POST-DEMOCRACY AND ITS CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES
POST-DEMOCRAȚIA ȘI PROVOCĂRILE EI CONTEMPORANE

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Abstract. *The article examines the phenomenon of post-democracy with the aim of providing a meaningful understanding of the concept. The author, speaking about the genesis of democracy, demonstrates its contemporary limits and challenges through its parabolic descent. Through the case analysis of the cancellation of the presidential elections in Romania in December 2024, the author demonstrates the slide of democracy towards post-democracy. At the same time, the article emphasizes that just as democracy is the result of human action, post-democracy can also be avoided through the efforts of the political factor and favorable geopolitical circumstances*

Keywords*: democracy, post-democracy, progressive democracy, sovereign democracy, democratic parable, metastasized political system, electoral process.*

Introduction

Democracy, due to its implications in the social and political life of society, has become a permanent theme in political theory and a topical issue in the democratic practice of contemporary society. The well-known phrase of T. Masaryk emphasizes that we have no better form of government than democracy. In this regard, Winston Churchill noted in his famous speech in November 1947 before the House of Commons that *no one claims that democracy is perfect or omniscient.* Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the forms tried over time. Despite its imperfections, democracy remains the best way to manage the public affairs of a society, only if the principle of popular sovereignty is respected, which means that government can be legitimized only by the will of the governed. This principle must be distinguished from democratic procedures, which are means that allow the will of the people to be highlighted. The main procedure is elections. Other procedures help the democratic system to function properly – separation of powers, limitation of mandate for the people's representatives, specifying certain constitutional rules, etc. (Tămaș, 1996; p. 82-83). W. Churchill's definition is not the only one from this point of view. Friedrich Hayek demonstrates to us that not the best people come to power. In Chapter X "*Why the Worst Get to the Top*" of his renowned work, he

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denotes the moral effects of collectivism, the social goals that justify any means, the totalitarian state that encourages useful habits in citizens and explains the success in politics that such individuals enjoy: "Shortly *after installation, (they) have a choice between disregarding current morality and failure. Those without scruples and those who do not back down from anything will probably have, for this reason, more success (...)*" (Hayek, p. 88).

Despite its imperfections, democracy remains the most acceptable form of government. The 20th century was one full of major events that changed the world and its peoples. Balancing between various antagonistic socio-political and ideological manifestations, it is the century in which democracy became widespread and consolidated in several countries around the world. Philosophers, economists and especially political scientists (Karl R. Popper, Friedrich A. Hayek, Colin Crouch, *Ralf* Dahrendorf, Robert A. Dahl, Arend Lijphart, Samuel P. Huntington, Giovanni Sartori, Alvin Toffler, etc.) have formulated several arguments in favor of the superiority of democracy as an institution, have described the advantages, disadvantages and limits of democracy in the institutional framework of its functioning, the paradoxes and challenges of contemporary democracy, have tried to forecast the future developments of democratization as a process in the context of the multitude of problems that contemporary society faces.

As a result of these efforts, the scientific vocabulary has been enriched with another notion - ***postdemocracy*** . The prefix " post" indicates an unstable, intermediate, transitional state of contemporary society, when the usual coordinates have already been left, but new forms of existence have not yet been acquired. Many authors write about the transformation of democracy in recent decades. Obviously, the current crisis of democracy is associated not only with corruption and inefficiency. This is partly due to the fact that it is still not clear what democracy means in a globalized world. Democracy is a political system in which the majority of society has the opportunity to actively participate in political life. Democracy in its modern sense began to take shape in the late 19th - early 20th centuries, based on the expansion of the right to vote and the emergence of a mass electorate. The short era of its relative maturity occurred in the 50s - 70s of the 20th century, associated with the emergence of the "welfare state". But already during this period, and even more noticeably in the following decades, signs of deterioration of democratic institutions and procedures began to appear, paving the way for post-democracy.

The 90s of the 20th centuries were a triumphant march of democracy throughout the world. It seemed that it depended on us in which country and in which world we would live in the near future. Gradually, however, the illusion began to dissipate. Democracy, human rights and universal human values still sound like a prayer everywhere, but many understand that behind all this are hidden the economic and geopolitical interests of states, international organizations and corporations. The wave of transformations of the 90s of the 20th century turned out to be a well-directed and skillfully staged spectacle. The democratic sentiment was quite sincere, but the course of events depended mainly on the scriptwriters and the main characters in the person of the political and economic elites. This, in particular, is convincingly stated in Naomi Klein's book " The Shock *Doctrine "* (Klein, N., 2009).

As a result, outside the West, democracy is established, copying only the external forms of political systems, without affecting the key mechanisms of managing the social process. Specific terms also appear, for example, "progressive democracy", "managed democracy", which for public opinion gradually transforms into "sovereign democracy". At the same time, the liberal optimism of the 90s of the 20th century gives way to disappointments and pessimistic forecasts for the future. The new "revolutionary wave" that marked the world in the first decades of the 21st century unfolded not only under democratic, but also radical, anti-Western slogans, with opposition movements becoming a way of designing the new geopolitical configuration.

The pragmatic political game is often presented as a "civilizational choice" of post-democracy. The development of post-democracy most likely consists in the further development of revolutionary scenarios, which can instantly change the balance of power and bring new political personalities to power. A revolution instantly destroys the pseudo-democratic facade of power and violates the generally accepted principles of the political game.

Currently, the transformation of democracy is described by very different epithets: *postmodern democracy, network democracy, information democracy, digital democracy, media democracy, imitative democracy, manipulative democracy or even totalitarian democracy, etc.* Post democracy is a general term, which is more polemical than substantive. This term was first introduced by the English sociologist Colin Crouch in 2000 and gained fame and spread throughout the world in 2004 thanks to his book of the same name (Crouch, C., 2010). It has been translated into over 30 languages and has been widely discussed in a variety of countries. In 2011, based on an analysis of the global economic crisis, Crouch published a new book, The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism, in which previous ideas received empirical confirmation and development. Thus, post-democracy as a "suggestive" concept reflects, first of all, the "experience of political powerlessness" and the lack of political pluralism. Post-democracy reflects the uncritical acceptance of the existing order, which manifests itself in the political indifference of the masses, in psychological fatigue and stifling apathy. In this type of democracy, the "*freedom of non-choice"* is formed. Such a system gives us the right to decide for ourselves what form of non-choice we can freely and rationally adhere to. Society, authorities, social institutions are completely indifferent to what kind of life individualized subjects lead, what they do and what goals they pursue. Absolutely nothing depends on the decision made by the subject. Thus, an illusion of freedom and democracy is born, realized as controlled permissiveness and pluralism that does not oblige you to nothing (Crouch, C., 2010). An individualized society creates a multitude of private practices, which are irreducible to each other, and the possibilities of collective action are practically reduced to zero. Post-democracy has developed its own mechanisms for avoiding and neutralizing heated socio-political discussions. The mass media form a common "agenda", thanks to which certain topics are "thrown" into public opinion, and here it is no longer so important whether the participants speak "for" or "against"; it is enough that this topic has entered the public consciousness and has ceased to be something unusual and even shocking. Political correctness, which dominates the Western world, allows us to avoid unpleasant turns in discussions and reject those opinions that seem too radical (Ionin, 2010). According to the Russian sociologist Ionin,

political correctness serves two main functions: it serves to justify the domestic and foreign policies of Western states and unions, and, on the other hand, to suppress dissent and ensure ideological and value consensus. Postdemocracy is the governmental practice and conceptual legitimation of democracy, which has escaped appearances, deficiencies and people's disputes and therefore reducible only to the play of state mechanisms and combinations of social energies and interests · In the 2000s, the concept of "postdemocracy" began to be widely used in academic debates or in the journalistic community as a simplified description of the current state of representative democracies. It is presented as a model of democracy, in which, since the late 1990s, certain elements of crisis have been observed: the growing political influence of economic actors and supranational organizations, the progressive weakening of nation states, the decline of civic activity, summarized in the concept of post-democracy, which, however, does not mean the "death" of democracy. In other words, Western democracy is marked by a split between political form and content, in which democracy continues to exist formally, but its content has been lost, or more correctly, it has changed radically. Despite the formal preservation of democratic institutions and processes, democratic principles and values lose their meaning, the energy and vitality of politics return to where they were in the era preceding democracy - to small elites and wealthy groups, concentrated around centers of power, seeking to gain their privileges (Crouch, C., 2010). Political decisions are increasingly determined and justified by the economic interests represented by powerful business elites. At the same time, the fundamental foundations of democracy, such as the common good, social interests and self-determination of citizens, are gradually regressing, manifesting themselves in a crisis of egalitarian politics and the trivialization of democracy itself. It is a crisis of democracy, of freedom closely linked to democracy, of justice, of the economy, of security starting from the individual security of the citizen to the security of society, of morality and trust. You can no longer believe in institutions that act in this way. For example, what can the American citizen think about the justice of his country when the so-called " *advance pardons* " are made.

Colin Crouch describes his theory using the " *democratic parabola* ", the essence of which is the evolution of democracy: - starting with the *pre-democratic period,* the highest point of development is reached - *democracy itself,* and then, through a downward parabolic descent - *post-democracy is achieved,* which partially preserves the characteristics of both a pre-democratic and a democratic society. At the same time, the movement unfolds on new points of coordination, preserving what has been accumulated, returning, according to some criteria, to the society of the pre-democratic period. Thus, in Colin Crouch's vision, post-democracy is not the disappearance of democracy (since there is only a partial return to the pre-democratic period), and it is not an exact copy of pre-democracy (since many features of the democratic era are preserved), but presents itself as a special phase of democracy in decadence.

Here, party politics and electoral campaigns are increasingly devoid of content, intended to determine the real policy of the government. The electoral campaign becomes a political stage, but the real politics takes place behind closed doors. "*Electoral debates are a well-directed and staged performance by teams of competitive professionals, carefully and meticulously selected"* (Crouch, C. , 2010 , p.19) . The citizen is de facto powerless and although; by choosing his political representatives, he

no longer has the power to protect his interests in the emerging political system. In practice, the citizen plays a passive, apathetic role, with little or no political influence. In this way, the democratic principles of civic participation and policies, focused on the common good, the balance of interests and the policy of social inclusion, are leveled. At the same time, there is a significant weakening of the influence of the working class, and the class of politicians, merging more and more closely with the business elite, cedes part of its powers to it. Thus, an extensive lobby of large transnational corporations can be traced in political decision-making. Corporate interests are realized through the "*global ghost company"*, which is becoming a key institution in the post-democratic world. The main problem is that the concentration of enormous power in the corporate sector gradually affects the functioning of the state, due to the fact that corporate personnel not only dominate the economy, but also become an independent class, which runs the state. The company acts as a place of concentration of power. Thus, politics as such is practically left to the "*closed elite*". The mass media also operates on the basis of economic logic and can no longer fulfill its democratic role as the "*fourth estate*" in the state. Control over the mass media is in the hands of a small group of people, who, using advertising technologies in journalism, help politicians "*solve the problem of communicating with the masses*" (Crouch, C., 2010, p.43) . Thus, Colin Crouch defines post-democracy, on the one hand, as a state of disillusionment, which follows a democratic period, and, on the other hand, as a state in which the interests of an influential minority have become much stronger and more important than the interests of ordinary people, who are manipulated by political elites. The current situation is fertile ground for the activities of various populist movements, which transform politics into *show business*, where those who play their role better are more successful.

However, post-democracy is not an accomplished fact, but rather a process that has affected to a greater or lesser extent all liberal democracies. This is clearly seen in Romania, where the presidential elections on December 6, 2024 were canceled. The degradation of democracy, the limitation of freedoms, the adoption not only of a rhetoric and ideology against nature, because that is precisely what it is about, precisely in order to make it impossible for those who are lucid and willing to engage in public life to do so. All this has happened everywhere in Europe. Were elections stolen? Of course, they were stolen. The US presidential elections in 2020, for example, but also many others. But as in Romania, it did not happen anywhere. The others stole the elections, somehow without being seen. In Romania, going from weaker leaders to increasingly weaker leaders in terms of character and mind (intellectually), the latter were no longer able, at a certain point, even to steal unseen. And then a situation was reached, in which they too, in panic, brought the most serious measure of the same system and the same errors. They could no longer keep the system in balance.

The most radical violation of democracy, therefore, took place precisely in Romania. The decision of the Constitutional Court to annul the entire ongoing electoral process regarding the election of the President of Romania, without providing transparent evidence or respecting the established legal procedures, left the Romanian people in a state of confusion and distrust. The CCR decision being final and generally binding, although by this Court's decision, over 37,000 Romanians had already voted abroad in the second round. Many voices in Romania have described this act as ***a coup***

d'état , which undermines the fundamental principles of democracy. To date, no clear explanation or solid legal justification has been offered to the public, which further erodes trust in Romanian political institutions and the rule of law.

The loser is once again the citizen. This is extremely clear: this annulment of the vote took place because those who reached the second round were not the candidates of their interests, of the oligarchy in power. Sometimes the gaps in a law make it vulnerable to those who want to violate it. But there is no law that cannot be violated. Sanctions are not applied automatically. Their application requires a judgment and this judgment is made by people. Unfortunately, the political system in Romania is *metastasized, it is a political-legal cancer that has reached the generalization phase,* he emphasizes. Adrian Severin, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania. But it is not only about the Romanian system.

The suspicions towards Ursula von der Leyen, the head of the European Commission, caused by the lack of the ***73 billion euros during the covid period,*** which she cannot justify where and for what they were spent, are precisely what he talks about, or the pardon of the son and members of the Biden family by the Democratic President of the USA Joe Biden before leaving the White House. Today's errors are obvious - an ideology, which comes, in essence, to exalt the rights of the minority against the majority. It is about a principle - *we exalt the rights of a minority against the majority*, - so that in this way we can reach the domination of what is difficult to dominate. It is clear that dominating a minority is simple, dominating a majority is complicated and you can only dominate it if you introduce an ideology, through which you overturn the laws of nature, overturn the rule of law.

How is it possible that we have arrived here? Well, it's possible, because everything has been turned upside down, the hierarchy of values has been turned upside down. *This unfortunate coup d'état, - the same Adrian* Severin mentions, - *opened a lot of cans and made people appear, ... who were kept in reserve for the moment when it was appropriate to call on them. And now this moment has come, because some candidates, some corrupt political leaders, suckers, tricksters, who ended up taking over the leadership of the state, were no longer able to steal the elections in a subtle, subtle, disguised way, as happened on the last occasions.... They suddenly woke up, that they no longer had candidates in the final. And then they had to resort to this extreme solution of a coup d'état, which compromises everything, compromises all institutions, definitively compromises citizens' trust in state institutions, which means compromising the state itself* - concludes the former Romanian Foreign Minister (Severin A., Gândul, Youtube, 21.01.25).

According to political theory, the state operates on the basis of trust between citizens and its institutions. Even if they are dissatisfied with the institutions, even if they suspect that these institutions were engaging in all sorts of immoral and illegal acts, the citizen still hopes that it will work out in the end. This time, no one can claim that one can trust the state institutions. And the more days pass, the clearer things become. Even those who claimed that the president of Romania can stay beyond the term limit until a new president is elected and takes the oath, even if this happens a month or so after the expiration of the mandate, even they say that that provision refers to a marginal, exceptional situation, which targets a time horizon of a few days, given that a new president is elected until the date the old president's mandate expires.

So, he is elected, but he hasn't had time to take the oath, there are still one or two days and things will surely settle down. This is not an exception, related to the duration of the mandate, which can be extended by a law of Parliament and in other than exceptional conditions such as war and catastrophe. But, anyway, it can only happen for a short time. And here goes a month or so and instead of returning to the second round, they (the rulers) set the date of the new elections (04 and 18 May 2025) with new candidates, brutally and illegally violating the right of the 9 million Romanian citizens to free, direct and secret vote, which is actually one of the fundamental principles of democracy.

On the other hand, Traian Basescu he is worried and revolts, *that it is unacceptable for someone to become president without making public appearances.* Călin Georgescu's victory in the first round is, in Băsescu 's view, *a major national security failure ... The messages manufactured by IT (Artificial Intelligence) brought Georgescu to the position of leader in the first round of voting ,... because it is difficult to understand the campaign of robots , or we voted for a robot* , - concludes the former president of Romania · *It is unacceptable to accept a big fake, which risks transforming democracy into an IT show, directed perhaps by 18-year-olds , especially when all possible signals have been sent to the member states of the European Union to be careful about manipulating elections through internet means. Why have we come to the point where the first two people in political life are simply blown away by the electorate?* asks Traian Băsescu. - *So, we are talking about deep corruption. Transferring the state budget to the reserve fund at the disposal of the prime minister, and then allocating it billion by billion to political clients in order to succeed in the elections?! Is such a thing not possible,* - the ex-president is outraged Romania. - *So, corruption, lack of perspective for young people, mockery of the so-called increase in pensions, because they (the* government) *say increase when indexing, etc.,* - concludes Băsescu (EURO NEWS, News, 26.11.24).

These are just some of the causes that determined the will of the majority of the electorate. It is clear that the people, in our view, voted not for Călin Georgescu, but against those in power, against the system, against the rulers. The people voted for an unknown candidate against the power, and therefore voted for change. Perhaps it is the case, in our opinion, to draw conclusions from recent real practice and **to introduce into the ballot the option to vote against everyone, to make a rational choice real and not the choice of the lesser evil.**

In the same vein, profiler HD Hartman mentions: *Canceling the 2024 elections in Romania means, in other words:* ***if you can't defeat the far right, ban it.*** The Romanian case demonstrates how *these restrictions on freedom of expression are the first salvos of a larger war of repression.* The presidential elections in Romania were annulled on the grounds that *"a Tik-Tok, infiltrated by Russians, misinformed the voters. ... It is shocking that the elections were annulled because someone lied on Tik-Tok.* ***To be clear, there was no accusation of vote fraud. Georgescu won the first round of the elections by a landslide.*** *According to opinion polls, Georgescu is still the candidate with the best chance of winning – 60%, but the political establishment is still determined to find ways to block him, the most promising being the hope that he would have received unclear funds* (Gândul, Youtube, 14.01.25). All this demonstrates how the ideological struggle profile is transformed into a real war. Statehood costs. Any state that wants to exist as a

state must have money to support itself. According to Hartman's calculations, only *the USA, Russia, China and Japan can allocate 3-4% of their GDP for national security and defense* (Gândul, Youtube, 14.01.25) . The theory of states based on *mother America* (the USA) is over. If you want to be a state, to be respected, to be defended by the USA, you have to be able to pay for your own existence.

The important thing is not to vote, but to vote correctly. *This is progressive, Sorocaist, globalist democracy)* (Gândul, Youtube, 14.01.25). The reaction of the vast majority of European leaders to the elections in Romania tells us that from now on the important thing is not to vote, but to vote correctly. In these times of geopolitical turbulence, it seems that *the European Union has lost its democratic compass, which does not bode well for its future* - concludes profiler Hartman (Gândul, youtube, 14.01.25). Seeing how things are happening in Europe, this autism, this break with reality of European leaders, this refusal of realism, a refusal that also characterized the heads of the previous American administration, shows us that ***democracy is sick***. But they refuse to recognize this fact, they refuse to see that democracy no longer works, that freedoms are no longer where they should be, they refuse to see that the economy no longer works, etc. This pardon that Joe Biden made, while Donald Trump was giving his inauguration speech, seems to us a perfect definition of the Biden administration, it shows the lie that we have been intoxicated with for decades and the state of democracy today. Pardon means the forgiveness of a mistake. You made a mistake, the mistake was found, you are punished and through a pardon your mistake is forgiven, you no longer have to serve the sentence. How can you pardon someone in advance for a punishment that they have not yet received. How to pardon someone for a possible act. This is impunity, coming from the highest level. But that's exactly what Joe Biden did.

This context full of twists and turns is marked by a situation full of gravity inversely proportional to the indifference it arouses, which is the cancellation of the presidential elections in Romania on December 6, 2024. This episode marks, in the view of the profiler H. D. Hartman, "an *unprecedented turning point, because it is the first time that* ***a vote is canceled within the European Union,*** *without the European Union, the European institutions, the member states being upset. Strange, because in addition to the profile of the candidates, there are many questions to ask. For example:* ***What happens if, in addition to some unfounded, unjustified suspicions, the European Union supports a coup d'état?*** - asks political analyst HD Hartman *(The Thought, Youtube, 14.01.25).*

The facts are overwhelming. The Constitutional Court of Romania made a turnaround based on a poorly substantiated report, two days before the second round and 4 days after the validation of the first round, by annulling the presidential elections at the command of a group of people led by Iohanes. *If anyone thinks that this* ***act of violation of democracy*** *in a NATO member country, an ally of the United States of America, is not analyzed second by second, act by act, person by person in Washington, they are sorely mistaken,* - HD Hartman notes. - *Whoever imagines that we are impressed that Antony Blinken declared a forgery at the request of Alexandru Muraru, a member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament, means that they think we are all stupid. Nobody impresses us. After that, Predoiu came to tell us that the Americans also say what we say. Which means that he also took the Americans for fools. ... Then we*

wonder why we have hundreds of thousands of people on the streets (in protest). Here is the drama. This is the case of stolen, rigged elections.

This is your progressive democracy, in which you do not work, do nothing for this country, for a true democracy and try to maintain your authority by rigging elections. *We have a problem! No one in Washington believes you. ... There is no evidence. From the analyses in Washington, it is already clear that what happened in Romania was on the orders of Iohanes and the malfunctioning of a group of Romanians, of hypochemen, men and women, not very large, ... about 60 people, who* ***wanted these elections to be canceled because their man was not working out (***Gândul, youtube, 14.01.25), - emphasizes the political analyst. Here things are very clear. The problem is that you cannot be an ally of the United States of America when you steal your own elections. That is no longer democracy, no longer fairness, no longer the rule of law. You can no longer be an ally of the USA when you suspend your own democracy. *Romania is heading towards a popular uprising of a revolutionary type, towards an insurrectionary state if the situation is not truly resolved and if the guilty are not punished,* - notes the profiler HDHartman. *(Gândul*, youtube, 14.01.25)

Democracy is an extremely complex phenomenon, a model of organizing the political system in which community members must be politically equal, govern together and have their own qualities, resources and institutions necessary for self-government. To prevent the " *slip towards post-democracy* ", policies are needed to reduce the influence of the corporate elite, policies to reform political practice as such and those actions and measures that concerned citizens themselves can take. On the very day of his inauguration, January 20, 2025, Trump, by a presidential decision, repealed regulations that set criteria other than merit in promoting or hiring staff: *I will end government policies that attempt to integrate race and gender into every aspect of public and private life,* - Trump declared. - *Starting today, the official policy of the United States will be that there are only two sexes - male and female*. Thus, radical and wasteful diversity, equality and inclusion programs within American federal agencies have been rejected.

Conclusions

Colin Crouch 's theory, which quite accurately describes the negative processes currently taking place in world politics and the global economy, is of significant interest in terms of studying the trends in the development of democracy at the present stage, potential threats to democratic values and institutions, as well as finding ways to prevent these threats and overcome existing crises. At the same time, the question remains open under what conditions a state can truly transform into a national one and cease to be an instrument of transnational elites. In this situation, much can depend, as practice shows us, on the position of the majority, still silent, and on the confluence of geopolitical circumstances.

Democracy has proven to be the most widespread political form of organizing society, but also the most problematic to achieve in practice. Like any political phenomenon and process, democracy evolves over time, and in the projection of the parabola, democracy at the contemporary stage enters the post-democracy period. The recommendations given by the Venice Commission for Democracy in Law (Youtube,

Europa Liberă, Ştiri, 29.01.25) reveal that the annulment of the December 2024 presidential elections in Romania was made in violation of several democratic standards:

1. The right of a Constitutional Court to act ex officio and annul the elections must be clearly regulated by law and must be provided for only in exceptional situations.

2. The Commission drew attention to the fact that the Court's practice of instituting proceedings ex officio produces a negative effect, because instituting proceedings ex officio, the rule that provides for deficiencies in electoral matters is circumvented.

3. The decision of the Constitutional Court of Romania was not made on the basis of evidence, but on the basis of information provided by the Intelligence Services. In addition to this information, no evidence was provided, and a Court's decision to annul the elections should have referred to the evidence.

4. The Venice Commission for Democracy in Law also draws attention to the lack of the right to challenge the Court's first instance decision in a court of law. The Venice Commission's report on the annulment of the presidential elections at the end of 2024 shows that Romania has several shortcomings in the electoral process, especially when artificial intelligence is also used in the campaigns. As a rule, voters must trust that their vote is final. The annulment of part of the elections or the entire process as a whole is justified only in completely and utterly exceptional circumstances.

The competence of the Constitutional Court to annul elections can be regulated either in the Constitution or in an Electoral Code applicable to all elections (Youtube, Europa Liberă, Ştiri, 29.01.25). So, democracy, - we will conclude, - has been suspended and must be reestablished by law in Romania. The Report mentions that Parliament urgently needs to amend the electoral legislation and that of the CCR to comply with democratic standards (Youtube, Europa Liberă, Ştiri, 29.01.25). Democracy is not a natural state of humanity, but is the result of human action and therefore depends on the stakes of society and the sociocultural and geopolitical circumstances of the moment, which is also what the case of the 2024 presidential elections in Romania tells us.

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