

# Prospects for the European Union: Borderless Europe?





## Prospects for the European Union: Borderless Europe?

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## Booklet of Abstracts

– Further European integration: How far to enlarge? – European Union: New regionalism? – Countries attitude towards EU integration and EU policies – Cultural pluralism in the EU: National or European identity? – European citizenship – Minority and immigration issues – Security issues and future of joint military operations – New horizons: Multi-speed Europe? – Workforce mobility – Youth unemployment in Europe – Economic and financial crisis – European competitiveness – Sustainable development in the EU – EU institutions – Structures, governance, legislation – Euroscepticism –



#### **Keynote Speakers**

#### • Welcoming Note

**Csilla Morauszki** Chief Executive Officer, Institute for Cultural Relations Policy.

#### • Opening Speech

**Gyöngyvér Hervainé Szabó, CSc. Dr. habil.** Scientific Director of Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences.

#### Keynote lectures

**Péter Balázs, DSc. Dr. habil.** Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hungary. Director, of the Center for EU Enlargement Studies.

**H. E. Roman Kowalski** Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Hungary.

H. E. Gordan Grlic Radman, Dr. Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to Hungary.

György Schöpflin, Prof. Dr.

Member of the European Parliament, full member on the Parliament's Constitutional Affairs Committee.

#### László Dux, Dr.

Director, Department for EU Justice and Home Affairs and Enlargement, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary.

#### • Keynote lectures

#### Martina Maczalova

EU Regional Coordinator of OCEANS Network.



Economic perspectives of the European Union

#### Is there a way out of the euro?

John Wrieden, J.D. (Distinguished Lecturer, Adjunct Professor, Florida International University - wriedenj@fiu.edu) Co-authors: Frederick V. Perry and Wendy Gelman

In 2012 the European monetary crisis continued to challenge the health and very existence of the Eurozone and also threatened to derail the very fragile world economy in its efforts to recover from the 2008 financial crisis. European leaders met repeatedly to cobble together rescue plans for Greece, Italy, and Spain. Though European leaders continue to publicly pledge that they will not allow any failure of the EMU. Other observers have questioned whether the European monetary union in its current form and current membership will survive into the future. The prospects for 2013 and beyond do not look much better. The Nobel Peace Prize Committee has stated that: "The Union and its forerunners have for over six decades contributed to the advancements of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe. The EU is currently undergoing grave economic difficulties and considerable social unrest. The stabilizing part played by the EU has helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace". The world famous investor, philanthropist and political contributor, George Soros speaking at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland (January, 2012) noted that "the euro is now here to stay". He also commented that the immediate crisis may be over but there is no time for complacency and that "austerity is not what Europe needs right now". This essential argument seems to pit northern and southern Europe against each other.

**Key words:** financial crises, Europe, eurozone, European Union, international economic relations, capitalists & financiers, economics, research



## The Danube Chambers of Commerce Association - a new advocacy organisation to develop competitiveness of the economies in Central Europe

Péter Krisztián Zachar, Ph.D. (College Professor, Head of Department, Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, Kodolányi János University College - zacharpeter@gmail.com)

The Danube Chambers of Commerce Association is one of the newest international organisations in the Danube Region. According to its Statute the purpose of the DCCA is to develop sustainable competitiveness of the economies connected by the River Danube. Members of the organisation are economic chambers from economically diverse countries: Germany, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria. This presentation gives an insight into the strategy, work-plan, achievements and future plans of the DCCA.

Established in the summer of 2010, the DCCA wishes to be one of the new dimensions of cooperation, which aims to enforce the common representation and advocacy of the enterprises operating and entrepreneurs living along the Danube. In the last two years many attempts were made to create a single platform of economic opportunities and to enhance economic co-operation in the Danube macro-region especially to overcome the economic crisis. Is it possible to react together to the open questions and remaining challenges in this region, which includes not only some of the most affluent areas in Europe but some of the poorest regions of the continent as well. How can old and new EUmembers and non-member states work together to promote regional and cross-border cooperation for further economic growth.

In this study we will try to answer these questions and show the importance of the Danube Chambers of Commerce Association to contribute to the development of the Danube region.

**Key words:** economic chambers, international organisation, sustainable development, competitive economy, Central Europe, Danube Region, exchange of experience and information, development of human resources



#### A model of the savings rate decline and of the euro zone crisis: The case of Portugal

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Recovering the Euro is a matter is of increasing savings, and current bail out programs are just not doing that. Using an overlapping generations model, we argue that a decline in the savings rate, such as the one that has been observed in Portugal over the past 30 years, may be motivated by an increase in the discount factor. This is a standard result for macroeconomic models with agents that live for two periods. However, we innovate in proxying empirically the discount factor by a number of items, such as the fertility rate and the marriage rate. A decline in these suggests that people value the present over the future. As such the discount factor increases. As it turns out, both variables are empirically significant in our econometric analysis and have the correct sign. Furthermore, Ricardian Equivalence effects seem to be absent from the savings behaviour of Portuguese households, as increases in public debt are met with decreases in savings by households. Government expenditure is not being perceived as levying higher taxes in the future. Finally, we also show that precautionary saving has become extremely relevant in Portugal with the surpassing of the estimated unemployment threshold of 6.5% causing major shifts from current consumption to savings by households. The empirical implications of our analysis are staggering, as they question the effectiveness of any austerity programme that does rely on higher taxes: these are a tantamount to lower savings rate, which in turn increase country default probabilities. The ECB/EU/IMF bail outs that have been conducted in some European countries are effectively raising unemployment and lowering the number of households with the ability to save in the Economy. At the same time, the ability to save is also being dampened by the rolling over policies in public spending finances. In our view, a lower taxes-lower public spending policy would more effectively free the resources necessary for proper savings. Santos (2011) has shown that savings plays a more fundamental role in market assessment of credit default probabilities than any other factor in a principal component analysis. We suggest that European policies for indebted countries should begin targeting this issue.

**Key words:** European policy, debt crisis, consumption, savings, fertility rate, Ricardian equivalence, discount factor



## The investment policy in Ukraine as a factor of activation of foreign economic relations with the European Union

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The purpose of the article is to explore the experience and impact of EU investment policy for the development of foreign economic relations within the border regions formed with Ukraine.

In this paper the experience of foreign investing in countries - members of the European Union is investigated, the possibility of its use to enhance the foreign economic relations within the border regions formed with the border area of Ukraine, is specified. The influence of the EU investment policy instruments on the foreign relations development in the cross-border regions is defined.

**Key words:** investment climate, European Union, cross-border region, external economic activity, cross-border cooperation



The importance of the processes of modelling the strategic planning in the EU Voytovych Nataliya, Ph.D. (docent, Department of Marketing, Lviv National University of Veterinary Medicine and Biotechnologies named after S. Z. Gzhytskyj - strategy\_natali@ukr.net)

The analysing of models of the strategic planning is conducted in the article. The modified model of the strategic planning activity of enterprises is offered with possibility of choice of alternative approaches which are oriented to the favourable and unfavourable state of affairs ("active" and "protective" alternatives) in conditions EU.

The given model assumes presence of such components, as the purpose of the enterprise, its strategic and tactical purposes, analysis of internal and external environment, construction of the tactical programs and choice of strategic alternatives, formalization and realization of the plans, estimation of the achieved results. Let's notice, that it is expedient to allocate long-term and short-term objectives of organization, first of which it is necessary to take into account by development of strategy, where as second make a basis for construction on the tactical level of the plans of the enterprise. The analysis of internal and external environment is spent by with study of the strong and weak parties of the enterprise, is investigated, and by the analysis and estimation of the market.

Let's note that it is impossible completely to divide these components of the analysis, as the strong or weak parties of the enterprise are shown, in particular, on the basis of comparison with the competitors, which are the factor of external environment.

During the analysis and the estimations of the market with the purpose of maintenance of strategic character of the received conclusions spend of forecasting and extrapolation of a condition and prospects of the market. The same forecasts should be taken into account at an estimation of ready strategy. A condition of the market, the prospects of the main clients and partners, behaviour of the basic competitors are the factors, which influence on a market conjuncture is desirable extrapolation in prospect for an adequate estimation of the plans.

The increase of efficiency of strategic marketing planning of the enterprises is supposed to be carried out by introduction innovation of model of development based on application of high technologies, commercialization of results of scientific and technical activity, distribution and use of knowledge, improvement of quality of the goods, creation of information networks for an exchange of knowledge and technologies.

**Key words:** strategic planning, model, enterprise, active and protective alternative, strategy, EU



Legal and societal challenges in Europe

#### EU-LEX KOSOVO: a sui generis judicial agent

Nicasia Picciano (Ph.D. student, University of Flensburg, Germany, visiting Ph.D. student, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Central European University, Budapest - nikapicciano@libero.it)

EU-LEX\* Kosovo is the largest ever civilian mission deployed by the European Union so far, as well as the most expensive one. It is also the first of this kind to be endowed with some executive powers. Its main challenges lie in the justice sector in the north of Kosovo. By looking in the literature on international judicial engineering and organization, this contribution aims at providing recommendations to the EU Common Security and Defence Policy when it is deemed to deploy a mission EU-LEX mandate like with consistent judicial powers in a highly socio-ethno and politicized environment such as the north of Kosovo. The literature on international justice focuses, by means of a path - dependent historical process, on the way this is guaranteed and pursued by those artificial and hybrid constructions such as international courts and tribunals (e.g. International Court of Justice, International Criminal Court, European Court of Justice, European Court of Human Rights, just to mention a few) which aim at responding to the settlement of disputes either between States or individuals). EU-LEX justice component can be neither looked at as a permanent court or tribunal nor as a temporary one. Rather it can be better viewed as the extended law arm of the European Union with a view at stabilizing its closest periphery. However, its poor performance in the north of Kosovo sheds light on the need for the EU CSDP to re-visit the way it assists the local authorities in a post-conflict endeavour by mentoring, monitoring and advising in the field of rule of law. Such understanding is of utmost importance for enabling the EU's security and defence arm to develop effective judicial tools which can be exploited in other settings where the EU judicial assistance may be considered.

\* In the official documents as well as in the literature the following writing format, that is EULEX, is to be found. The author has intentionally used this alternative form in order to highlight the EU actorness in exporting its own LEX (law) in its neighbourhood.



#### Human Trafficking in the European Union

Krisztina Kállai (M.A. student, Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences kriszborg@freemail.hu)

The lecture's aim is introducing and defining of the threat of human trafficking concerning the child sex exploitation. My purpose is to clarify the causes of the process and the personality of the traffickers. In my view the most significant fact is the mental and physical effects which are caused by these types of exploitations so it is essential to be talked about it as well. In addition to this I am going to analyse the relationship between the joining of Romania, Bulgaria and the rising of human trafficking. My lecture summarizes the steps of the EU and UN against this organised crime. I try to give an answer to this prickly question and the potential chances of prevention.

Key words: child-prostitution, prevention, European Union, human trafficking



#### The indigenous multiculturalism in European Union: Current situation and challenges for the future

Renata Ribežl (Ph.D. Candidate, University of Graz - renata.ribezl@gmail.com)

When talking about European Unions' multiculturalism the wording usually evolves around immigrants and national minorities. The indigenous peoples are the minority unfortunately often left out of public debates, despite that the estimates present that there are half a million indigenous people living in the Arctic, at least a quarter of them living within political borders of Europe.

Based on Will Kymlicka's Multicultural Index this paper presents the current situation of indigenous minorities in European Union. Due to the fact that one of the indigenous nations - The Sami people - is spread over three countries, the description includes also non-EU country Norway.

In the second part the paper focuses on the European Union's actions after the adoption of Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples by United Nations General Assembly. The paper examines the role of European Union in the adoption of the Declaration in its member states and also provides the information about some other mechanism established by the EU to improve the position of European indigenous peoples.

Based on the current situation and the European Union organisation with its mechanisms, the conclusion presents some of the challenges of indigenous multiculturalism that EU will be facing in its future.

Key words: multiculturalism, European Union, Kymlicka, Multiculturalism Policy Index



#### Cultural pluralism in the EU: National or European identity?

Adrienn Johanna Fehér (M.A. student - International Relations, Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences - fajd77@gmail.com)

In the European Union there are 27 members with different cultures and identities, and going to be even more...

The cultures and identities - which modify our brain from childhood, and give us the style of competences, and rules for life, result in attributes and differences (the essential, national uniqueness).

Basically, there is no question about National identity, but European identity?

It can be a political, a psychological, a social, and a geological frame. As a political frame, EU is a distance structure, as a geological, social and psychological frame, European identity has a far-flung history already (as the Asian, African, American have).

As the conditions and history changes, National identity alters. European identity is not strong enough, easily can be burst by National ones. Nowadays there is no method to form it, even balance with the National ones (as we see in the news).

Even though, we have the same problems in global, but we alienate from each other, and foredoomed to conflicts, and misunderstanding.

To create a common identity - at least in Europe - would be a solution, and would create an enormous power against crises, military, economic, and other issues.

**Key words:** culture, identity, society, values, common or European identity or fragmentary or national identities, consequences



#### Integration processes and sense of belonging: Iranian immigrants in Sweden and Hungary

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Till the end of the XX century the development of the globalization produced an effect on the process of migration. It became easier for people to settle down in different countries - temporarily or permanently - with the aim of working or studying there. The economical difference between the developed and developing countries contributed to the upward of this tendency, because the developed countries - like Sweden - need more and more labour, and the most of the population of developing countries thinks that the expatriation is the only way out of the destitution. In line with this migration tendency, the importance of the minority issue is constantly growing. In the international public life, in the field of governmental and non-governmental organizations the rights, obligations, status and future of minorities are getting more and more important issues.

The purpose of this research is examining the migration and integration processes of Iranian immigrants in Sweden and Hungary. Sweden, which is a well-known host country for migrants, and Hungary, which is a transit country for many people whose real destination is the Western part of Europe. Both of the countries can give another opportunities for migrants or refugees from the Middle East, from Iran. There is no precise statistics about Iranians abroad, but according to formal speech, three-five millions of Iranians are dispersed around the world. Their, who have migrated from different social classes all over the world, main goal was the education. At present, Iranians abroad have created a special kind of world, where their common cultural and social traditions are important, but are far from the original Iranian lifestyle. Through to the study and the presentation we can get a picture about the circumstances of leaving the birth country (Iran), the motivations of integration to the host country, and sometimes the strange situations due to the cultural differences. The language choice and daily using also has an important role in the status of integration: it can be an indication when migrants are searching for a connection with their own ethnic group, or has a categorical rejection onto them. The future plans in different ages of migrants or the lack of these purposes can be interesting too. Have the borders disappeared only physically or has it between people and their mind also? Is this really a borderless Europe? Iranian immigrants have their own answers for the question.

Key words: Iranian immigrants, integration, sense of belonging

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#### Transnational migration and democratic states borders

Georgiana Turculet (Ph.D. student, Central European University - giorgi82@gmail.com)

When it comes to the issue of transnational migration and its normative demands on states' borders, some theorists uphold a world of open borders, while others support the full sovereignty of states in matters of migration. While each position offers important insights to the debate, my interest starts with acknowledging that a plausible justification for the right of states to exclude, as well as a more nuanced reflection on how morality imposes limits on this right are still needed. This paper seeks to address the question whether and to which extent border policy can be unilaterally set by states and on what normative grounds (compatible with liberal and democratic theories) migrants can be denied entry to countries and have their rights restricted in today's world. Tackling and attempting to answer my question means, on the one hand addressing one of the most pressing topics in political theory and international relations, and on the other hand, provide paramount normative grounds for the implementation of desirable migration arrangements at the global level. Furthermore, seeking to shed light on the issue of migration and states' borders in the light of democratic theory implications means departing from current studies of closed and open borders, currently focusing, among other arguments, on states right on territories, rights of freedom to association, distributive justice, libertarianism. The novel approach of porous borders theory I aim to analyse and enhance, if plausibly justified, seems able to meet both moral concerns, closure of borders and inclusion of others, laying thus the terrain for a fertile terrain of investigation that is worth exploring in my paper.

**Key words:** political theory, transnational migration, normative inquiry, democratic states borders, rights of migrants and citizens



#### New horizons: the EU as a global power

#### Globalisation and global power

Prof. Assoc. Ph.D. Zaho Golemi (Professor of National Security, Albanian University, Tirana - zahogolemi@yahoo.com) Co-author: Prof. Assoc. PhD. Bernard Zotaj

Our planet is nowadays under the power of globalization. Globalization is the idea and inspiration of our time, a great debate and a comprehensive admission. The current global trend is related to the economy, politics, culture and society. While the global power is facing daily life, where establishment of economic, technological, political networks receives multiple value if it is viewed in relation to weakening of the historical claims on the state and nation.

Sovereignty and cultural identity are some areas where globalization has the greatest impact; "A single economic system has become ubiquitous", wrote Henry Kissinger. However, it is already widely accepted in scientific circles that globalization is a controversial topic. Only variety of interest in the states' policies remains indisputable. Basic elements of policy on democracy, legitimacy or relation to economy are elaborated today in their essence by the debate, from the west to the east, regarding globalization. Public communication in the global world is increasingly is becoming important. As a key term, omnipresent, globalization is instrumentalised in service of interests. The debate on globalisation focuses on fundamental issues to the future. World crisis makes obvious, the preparation of politics and leadership on the economic spectrum.

In this paper, we will shed light on some dynamic issues in the perspective of the multidimensional of the globalizing processes, dimensions of globalization and the regionalization process, in particular. Focus on the subject of globalization should take into consideration some intellectual contributions of experts on the conflicts and peace at UN, such as Rognar, Muller and personalities of world diplomacy and academic field such as Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, etc., as well as the works of the specialized institutions in Europe and Balkans.

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. The global economy originates in the nineteenth century. Despite the development taking place in 1930s, the globalizing process was interrupted by the two World Wars and then the Cold War. The term "globalization" was of recycled only after 1980-s, by reflecting the technological development, information and fulfilment of international transactions.

The essential feature of globalization today is re-dimensioned. Nowadays we have crossborder flows of goods, services, people, money, technologies, information, ideas, cultures and crimes which are continuously changing and increasing. These essential defining features of globalization today are computerization, miniaturism, digitization, satellite communications, fibre optic, internet etc. Globalization has proven that there is not only a single "anchor", is changeable and has the ability to transcends the historically inherited borders.

The erosion of national-state sovereignty seems to have a disconnection from the market economy from the basis of moral rules and modern societies. The worldwide global relations are interrelated by interests which are defined by the economic power which defined the entire complexities of relationships.

Key words: globalisation, global power, International relation, greatest impact



## The EU's normative power in development policy practiced in developing countries

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European Union (EU) elites frequently refer to EU norms and values and tend to see the EU as a "force for good". In addition, on the basis of constructivist approach, more scholars currently start studying on EU international actorness focusing on concepts of "normative, value-driven external policy". All these works put forward the unique role that the EU has played and could play on the world politics as a promoter of its constitutive principles or ideational factors, which range from multilateralism to sustainable peace, from democracy to human rights and rule of law, and value beyond its own borders. This is considered the liveliest debate in this rich literature revolves around normative power Europe (NPE), which moved the conceptual understanding of the EU as a power beyond the dichotomy of military power and civilian power (Damro, 2012, p.682). This debate is far from being exhausted and there are in fact widely diverging views to be found concerning the key question of whether in fact the EU is a normative power in world politics. On the one hand, the concept has been severely criticised by scholars who claim that the Union is an interest-driven actor and who like Ramon Pacheco Pardo therefore draws the conclusion that the EU "is not a ... normative or ethical power". On the other, it has been promoted by scholars like Manners who consider that the Union "should be considered a normative power" (Manners, 2002). Besides, empirical researches have presented both positive and negative results about the concept's accuracy. There definitely seems to be a puzzling lack of consensus both about what the concept entails, and about its accuracy and so far quite inconclusive. Therefore, the arguable question raised here is that whether the EU is able to fit the role as a promoter of universal norms, or even a changer of norms?

This puzzle also motivates more empirical research to investigate whether the concept is indeed a correct description of the EU's foreign policy (Sjursen, 2006b p.170; Bicchi, 2006, p.300). This paper is investigating the Union's normativity within Foreign Development cooperation policies towards developing countries because traditionally the EU has used this policy as tool to pursuit its norms (European Commission, 2012). Some questions will be answered: Why can we apply the concept of normative power to EU's development policy? What would be its characteristic applied to development policy? What has the EU done and its impacts on developing countries? And does the EU's power rest the way the EU helps to meet these requirements through co-operation programmes, aid and technical assistance? Based on Manners' tripartite method assessed NPE through its principles, actions and impact, we come to the conclusion that European development policy can be understood as a key component of the EU's normative aspiration towards developing countries (Manners, 2008, p.24f), but its success in this regard will depend on the way in which it promotes normative objectives in the context of development cooperation. The EU can have not only "positive" influence through incentive and deliberative measures at its disposal to project its certain norms and values, but also "negative" conditionality involves the suspension of aid if the recipient country violates the conditions although according to the original concept of normative power raised by Manners (2002), the negative (sticks) measures would not be prefer. Indeed, I digress from Manner's criteria by considering coercive actions in pursuit of ethical or normative goals to be valid. Instruments diffusing norms thereby cannot alone define one actor as a normative power. Also, we see that normative impacts or its effectiveness in practising development cooperation activities in developing countries is negligible because of its lack of vertical and horizontal incoherence, and national factors influencing developing countries in importing EU norms.

Key words: normative power Europe, development policy, development aid



#### Balancing as a dynamic method to tune the EU institutional machinery

Oleksandr Moskalenko (Ph.D. student, University of Turku, Finland - alexan4001@ukr.net)

In its traditional forms, constitutional balancing has been used in two different meanings, however, balancing in terms of the EU embodies a different process. The European integration can hardly be associated with any pre-existing plan. Meanwhile, the existence of the EU has constantly been associated with numerous dilemmas. Examples of the dilemmas can be described in pairs of opposite extremes, such as technocratic guidance - democracy, or intergovernmentalism - supranationalism.

The designers of the EU institutional architecture had to find some kind of equilibrium to counterbalance the extremes, thus balancing has been used in a way which is closer to the checks and balances system, with its postulate of control of one department over another. There is a significant difference between the original "checks and balances" doctrine and the EU counterbalancing system, nevertheless, both have the same idea behind: the distribution of powers should be counterbalanced to avoid abuse. In national legal systems, checks and balances have become a part of the separation of powers concept. In contrast, in the EU the idea of counterbalancing has become an independent dynamic method applied to respond to challenges faced ad hoc. The complexity of the Union system makes difficult tracing this mechanism in details, but the general trend is that every major shift in the decision making rules is counterbalanced in one way or another. However, the changes introduced to respond a challenge may lead to the creation of a disproportion, which becomes a new challenge afterwards, thus demanding a new solution.

Balancing between the extremes of "technocratic guidance - democracy" is a practical example. The backroom technocratic-elite style of decision-making raised the issue of the "democracy deficit". Counterbalancing the deficit, the introduced changes shifted the status of the Commission. Now the decline of its power is viewed as a new challenge, demanding further balancing to ensure an adequate application of the Community method.

So, balancing is used as a dynamic method to deal with ad hoc challenges met en route in the process of European integration. Moreover, it is accompanied by a tendency to counterbalance each step in a manner similar to the "checks and balances" concept, although the measures can be installed in various levels or have a non-proportional character.

**Key words:** European Union, institutional balance, European Parliament, institutions, Lisbon Treaty



## The journey of "Balkans" and "Western Balkans", towards "Southeastern Europe" after the Cold War

Granit Zela (Ph.D. Candidate, Armed Forces Academy, Tirana - zelagranit401@gmail.com)

The paper makes an analysis of the security dynamics of Western Balkans countries after the Cold War. It argues that the period of conflicts and crises during the period of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the region was referred mostly as "Balkans", while this "Balkans" period 1991-2001, was characterised by the domination of the "hard power" mainly by international organisations such as UN and NATO, greatly supported by US, in their endeavour to make the region part of a collective security paradigm that aims at NATO membership.

Since 2001, the region is referred mainly as "Western Balkans", a geopolitical term that indicates a period of the influence of the EU "soft power" to integrate the countries of the region in the European Union. The spectrum of social, political and security challenges of the region is provided in the perspective of the international think tanks such as "Failed States Index", "Democracy Index" "Freedom in the World", "Press Freedom Index", "Economic Freedom Index", "Transparency International" and Conflict Barometer regarding the issue of the ethnic identity, statehood capacity, political and civilian freedoms, corruption, freedom of the press and the regional conflicts and unfinished processes of state-building as the last obstacles in the way towards regional integration into NATO and EU. This final goals, would transform the reference to the region as "South-eastern Europe", a term, already in use after Croatia's EU membership in 2013, which remains the ultimate goal of the Western Balkans in the coming decade.

Key words: Balkans, Western Balkans, democracy indices, European Union



#### Ten years after Thessaloniki

#### Edit Lőrinczné Bencze, Ph.D. (Director of Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities, Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences - Ibedit@kodolanyi.hu)

The paper describes the changes in the EU's enlargement policy towards the Western Balkans region from the Thessaloniki Agenda 2003 on. Ten years after the Thessaloniki agreement, and on the eve of the accession of Croatia I focus on the long delayed journey of the region as well as on the progress that the countries of the Western Balkans have made on the path to European integration in the past decade.

"The Thessaloniki agenda for the Western Balkans: Moving towards European Integration" represents the turning point in European Union and South-Eastern European countries relations. The EU reiterates its unequivocal support to the European perspective of the region. Each of these countries - the five countries that signed the Declaration in 2003 have now become seven - is at a different place on the path to EU membership. Since Thessaloniki Summit there have been several changes in the EU's enlargement policy. The process by which one becomes a member has changed and the conditionality became more and more rigorous during the last decade. It is revealed that the EU strengthened the criteria of admission and made the accession process harder after Eastern enlargement and decreased its financial instruments at the same time when the accession of the post-communist countries after the democratic transition came on the agenda. Thessaloniki made a link between the Stabilization and Association Process and the enlargement, stressing the principles of differentiation based upon "own merits" and possibility to "catch up" with the present candidate countries. Furthermore, it brought the enlargement kind elements into the process, engaging new instruments for the countries of the region. Fortunately the EU problems, mainly the euro crisis has not ended the enlargement process, the accession of the Western Balkans to the European Union is steadily moving ahead, the EU keeps the door open for the aspirants. It is seen by Croatia's accession, as the country became the 28th member of the Union since 1st July 2013 on, as well as the EU opened membership negotiations with Montenegro in 2012. In addition the European Council confirmed Serbia as a candidate country, and the country accession talks are likely to start in January 2014. Therefore my aim is to prove that the Thessaloniki Agenda for Western Balkans was a significant step in relations with the countries of the region and, at the same time, it opened the new perspective for the region countries.

**Key words:** the EU's enlargement policy, the Western Balkans region, European perspective, EU keeps the door open, differentiation, conditionality, own merit



#### Facilitating the persecution of rights in the European Union (New tendencies towards a better access to justice)

Dr. Ágnes Váradi (Research fellow, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Legal Studies - agivaradi@vipmail.hu)

After the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union has gained the same legal status as the Treaties, the autonomous interpretation of human rights has become increasingly important for the Community legislation and judicature. Furthermore, the economic crisis has signalized: the legal system has to pay much more attention to ensure the rights of the needy while preventing the state budget from unnecessary expense. That is why the question of "access to justice" as the procedural framework for facilitating the persecution of rights has entered into the centre of attention again. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the recent development tendencies in this field. Firstly, the expanding scope of legal aid will be analysed with special emphasis on environmental cases and immigration issues. Than the evolving common interpretation principles will be introduced which give guidance for the national legislator and courts. Finally, the question will be discussed whether and how alternative dispute resolution methods can contribute to a better, more efficient persecution of rights in the framework of EU law. The analysis is primarily based on the most recent case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Union. Furthermore, the documents of EU institutions will be introduced (with special regard to the Fundamental Rights Agency) complemented with the statements of German-, English-, French- and Spanish-language secondary literature.



#### Macedonia's prospects of joining the European Union in the near future

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For more than two decades Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic integration is hindered and blocked due to the fact that there is an on-going diplomatic dispute with her southern neighbour, Greece. Skopje and Athens' relations with each other are tense, and neither side has the chance to break the deadlock. The on-going conflict over the Macedonia's constitutional name and the cultural tensions between her and Bulgaria are the main obstacles in front of Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic integration. The essay gives a detailed view on the history of the Greek-Macedonian conflict, its' main turning points and the foreign policy shifts in the past two decades. It also dissects thoroughly the main bilateral agreement between the two neighbouring states, the Interim Accord of 1995, which laid down the bases of their relations. It is from great importance to analyse the Accord's main deficiencies in order to understand why its' provisions do not support the improvement of the Greek-Macedonian relations. The Republic of Macedonia's aspirations to join the European Union and NATO under its constitutional name have caused controversy in recent years. The main goal of the essay is to analyse Macedonia's political motivations and to answer whether the Balkan state is ready to join the Union or the new nationalistic policy is more important than the Euro-Atlantic integration.

Key words: Macedonia, European Union, Greece, Bulgaria, integration



**Beyond the European Union** 

#### European integration process: yesterday and today

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This article aims to analyse the integration process. European construction or architectural arise through analysis of European integration process starting from the vision of their fathers up to nowadays.

This paper's conclusions come through analyses of the integration process since the community of coal and steel until today. The enlargement process helps in fulfilling the "dream" of the fathers of Europe's building: "A joined and free Europe, as a step forward to European architecture" Since 6 to 28.

European architecture today is a world power in economic, trade, and economic policy making it thus the most developed regional group compared to other regional groups. So, the analyses of European integration process will begin with European Community for Coal and Steel which is a supranational organization, which laid the foundations of a new organization, starting by a common market of coal and steel.

The European construction started as the first phase of the integration process, the concept of coal and steel announced from Robert Schuman on May 9, 1950, will remain in the history as the Schuman Integration Plan. "By creating an economic Europe we will create a political Europe at the same time, whereas the united Europe will not be made immediately, even not through a general construction, but it will be created through concrete achievements which will create a solidarity fact".

The European Union today, formed by many member states with different traditions, different languages, but with the same values keeps moving forward based in the expansion and reforms process. Today the states must leave nationalisms, proud, by bringing a new epoch in European regionalism, where important is the individual as a citizen and not the country where he is from.

Key words: integration, discrimination, future, process, regionalism



#### Modernization, mobility and ethnicity

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As some of historic minorities from Romania are obviously shrinking (due to permanent or partial migration, other options of ethnic claiming, negative demographic growth, acculturation), investigating, patrimonialisation of their culture and analysing the means already used for its conservation by its creators is imperative. Starting from the cultural similarities and differences, our proposal is intended to be a study regarding the mobility level in a particular ethnic group (the Turkish and Tatar community in Dobruja region) which is less visible within the minorities of Romania; this is due to its ethnic, confessional and cultural specificity. On the other hand, we wanted to see if the migration routes of its members follow patterns similar to those identified in other ethnic groups. Based on fieldwork we were able to determine some typologies of migration, structured according to historical age, social and economic status, family patterns, and education. Personal motivations also played an important role. Especially the young people of the community oscillate between the heritage that is passed by the older generations, the influence of acculturation and the socio-economic system pressure. Some of them choose permanent emigration and Turkey is a favourite destination, at least for study.

Key words: migration, Turks, Tatars, socio-economic changes



## A multilevel and multidimensional analysis of the rights and duties of the European citizenship

Simona Gribulyte (International Relations Officer, Mykolas Romeris University - simonagribulyte@gmail.com)

A majority of democratically-run systems of governance exhibit the notion of citizenship. This paper will therefore discuss the multi-layered nature of European citizenship, reflecting upon the local, regional, national and European concepts. Painter (1998: 1) argues "since citizenship cannot be wholly divorced from the identity, care needs to be taken to ensure that any definition of European identity is inclusive and supportive of ethnic and cultural difference". Both, nationality and citizenship correspond to two distinct kinds of membership, which are closely linked despite their different foundations (Delanty, 2007). Therefore, it is essential to analyse the concept of multi-level citizenship and emphasise the different rights that derive from them, or lack of thereof.

European citizenship incorporates formal membership of the EU, whereas national citizenship covers the membership of regional and national communities (Kivisto and Faist, 2007). The nature of multilevel European citizenship becomes one of the major barriers for turning a legal form of European citizenship into a social practice. Different polities may derive from these levels. As Delanty (2007) states, European citizenship concerns the EU polity on both national and transnational levels, while cosmopolitan citizenship does not have a precise relation with a particular polity. Membership in these overlapping communities is often defined by rights, obligations and responsibilities stemming from belonging to the community.

The laws in the communities essentially include and protect people, but also tend to exclude the outsiders (Mohanty and Tandon, 2006). Natives, on the other hand, are the ones with identity, status, holding a passport that gives them access to political, social, civil, and economic rights, as well as duties of citizens. Outsiders lack all these entitlements. Therefore, citizenship embraces not only protection, but inequality and discrimination as well. Equality may originate between those who do hold a citizenship and own a passport. However, between those who do own and the ones that do not, inequality and prejudice may arise.

Citizenship rights may also have a multi-dimensional character. A common distinction is made between negative and positive rights. Negative rights are often referred to "freedom from" something that constrains one's liberty, for instance, from fear, hunger, want, or slavery (Bowie and Simon, 2008). The conceptual framework of positive rights, or "freedom to" something implies freedom to speech, political participation, economic activity, social interaction, etc. The European Union has established a wide range of freedoms, including freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labour. Additionally, the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights distinguishes civil, political, social and economic rights. The entitlements and duties citizens have in interpersonal relations are often recognised as civil rights.

Political rights, on the other hand, include individual's (citizens and companies) rights in their relation to the state. Fundamental social rights are the rights to which a citizen is entitled as a member of a community. Economic rights, moreover, include the rights concerning economic transactions.

Occasionally the categories of civil, social, political and economic rights may intersect (Barzel, 2002). For example, the freedom of association is at the same time a civil right to protection from discrimination on grounds such as race, national origin, religion, etc.

The conceptual framework of citizenship has eliminated the societal differences by establishing equal rights and duties of all people in the state. On the other hand, citizenship itself has constructed a new form of inequality, which distinguishes between the citizens endowed with rights and noncitizens lacking these entitlements. Moreover, the ability to access such rights may be subject to the socio-economic positions of individuals. These often vary by nation, yet common characteristics of class division are based on ascribed statuses.

Key words: European citizenship, multilevel and multidimensional nature, rights and duties



#### Facing 'Frenemy' Fire: The South Caucasus between EU and Russia Security Interests

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Russia's "Near Abroad" is a contentious region, within which the competitive friction between the European Union (EU) and Russia is a high-stakes political power game and the resurgence of a 19th century "Great Game." Within the Caucasus, questions presiding over the establishment of zones of influence and political control have assumed a leading position in the on-going debate over the reorganization of the European "Common Neighbourhood" and the geopolitical positions of the EU and Russia as a whole. Shunning the term "Common Neighbourhood," Russia has pursued its own agenda in what it refers to as the "regions adjacent to the EU and Russian borders" or the expanse comprised of the former Republics of the USSR. In the last ten years, Russia has not been reticent about its intentions to defend this territory. This paper assesses the European Union (EU) and Russian approaches to the "Common Neighbourhood," and considers key factors in EU and Russian power projection in the South Caucasus. It examines elements that specifically drive Armenia closer to Russia and the EU's efforts to balance this through its own external governance. In doing so, it looks at a range of "carrots" and "sticks" that both the EU and Russia, as geopolitical actors, employ to gain traction into this shared space, which has both reified and obscured national borders in the region. A theoretical framework of geopolitical strategies is employed to establish the context in which both the EU and Russia operate with respect to the South Caucasus, and establishes the basis for understanding how both actors respond to one another in their respective attempts to exert their dominance in the region. The argument is made that despite protracted efforts by the EU to establish its influence over the South Caucasus more generally, Russia's geostrategic posture is better suited to secure a true and concrete zone of influence within the region.

**Key words:** European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), external governance, foreign policy, geopolitics, regional hegemony



#### Turkish and Tatar identity in Dobrudja region, Romania Adriana Cupcea, Ph.D. (Researcher, West University of Timișoara - adriana.tamasan@gmail.com)

The present study is a primary effort to identify and descript the identitary dynamics of the two most ancient ethnic communities of Romania, the Turks and Tatars. As a context framing, the paper shows the historic and demographic evolution of the Turks and Tatars all throughout the 20th century. Chronologically, the emphasis falls upon the communist period, to better envisage the way in which political, economic and social changes in the era were reflected in the ethnic and religious structures of the Turks and Tatars in Dobrogea and consequently to extend on identitary evolutions after 1990. By adding the archive research to journalistic text analysis and field research (interviews, participative observation) the study traces the memory patterns of the communist period, the types of relations and attitudes created in relation to the regime, together with the evolution of self-image and image of the other (Turk-Tatar), generated by the main identitary landmarks: ethnicity, religion, origins, mother tongue and traditions, inside the socialist society as well as after the fall of the communism.

Key words: Turks, Tatars, identity, Dobrudja



#### The tendency of crimes committed with tools in Hungary

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Crimes committed with several types of tools are some of the most frequent crimes committed in Hungary as the number of robberies, breaches of domicile and other types of crime committed by armed offenders has been growing rapidly in recent years. This is further exacerbated by the fact that public security has greatly deteriorated and, as a consequence, armed self-defence has become a common practice. In other words, more and more people commit crimes using several types of tools such as knives. A major problem in this connection, however, is the fact that society seems to be unaware of this tendency and it seems to be unclear even for lawyers what the exact meaning of this special institution is.

In my presentation, therefore, my aim is threefold: First of all, to introduce briefly the history of the definition of crimes committed with tools; Secondly, to give an overview of these definitions and of the above mentioned crimes; and thirdly, to analyse and interpret them in the light of the latest legislation.

I am fully convinced that the present understanding of the definitions of armed crimes as well as their regulation is not fully satisfying. Judicial custom and the relevant statistics should be examined in order to see the tendency of these crimes starting from the earliest regulations to the latest ones (e.g. the new Criminal Codex). By relying on statistical data, I intend to represent the frequency, motivation and punishment of armed crimes in a systematically drawn chart. On the basis of this chart, I will point out the exact reasons why offenders use guns or explosives of the replicas of these, when committing crimes which seem to be very important by regarding the security issues in the European Union.

In the concluding part of this presentation, I will demonstrate the development of armed crimes as a special institution of criminal law and while emphasizing the changes in the regulations. I truly believe that pointing out major anomalies in the regulations will serve as great help to criminal lawyers and criminologists in their effort to make regulations that can eventually lead to the decrease of armed crimes.



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