Dangerous or Friendly? Who are going to be our neighbors?

Sonia SKYVAROVA

Abstract: The European Union is looking eastwards. What it sees might be scary for some, promising for others. Are there enemies, or friends waiting outside the door of our territory? Some politicians and eurocrats ask themselves this question. So does the public. Romania and Bulgaria have their spots in the club secured. Their accession is rather a matter of time. Republic of Moldova and Ukraine are far from reaching their goal of joining the club of the prosperous. But what is going to change? And how is enlargement going to change the European identity? And what is even more important: what is the European identity? Eight Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have already become members of the EU. After several plans for more gradual enlargement were dismissed, a big bang enlargement took place in 2004 with ten new countries joining the project of the European integration. Besides the eight CEE countries, two micro states, Malta and Cyprus, became new member states. Two of the countries that often consider themselves as part of central Europe, or at least Eastern Europe, were left out from the original rank of 10 CEE countries – Romania and Bulgaria.

Moldova: Walking the Walk Along and Across the New European Border

Ecaterina LEUCA

Abstract: (*My*) *Big European Family: From 6 to 27- Being one of the strongest regional and international actors, the European Union has lately also proved itself as the most open project of regional integration in the history of mankind. In 2007 it is planned for the Community to undergo its sixth enlargement and the number of its members will increase to as many as twenty seven. The enlargement process started in 1973, with accession of Denmark, United Kingdom and Ireland to the six European Community members existing at that point, namely Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This being later referred to as the "Northern Enlargement". In the 1980s membership was offered to Greece (1981), Portugal and Spain (both in 1986) – which was subsequently called the "Southern enlargement". The fourth enlargement wave in the European Union occurred in 1995 with accession of Austria, Finland and Sweden. The fall of the USSR in the early 1990s pushed former socialist European countries to begin their race towards democracy and market economy, thus aiming at shaping the Union's eastern borders. In 2004 the European Union took the largest ever enlargement step, changing the EU 15 into EU 25. The community opened its doors and welcomed 8 post-communist states of Central Europe and the Baltic region, the governments of which have been following reformed and consistent political and economic reforms since the very fall of the socialist block in the region. The ten new members that joined in May of 2004 are Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.*

One City – Two Images – Two Communities: The Case of the Romanian Hungarian City of Satu Mare / Szatmárnémeti

Anders BLOMQVIST

Abstract: Presentation and representation of a cultural landscape The development in Eastern and Central Europe in the 20th century has been marked by abrupt changes regarding territorial supremacy linked with different political ideologies. This has affected both the composition of the population and the ideology of power together with its symbolic representation. This latter aspect has been investigated with a functionalistic approach inspired from Deutschi regarding Eastern and Central Europe by Book2, concerning Finland and Russia by Paasi3 and Kaliningrad by Sezneva4. This article focuses on a city situated in the present Romania and on the presentation of the city from two ethnic perspectives together with the construction of two communities. Ethnic presentations of the city derive from the construction of identities and boundaries of communities, which are created by an evasive process of interplay of corporeality (grounding) and semiosis (metaphor), according to Petersson and Clark.⁵ Corporeal and semiotic boundaries and identities are intrinsically intertwined and function both as barrier and bridge between ethnically defined social communities in which "us" and "them" are separated. A town with histories Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) is a city in Romania only 11 kilometer from the Hungarian boundary in the northwest region of the country. The city is situated in the province of Satu Mare and in the region of Crisana, according to a Romanian historical and geographical point of view (se map 1). In the Hungarian point of view the city is part of the former Hungarian territories, i.e. Hungary proper. Some refer to this region as Transylvania, as they include all former Hungarian territories that Hungary lost after the First World War, i.e. the historic Transvlvania, the Banat, Maramures and Crisana (see map 1 and 2). From a Romanian perspective Transvlvania was re-unified with the rest of the Romanian lands in 1920 at the peace treaty of Trianon and the Great Romania established (see map 1). This had been, according to the Romanian view, the will of the Romanian people ever since the Daco-Roman province of Dacia was dissolved in the year of 271.

Regions and ethnonations in Europe: The particular case of Catalonia

Esther GIMENO UGALDE

Abstract: This paper analyses the role of regions within the European context. It focuses on the particular case of Catalonia, defined as `ethnonation', and its increasing presence in Europe and in the European Union, but it also offers a general overview on the development of European regionalism. After a brief introduction, the article includes, on the one hand, a review of the most relevant historical facts of Catalonia in order to understand in a better way its current situation and its national demands, and, on the other, an overview on Catalonia's growing participation in European integration process. The case of Catalonia is presented as a useful example to encourage regions of Western and Eastern Europe to play an even more active role and to express their voice in Europe.

Cross-border Identity in Building a Regional Brand: the Northern Transylvania Region

Luminita SOPRONI

Abstract: Northern Transylvania region is looking now for a cross-border identity, trying to raise awareness among the population about belonging to this region and to inform foreign investors about the best investment opportunities. The cross-border dimension represents one of the main points of this regional identity.

EU – Western Balkans economic relations - Experience useful for new EU "neighbors"

Natasa TRAJKOVA

Abstract: Historic EU enlargement that happened on first of May 2004 meant a big change on European continent, generating a lot of economic, geopolitical, security and prosperity implications, debates, uncertainties and possibilities. Along with the dramatically change in physical frontiers, the imagination of - what Europe is and suppose to be - was altered too. It became unclear whether the EU enlargement should stop at these frontiers. Having in mind opportunities and challenges created with the extension, European Union itself started to develop more open and dynamic policies towards the countries outside the block. For the purpose of the contemporary goals as peace, security and economic prosperity it seems that Union consciously leaved the question of enlargement opened. On the other hand, these outside countries very soon will find out that living by big and economically strong block can be economically problematic. Some of them expressed their interest of joining EU openly and very loudly and some of them are still restrained by territorial or other posed EU criteria.

The use of cross-border co-operation and border location in place marketing

Gábor KOZMA

Abstract: Places especially in North America, had practised place promotion for more than a century and even in Europe there was a tradition, especially in tourism centers, of place advertising by local authorities. However political and economic changes occuring in Western Europe at the beginning of the 1970s and in Central Europe at the of the 1980s led an increase in the attention given to a much wider place marketing in Western European cities in the 1980s and Central European cities in the 1990s1.

Three large target groups may be distinguished in relation to place marketing which of course can be further sub-categorised: - economic actors: the local authorities must endeavour to promote the further development of the companies already operating on their area, to support the starting of small enterprises and to attract new companies,

- tourists: the local authorities must endeavour to assure the satisfaction of the demands of the visiting tourists and to attract new tourists,

- inhabitants: the local authorities must endeavour to intensify the satisfaction level of the local inhabitants and to attract personal groups which are profitable for the place.

The primary aim of this paper is to examine the connection between place marketing, cross-border co-operation and the border situation of local authorities. It attempts at answering the question of how cross-border co-operation and the border situation can influence (promote or hinder) the place marketing activities of local authorities. The use of different methods of place marketing is especially important for border regions because they can be regarded as peripheral, underdeveloped areas and central

governments very often tend to pay less attention to them than other parts of the country. As a result of this, the local authorities of these regions have to take a really active, initiating role for the sake of the improvement of their position on the market.

The potential roles of place marketing in border regions

Mónika KOMÁDI

Abstract: Though exchanging different products has started at the same time with human civilisation they started to exam the exchange system of markets only in the beginning of the XIX. century. In the United States of America marketing, as the device of business politics began between 1900 and 1920. It widespread from 1940 while in Europe this market forming tool was accepted even later. In the history of marketing we can point out three different areas.

- The product is in the centre of the first approach, which means that "good products don't need advertisement". (It is a product-oriented approach.)
- The second approach concentrated on the right advertisement that can win over the consumers and can convince them to buy the products.
- The third approach, the "marketing-period" is about to find out what the consumers demand and how the products can fulfil it. (This is called consumer-oriented approach.)

In the 1960s the "sellers market" changed into "buyers market". The emphasis was not put on the problems of producing any longer but on the problems of marketing. The importance was not on the product that the firm could make but on the product that the consumer needed. The place also changes from the firm to the market, to the place where we live.

Cross-border cooperation and neighborhood programs between Romania and Ukraine

Amalia STURZA

Abstract: The frontiers represent the history's after-effects. Europe's diversity is considered a valuable characteristic which should be exploited and promoted. This diversity can be noticed in the social and cultural life of all the countries and regions from Europe. All along Europe's history these social and cultural systems have led to the formation of some political and administrative structures and also some different political actions. Europe's people were born and lived their lives in these different social and cultural mediums. So they are not willing to sacrifice their customs just to be in harmony with the rest of Europe, especially if this results in losing the diversity. Despite the freedom of moving all over Europe and the elimination of frontiers, the social and cultural differences (including different structures and administrative systems) will still continue to exist from now on and will face each other at the border. Not a single country within or outside the European Union will try and change their traditional structures, power or competence due to problems around the border area. Moreover, no country will ever be able to totally harmonize their laws with the ones from neighbour countries, and the

consequences are going to be felt in a longer period of time: economical, social and juridical problems and the obstacles met along this process of cooperation will affect the people on both sides of the frontier.

Transboundary cooperation is not a new phenomenon. People and goods have moved across the shifting borders of Europe with varying degrees of ease during the last several centuries. Following World War II, however, western and Eastern Europe were divided into two opposing ideological as well as geographical entities. In Eastern Europe, the political role of international borders was strengthened and their degree of openness decreased accordingly. Crossing borders became difficult, if not impossible; borders became almost impenetrable barriers between peoples. By contrast, in Western Europe the political and economic function of international borders gradually diminished as the European Community concept took hold.

Bilateral or trilateral local or regional cooperation is thus a key point in preventing not only conflicts or psychological barriers but most of all to ease the foundation of partnerships which will reduce the differences existent in the Euro regions or similar structures. Cross-border cooperation is, in consequence a European objective which should be implemented locally or regionally in partnership.

The advent of euro regional phenomenon in Europe is linked to the evolution of local autonomy and regionalization, the collaboration within the euro regions consists in creating direct relations between the regions and the communities found on one side and the other of frontiers. In West Europe these euro regions work very efficiently and the advantages of such cooperation can be seen in the increase of economical and commercial relations between the member states, the cultural, artistic and scientific exchanges, the contacts between people, the cooperation in the field of environment, the development of cross-border cooperation in various fields. An important role in this cooperation is represented by the allowance from the European Union and other financial international organizations of funds for investments and cooperation programs in these regions.

Jewish inhabitants of the Pokuttya and Carpathian region, as seen by their neighbors based on the folklore collection of Oskar Kolberg

Justyna KUTRZEBA

Abstract: It seems as the interest in Oskar Kolberg and his collections, has passed. Young cultural anthropologists and musicologist somewhat reluctantly recall his monumental work. Kolberg scares away with the amount and detail of information collected. Fortunately there are people who appreciate his work and creativeness. Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz1 and Joanna Tokarska-Bakir2 often refer to Kolberg in their publications. Each of them searches in this great folklorist collection traces of the Polish-Jewish relations. It is also the direction that I seek to take. In this work I would like to refer to part I to IV (volume 29 to 32) of "Pokucie" and part I and II (volume 54 to 55). of "Rus Karpacka". The areas described by Kolberg today constitute the western regions of Ukraine. I have chosen this region as it was very popular with Jewish settlers, who constituted a large percent of the population there. I am interested in how the Jews were perceived by their Christian neighbors, how over the centuries the process of assimilation moved forward, can we speak of strong borders between these two social groups in spite of the many centuries of coexistence on the same territories? Were the cultural and religious barriers so strong, as to not allow their crossing in the everyday? The answer to these questions can only be partial, as I am relying on the Christian sources of information, what is more is that these sources of information were not solely devoted to this subject. Kolberg in his works concentrates on inhabitants ethnically tied to given regions, foreigners like the Jews, Gypsies or Armenians he only mentions in passing. To see a full picture, a thorough search would be necessary in Jewish sources.

Problems of Hungarian Minorities in Ukraine

Valeria SAVCHUR

Abstract: Of the estimated 14 million ethnic Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin1, over three million live outside the present borders of Hungary. When the larger diaspora (in Western Europe, North America, Israel and Australia) is added to the total, roughly a third of the 15 million ethnic Hungarians live outside Hungary and are citizens of another country.

The Economics of the "European Neighbourhood Policy": an Initial Assessment

Ecaterina FABIAN

Abstract: This paper describes the general framework of the EU's emerging relationship with its new neighbours and investigates the potential economic impact of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), both for the EU itself and for its neighbours. In particular, it seeks to develop an answer to the question of whether the ENP is sufficiently attractive so as to induce the governments in neighbourhood countries to adopt (or accelerate the adoption of) the types of economic and governance reforms that were implemented in the new member states during their accession processes. Although the specifics of the ENP are still being developed, the lack of incentives as regards to unclear accession to the EU is identified as the main weakness of the ENP. Economically, the ENP seeks to ease trade restrictions through the implementation of legislative approximation and convergence with EU standards, before accessing the EU's single market can become a reality. Positively though, is that the access to the single market could improve significantly under the ENP. As experienced by the Central European states, FDI is instrumental to transform the economies of the Western CIS and the Caucasus. The ENP can be a supportive framework for improving investor confidence. Likewise, the new European Neighbourhood Instrument can add more coherence in technical assistance, and provide more financial support for creating capacities for trade infrastructures and institutional and private sector development. Finally, measures to promote increased labour migration between the new neighbours and the enlarged EU may be worth to put on the agenda for the future development and impact of the ENP.

New Aspects Concerning the Situation of the Romanian – Hungarian Border (1944-1945)

Antonio FAUR

Abstract: The end of the Second World War brought about alterations as to the aspect of the European states' borders. Certain borders, the ones imposed by Germany by force, started to be debated even before the end of the conflict. In 1940, Romania, which had been forced to give parts of the national territory in favour of the Soviet Union, the Horthy's Hungary, and Bulgaria,

had as its main objective – after leaving the Axis and turning against Germany (August 23_{rd} , 1944) – to reshape what they could from the national territory, provided a victory of the Soviets. Romania's North-Western border was altered too. The territory conceded to Hungary by what historiography called the "dictate" of Vienna (August 30th, 1940) was set free from the Romanian and Soviet armies through the battles fought in September and October 1944. They had managed to cast out all enemy troops from the Romanian territory by October 25th, 1944. The plan was to appoint a Romanian administration on the free territory of Northern Transylvania, as the territory conceded to Hungary was called in the documents. The Truce Convention signed by Romania with the United Nations on September 12th, 1944, made it clear in article 19 the following: "Allied governments consider the decision of the Vienna Arbitration regarding Transylvania as null and void and agree that Transylvania (or most of it) should be given back to Romania, under the condition of confirming the peace treaty [...]", thus acknowledging the return of this territory under the sovereignty of the Romanian State2. Even a Romanian police station was established, in order to manage the free Transylvania, as a "political solution that was chosen by the first Sanatescu government to facilitate, rush and finish the administrative reintegration within the borders of the Romanian State of the Northern and Eastern Transylvania ..."3. In the latter half of the month of October, the Romanian Government, through the newly established institution mentioned above and led by Ionel Pop, started to appoint representatives of the Romanian prefects, as "under the pretext of the issues of security of communication, of the front and the mess brought about by the Iuliu Maniu battalions in the area4, the Soviet High Headquarters disposed the eviction of the Romanian authorities. A report from November 1944 addressed to General Constantin Sanatescu showed that "... the Romanian authorities were not allowed to fulfil their duties, they were not even admitted in several places, as the Soviets appointed prefects, and particularly mayors, there ... "5. The opposition of Moscow, which had political and strategic interests in the area, lasted until the spring of the year 1945.

The integration of Romania and its neighbours into the EU: A threat to European security?

Péter BALOGH

Abstract: On May 16th 2006, the EU has once again postponed the setting of the final date for Romania's and Bulgaria's entry to the Union. It is probably the first time in EU-history that the entry of a Candidate State will be uncertain up until about three months before the date originally set. Indeed, according to a Christian Democratic Member of European Parliament, the EU will need to "put on the brakes" in its enlargement project. In the case of these two countries, EU officials have cited their failure to speed up reforms to fight crime and corruption. However, the irony is that by postponing enlargement, the EU might actually make these tasks more difficult to achieve, while the future of European security depends to a large extent on the successful integration of Eastern Europe into the Union. The main goal of this paper is to contribute to the debate on whether the integration of Romania and Bulgaria, and later eventually of Moldova and Ukraine into the EU could pose an increased threat to Europe's security. More generally, it is an attempt to investigate whether the European Union's external security policies to a significant extent may clash with and to some degree therefore undermine the internal ones. This will be done by comparing various approaches towards the issue, especially those imposed by EU-institutions and the ones advocated by various academics. But first, some theoretical background is needed to help to clarify the issues at stake, not least the concept of security.

De-territorialization of the EU's external and internal borders Borders & Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) and EU Security

Kiril NESTOROVSKI

Abstract: The specific focus of the paper is the problem of migration, securitization of the internal and external borders within the European Union. Despite many drawbacks of the EU's security policy, border security is destabilized by a new threat, namely the danger of Transnational Organized Crime. The aim of the paper is to look at the factors that have led to this situation. Accordingly, the central argument of the paper is that – although there are well organized security institutions, the social character of the Member States is in a shaping phase and European security concerns are not only about frontiers being threatened by military action. Moreover, the lack of a homogeneous strategy to fight TOC prevents the EU to act in accordance with the newly developed situations. The paper will start with unfolding the issue of European borders by classifying them, then it will deal with external factors influencing on the internal security. The paper seeks to clarify the intertwined connection between the fears of migration and European internal security, placing the accent on the borders and the relevant policy areas on Transnational Organized Crime (TOC). Finally, the paper will present solutions for international problems of security as well as the policies of the EU in fighting the Transnational Organized Crime, followed by presentation of the changes in the immigration policy and its impact on EU. The specific findings will be presented in more general context in the conclusion.

Oleksandr SVYETLOV

Abstract: The present paper is intended to analyse relations between EU and Ukraine since its independence. The material is collected through review of literature, policy papers as well as personal interviews with policy makers and scholars in Ukraine and Europe. It will be submitted, that given the constellation of factors, the sluggishness of cooperation process between EU and Ukraine was partially justified by the realities of Kuchma regime and EU's agenda at that time. The election of Victor Yuschenko in December 2004 signifies a new era in mutual relations, which requires much more intensive cooperation on both sides.

European Union's Eastern Partners CIS vs. individual state actors

Paula Daniela GÂNGA

Abstract: As one of the most important organizations in the world, the EU has had to develop relations with countries all across the world. One of the greatest challenges has revealed to be the road to take with a very close neighbour: the USSR and later the successor states. Used to see the giant at the East as a menace, the months and years after the collapse of Communism proved to be a real test for the European Community. Things were very clear for the states in the sphere of influence of the USSR included in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Baltic states, all of them expressing sooner or later the will to join the EU. But the situation got very complex when building a relationship with the Russian Federation and the new countries that once were a part of the USSR. The former soviet countries tried to survive on their own, and for this they created the Commonwealth of Independent States hoping to recreate an Eastern EU, but soon realized that without the Western help they couldn't develop, especially since Russia the greatest donor of financial aid at the time had very big difficulties on its own. In this picture the partner that had the choice was the EU. In front of it there were two choices: have a more global approach to the region, using the CIS as a framework in order to send help in those countries, or treat each country as a separate case, offering help according to each countries' achievements. Therefore, in this article we shall look at this precise choice the EU has made, comparing the relationships developed with the CIS, as opposed to the relationship with each state individually. In order to better understand the topic we shall look at the relationship between the two structures, the EU and the CIS, with an emphasis on the CIS, its creation, structure and way of functioning, and we shall also analyse the choices made by the EU in the development of its programmes in the region, and mainly the TACIS programme and the latest European Neighbouring Policy.

Potentialités et obstacles de la politique eurorégionale au sein des nouveaux Etats membres. Réflexion à partir du cas de l'eurorégion Bihor (Roumanie) – Hajdú- Bihar (Hongrie)

Noémie HINFRAY

Abstract: Avec le Cinquième élargissement, l'Union européenne a hérité de 28 nouvelles frontières. Désormais, 32 % de la population européenne vit dans des régions frontalières et 40% du territoire européen est considéré comme transfrontalier. Or, les espaces transfrontaliers constituent des zones de transition entre plusieurs systèmes territoriaux, cristallisant de ce fait les enjeux économiques, politiques, sociaux et culturels de l'Europe. Ces éléments introductifs justifient qu'aujourd'hui une attention particulière soit portée aux espaces transfrontaliers.

Par ailleurs, l'ouverture des frontières européennes s'accompagne de l'émergence de nouveaux réseaux de coopération, notamment la coopération transfrontalière qui forme un outil privilégié de la construction européenne. En effet, le Deuxième rapport sur la cohésion (Commission Européenne, 2001) note que la coopération transfrontalière, interterritoriale et transnationale constitue une priorité de premier rang pour l'Union européenne afin de promouvoir l'intégration et de réduire la fragmentation économique et sociale engendrée par les frontières nationales. La coopération territoriale européenne a de plus été érigée au rang d'objectif majeur de la politique régionale européenne pour la prochaine période de programmation. Cependant, de manière générale, les espaces transfrontaliers dans les PECO (Pays d'Europe Centrale et Orientale) apparaissent comme des territoires périphériques, où les politiques d'aménagement du territoire sont mal coordonnées car les frontières ne se sont ouvertes que très récemment (Hinfray, 2006). La structuration des espaces transfrontaliers reste par conséquent un objectif à atteindre par la mise en oeuvre de la coopération transfrontalière, domaine dans lequel les eurorégions sont amenées à jouer un rôle effectif.

Regional and cross-border co-operation: perceptions and recommendations (case of the Republic of Moldova)

Mariana IATCO, Andriana DILAN

Abstract: The issue of the enlarged European Union and its neighborhood has become an increasingly pressing in recent years. The Republic of Moldova needs to accept this new reality and practically to analyze the pros and cons in its relations with its neighbors. In this context, the following basic questions arise: what will be the relations between Moldova and the enlarged European Union, and what are the concepts of co-operation, what should be the formula of the dialogue between Moldova and ours neighbors. According to official Moldovan representatives, it has been already adopted an

irreversible strategic course of regional and cross-border co-operation and integration. Thus, Moldova needs a strategic thinking to act locally in a co-operative way. The questions underline important aspects: what are the advantages of regional cooperation; and where the obstacles are; especially what approaches are there already in the Republic of Moldova. The experts recommended regional co-operation and suggested that the Stability Pact can serve as a forum for this. The Government of the Republic of Moldova considered the Stability Pact as complementary with European integration. It is not more and not less: Moldova can use it. Besides, regional co-operation is a benefit for itself. It means one step forward to European integration which Moldova can have later on.

Ukraine on a Way to the Effective Regional Policy

Oksana UDOVYK

Abstract: Recently Ukraine together with Georgia, Azerbaydzhan and Moldova has acted with a number of the important regional initiatives. This paper describes these initiatives. The paper builds upon official documents; top authorities level interviews; and incorporate my own analysis on Ukraine's future in the light of current integration processes in Europe.

Keywords: Ukraine, GUAM, cross-border cooperation, neighbourhood policy, European identity

The cultural relevance of the borders

Enrique BANUS

Abstract: *Borders for Culture?* Probably, we are living in a paradox world: every day, 47 millions of citizens of our planet go to McDonald's for eating similar food in one of the 119 counties in which McDonald's is represented. Some of these citizens and many others are consuming 45.000 Coca–Cola bottles every second: these are clear signs of a globalised or at least globalising world. But in the negotiations on the World Trade liberalisation (they so called Uruguay-Round 1986–1994 and the follow–up, the Doha–Round, since 2001), France –supported by some other countries2, but not fully by the EU as whole3– has claimed for the "cultural exception", that means, the possibility to exclude cultural goods from the trade liberalisation, because –as the WTO itself recognises–: "Audiovisual services typically reflect the social and cultural characteristics of nations and their peoples, and are consequently regarded as being of great social and political importance. For these reasons, government regulations and public support programmes play a major role". No borders for trade, borders for culture: this could be –with some exaggeration–the sum up of this tendency.
