural level, of the phenomena of blockage as deviating curls of the first modernization, perceived as dilemmatic universe of the post-modernism (Lyotard, 2003);

c) the projection of the effects of collision between the delayed processes of the first modernization and the processes started by the second;

d) the setting up of the possibilities to recover on the tendencies of the first modernization, of the opportunities to substitute and to fix the priorities in respect of the approach of the compensating processes and/or new;

e) the setting up of the sequences of the processes which are typical to the second modernization.

Basically, we are in the situation to manage the superposition of a number of tendencies and processes, which might have a tornado effects. Out of them, those which aim the recovery of the gaps, of temporary, structural or performance wise, are the important ones, as without them the processes typical to the second modernization could not be sustained. Obviously, in the absence of a coherent identification of the ball of processes, at the crossing of the great passage from one modernization to another, any strategy meant to produce modernity would be irrelevant. The modernization confluence runs the risk to be a conflicting one. Avoiding such a risk means conceiving a modernization strategy as a platform to activate the convergence potential. Otherwise, to bring into the prime-plan of the social action the process which is specific to the integration: real convergence.

The integration of Romania in the EU perceived as a strategy to get access to the second modernization, including the maturity or the compensation of the first modernization processes, is pragmatically limited, on the one hand, to the development of the processes and, to the diminishing of the real gaps which separate us from the development model being targeted and, on the other hand, to the purpose of letting the civilisation performances of the model become effective, within a time horizon which is acceptable from the generating perspective.

For Romania, the second modernization means to entirely reach the social targets of the first modernization, by concentrating the
processes of the second modernization, in order to let the resorts which are generating the capacity to be within the tendency, on the civilisation wave crest.

Practically, in the evolution equation, the real automatic stabilizers as regards the convergence potential are introduced: the systematic constant of the self-effort and the circumstantial capacity to keep on remaining within the tendency.

3.1. The systemic constant of the self-effort

The integrative entities have the capacity of distributing the development. But this is not something which is decisive.

Of course, once the integration achieved, there is the tunnel effect resulting and the option as regards the direction is not unique. The party being integrated is drawn by the gravity force of the whole.

But the integration steadiness depends to the larger extent on what the respective party is deciding to do in order to valorise the dependency gift on the integration way. What we should call as self-effort for integration puts together the resources, both material and will, in order to secure the convergence potential.

There is only one alternative enabling the integrating party to reach the performances of the integrative whole: focussing on the optimum formula of combining the own resources in order to reduce the differences as quick as possible. In fact this is the only one form allowing the party to get out of the secondary position and to avoid running the risk to let a relationship of absolute dependence of the centre yield and distributive feature becoming an eternal one.

We have defined the self-effort as systemic constant meant to multiply, at a real level, the modernizing effects of the integration. The evolution outside the integrating entity would amplify the consequences of the immature or unfinished of the first modernization. It would actually make compulsory that a recuperation direction of the first modernization project is followed which, in fact, would widen the structural incompatibilities with the integrating entity taking the advantage of a developed stage of covering its way in the frame of the second modernization project. Therefore, the autarchic path is out of question.

At a practical level, the self-effort must be forced to turn into bringing about effects, an immediate solution in this respect consisting of investments in infrastructure. In fact, the territorial component of the
social cohesion has, as far as Romania is concerned, the significance of the carburettor for the inner ignition engine. The redeeming on the line of securing the uniform access to the development benefits, extremely critical for Romania, could not be conceived otherwise than in territorial terms, as a modern infrastructure. Coupling effectively the Romania territory to the developed infrastructure of the European Union is representing the essential guide mark of the self-effort, including the absorption of the community support.

Along with and a result of the infrastructure, a decisive drawing effect goes to the investment meant to secure the conditions for the consolidation of the innovating capacity. Even though, as a sensitive theme the issue is avoided by the political class, the deficit of getting connected to the contemporary project of the knowledge society becomes an essential strategic issue. Frankly speaking, the evaluation of the self-effort within integrative processes and entities, such as the European Union, can not be event conceived without a convergence potential based of the innovating capacity, on the ineffable human resource which is the knowledge. There are a lot of gaps which can be short-circuited, somehow even over-passed as a consequence, if the innovating component of the self-effort is consolidated. For instance, there is no chance to achieve quick changes at the level of the socio-occupational structure without investments in the knowledge dissemination and knowledge production. The jumps at the level of the life quality are, the most frequently, the outcome of the changes at the conceptual, of the enlargement of the cultural horizon, of the rational and critical approach of the habitudes and tradition. The equal chances of the access to the technique and cognitive infrastructure prove to be the strategic solution with a decisive impact on the starting of the tendency towards braking up the tie bands which are typical to the secondary position, the real magic formula of the integration success as a project of the second modernization of Romania.

3.2. The capacity of remaining within the tendency

The integration is just a stage of the transition (Dinu et al., 2005). In order to avoid that the transition gets eternal, actually in order to avoid favoring the un-development, exceptional steps of interventionism nature are allowed.
In a way, as an extreme, the transition strategies are drawn up by the social engineering. Obviously, their validity is limited to time horizon which is overlapped, to the best, on the expectation horizons of one generation only. The trans-generational relevance of the social engineering did never imposed in the history and, nevertheless, the projects of the kind failed (Scott, 2007). As the social engineering is forcing the evolution beyond the nature regularities, including those of the human nature, they could not do it but for limited purposes only, which are freely and in majority accepted, on medium terms to the best.

Approaching the integration as an external transition towards a development model implies, on a medium run, a number of characteristics of social engineering. The goal, which is recognized as being a noble one, consists of letting the country joining the most favourable tendencies, where the development cycle distributes the welfare in order to make the coming back to the secondary position situation impossible. For instance, it is not enough to reach the means as development level, from the perspective of the real convergence, but it is necessary to synchronize the evolution with the tendency, to have the required potential in order to avoid the risky deviations from the mean.

As a paradox, when talking about the integrative entities, the advantage of the competition and location are also transitive. The self-effort, understood as an advantage of offsetting diversity in the frame of the integrating entities, as well as the capacity of remaining within the tendency alter the competition sense and, nevertheless moves it away from the exclusive aspects of the competition. Actually, by integration, one party is preparing itself to be more that a competitor having irreducible interests. There is a game to play, out of which everybody must gain by adding the various self-efforts and by making the capacity of entering the tendency of welfare gain become effective. This seems be a kind a prescription of utopian nature if it does not get out of the constraints implied by the understanding of the evolution as something different of gain rationalizing, which meaning is, from a societal point of view, the extreme polarisation, mainly as far as the ownership dispersion is concerned, as Pareto taught us.
4. The societal deficit

The strategic positioning of Romania in the frame of the external transition, as a project of the second modernization, has no economic solutions only. In reality, the larger and the most difficult gap to recover is the one of societal nature.

The most difficult alignment to perceive this kind of gap is given by the mentalities, defined within the sphere of the significances for certain values which form the national specificity (Dinu, 2006). We are not talking here, as it is believed sometimes, about giving up the set of value which we understand as being the Romanian spirit, but that particular feature of this set which makes that, on medium run, the transition becomes almost impossible. Among these values slightly recessive, the most obvious one is given by the foundation of our life style preponderantly on the nature rhythms, which resulted, for the industrialization for instance, in suspending a large part of the population between the urban and the rural culture and the establishment of the social zones falling into intermediate cultures, post-rural and sub-urban.

The mixed mentalities, half-breed or alternatively lived led to behaviours and expectations which combined the life options as well as the organizing models and lucrative activities models. The monetized economy is mixed up with the natural economy at least in respect of the access to the basic foodstuffs. The treatment regarding the public environment, which is typical to the urban cultures, denotes the poor internalization of the specific values. Meantime, it is a symptom of lack of maturity of the processes of forming the social players meant to undertake the public environment according to the democratic scenarios of the game of interests.

Generally speaking, it is admitted that the democracy is the progressive result of learning the behaviour rules starting with the dialogue and ideas exchange, and ending with setting up conventions, by which the good practices for offsetting the individual rights and responsibilities are proposed. The individual discernment, as basis of the public environment, is the sign of assimilating the democracy culture, as process of learning by large segments of time as well as constant exercise of the power management. This is not the case of a theoretical assimilation only but also as a result of a longstanding practice within the
public environment, according to the institutional rules of the democracy (Appadurai, 1996).

Obviously, such deficit is aiming the poorness of the legality culture on the same coordinates of the public environment. Both the societal deficit as to the democracy culture and the one concerning the legality culture are negatively reflected on the process of letting the public institutions become functional, with permanent aspects regarding the legitimacy, authority and competence.

The weak adherence to ample strategies of duration, even the absence of such strategies aiming large transforming projects, such as the one of the post-communist transition, the slowness in sorting out, in the frame of the public environment, the process of initiating the strategies drawing up, such as the post-adhesion strategy, indicates in a undeniable manner the significant deficit on the societal plan.

**Bibliography**


