Leaders, Borders and Changes
Introduction

Cristina DOGOT, TöKÉS Tibor, Philippe PERCHOC

The problem of the leadership, or more precisely of the political leadership, is one which began to be more and more present in the public space, especially given to the researchers from the humanistic fields. Historians, sociologists, political analysts or economists are trying to explain the different socio-political situations where the political leaders have a major influence, visible or not, more or less explicit, more or less important. This interest is entirely understandable in an era when political leaders are closer to society than ever, although not because the political leaders would be physically closer to people, but especially because media makes them to seem so. More than ever, the decision-makers, the political leaders could be observed in real time, when they are working, meeting their colleagues or friends, when they are walking or even marrying. This deep interrelation of two parts which are virtually present accentuated both the common and the specialized interest for the political leaders, although this interest is far away to be a characteristic of the highly technologised era. This preoccupation for the leaders, for the head of a society existed forever: what else was the interest of Machiavelli for the prince? But the novelty results from the magnitude of this interest, which is likely to be satisfied by technology. Howewer, despite the interest in the topic, the authors in this issue of Eurolimes have not proposed such an approach.

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Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Romania's Eastern Neighbourhood

Florin ABRAHAM

Abstract. *The study analyses the issue of Romania's eastern neighbourhood in the period between 1945 and 1965 from the perspective of Gheorghiu-Dej's power interests. The research follows three main directions: the way in which neighbourhood is conceived from the perspective of the communist ideology; the geopolitical consequences of the neighbourhood relation between Romania and the USSR; aspects of the diplomatic relations. From a methodological point of view the research brings into discussion elements of psycho-history. The main conclusion of the research is that Gheorghiu-Dej manifested a total obedience, often excessive, towards the Soviet Union until the moment when he removed all his opponents from the communist party and Soviet troops were withdrawn from Romania (1958). The Soviet Union's wish to increase its control and integration degree over the communist bloc economies determined the emergence of divergences between Bucharest and Moscow. That is the context of diplomatic disputes and the Romanian communist leadership establishes its position within the so-called "April 1964 Declaration". Gheorghiu-Dej was an adept of realpolitik, of prudence, in order to avoid any situation that could endanger his political position.*

Keywords. *Romania, Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Bessarabia, communism, Cold War, foreign relations, political leaders, COMECOM, Warsaw Treaty*

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From Consensus to Mutual Distrust and Back: The Shifting Boundaries of Free Europe in the Twentieth Century

Valentina Gîdea and *Lucian Bogdan*

Abstract: *In this paper, we analyze the concept of a "Free Europe" as it has evolved throughout the 20th century, with its ups and downs – ranging from the first realistic plans for devising a continental edifice, continuing through the bleakest moments of Europe's history, when liberty was under siege and had all but receded from the Easternmost part of the continent.*

We begin with the ideas of Aristide Briand, the first major political figure to advance a concrete concept of federal European integration. Although his initial approach only addressed economic principles, Briand's design increasingly incorporated political considerations as well. The economic and political woes of the period, however, caused its eventual failure.

Finally, we focus on the onslaught on liberty in postwar Eastern Europe, highlighting the ways in which the events there were perceived by American diplomats who constantly warned of the security risks to Western Europe and the U.S., once Eastern Europe succumbed entirely to totalitarian rule. American diplomats also offered recommendations for what should be done once communism was rolled back, as we have lately seen.

Keywords: *European construction, federalism, liberty, anti-communism, integration, democracy, diplomacy, projects, security, peace.*

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The Jews of Romania and their immigration to Israel. 1948-1953.

Anca OLTEAN

Abstract*: The Jews of Romania had to bear difficult times within the communist Romania. The Romanian communist state tried to assimilate the minorities and to erase all differences. Emigration was possible after the Second World War, but the Jews who immigrated to Israel lost their jobs when they decided to leave Romania, together with their properties. The diplomatic relations between Romania and Israel were influenced by the emigration problem of the Romanian Jews. The persecutions of Zionist leaders in Romania together with the periods when emigration was prevented constituted moments of tension in the Romanian – Israeli relations. Often, the Israeli diplomats reminded their Romanian counterpart that the process of emigration had to continue. The process of emigration of Romanian Jews depended closely on the development of Romanian – Israeli economic relations. Almost all Romanian Jews emigrated from Romania during the communist years.*

Keywords*: Jews, Romania, emigration, immigration, communism, Israel, economic relations, Zionism, diplomacy, Embassy, postwar*

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Tito, Yugoslavia, and the „Third Way": Understanding Physical and Symbolic Borders

Ljiljana MANIC, Nada TORLAK, Natasa SIMEUNOVIC BAJIC

Abstract: *Viewed with an understanding of Josip Broz Tito's personality and leadership, Yugoslavia's position during the Cold War is not difficult to comprehend, The political separation from Stalin in 1948, determined a course for Yugoslav development that was different from that of other socialist countries. This separation also caused Yugoslavia to seek allies outside of Europe. That is how the Non-Aligned Movement was founded, as a unity of nations designed to ease the tension between the Eastern and the Western blocs. Tito's image as a liberator, statesman and a party leader was the reason the Yugoslav people saw him as the stalwart of the Republic. It is also what led him to be named president for life in 1974. The best Yugoslavian factories, schools, military facilities and main streets of all the cities, were named after him. Even now, thirty years after his death, Josip Broz Tito's personality and leadership are still often discussed. Many of his followers continue to glorify his successes, but there are also a growing number of young people who are infected by "titostalgia". They gather on various Internet web-sites or in lines waiting to get in the Museum of Yugoslav History (formerly called "Museum 25 May", after his birth date). This paper will explore Yugoslavia's political, economic, and cultural position during the Cold War. The relationship between youth, born after Tito's death, and his personality will be specifically explained.*

Key words: *Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia, Balkans, Cold War, Non-Aligned Movement*

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Modernisation envers secularisme ? La transformation de la Turquie ante portas

Radu Carp

Abstract: *Turkey adopted from its very beginning an original project of modernity seen an alternative both to Westernization and Islam. It seems that this "third way" does not help enough in order to achieve the democratic standards of a European country. This paper analyses not all Turkey modernity aspects, but only secularism, mainly because this was considered for a long time the most successful one. Turkish secularism is based not on a separation between State and Church, but on putting all religious practices and institutions under the control of the State. In order to see what is right now the meaning of secularism in Turkey, this paper address the historical background of political parties in Turkey, starting with Refah Party and ending with the latest developments of AK Party of the current Prime Minister Erdoğan. This party tries a unique experiment in Turkey, willing to adapt traditional Islam values to modernization and giving a new meaning to secularism. This paper discuss many issues related to the role of religion in society, either Islam ("the muslim veil" interpreted by ECHR in Leyla Şahin v. Turkey – 2005, the Alevi community, Imam Hatip schools), or Christian (the new 2008 legal framework on associations acknowledging the right of property of the religious associations, mainly Christian, the ECHR decision on Ecumenical Patriarchate v. Turkey – 2008, the status of the Theological School of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from the island of Halki). The question of Turkey belonging to the European Union is addressed in this paper also from the perspective of different types of Europe borders – geographical, institutional, cultural and transactional (formal). No matter the type of border considered, Turkey is still a problematic case. His European aspirations accelerated the debate on what is and what should be the European Union: a construction based on Western civilization and Christianity or a polity based on democratic values without reference to history or even geography. The paper conclusion is that is in the very interest of the European Union to accept Turkey and it has to act in such a way that at a certain moment Turkey will transform itself into a country with a similar approach to religious freedom as all other existing Member States.*

Keywords: *borders, European Union, modernity, religious freedom, secularism, Turkey*

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Within a "ring of secure third countries":
Regional and local effects of the extraterritorial engagement of the European Union in Belarus, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova

Helga ZICHNER
Bettina BRUNS

Abstract: *The EU acts more and more extraterritorially, claiming to promote prosperity, stability and security not only within the EU but within its direct neighbourhood as well. We argue that the production of internal security (with the EU) and the production of secure milieus outside its own territory (within third countries) are closely interconnected and pursued in heterogeneous policy fields e.g. migration policy, education policy and the policy of welfare promotion. In much of the contemporary research, the extraterritorial engagement is treated as a question of the inner-EU dynamics. In a complementary and as we think fresh approach, we want to research the effects the extraterritorial measures of the EU unfold in the concerned third countries. As a preparatory step to future field work in third countries we take a look a central EU documents in order to find out about the connection between internal and external security in the mentioned policy fields.*

Keywords: *EU, third countries, security, securitization, extraterritorial engagement, migration.*

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Europe's Gordian Knot. Germany.

Andreea Crina HOREA

Abstract: *The present paper proposes an analysis of the European enlargement process, from the point of view of one of its major actors, a founding member state, Germany, and its involvement in shaping the policies of the European Communities, regarding economy, security, unique market and Eastern enlargement. Germany represents a special case, a state with an outstanding character and a surprising historical evolution, worth being studied. The following pages shall reveal the binomial Germany – Europe in its evolution post reunification period, stressing the farther involvements of the German unity, the attitude of its neighbors, determined by interests and the geographic position, a mixture of sympathy, neutrality or hostility towards the German state.*

Keywords: *European integration, borders, enlargement, key member, partnership*

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Quelles frontières pour le Trentin-Haut Adige/Südtirol ?

Licia BAGINI

Abstract: *Federalism is highly developed in Italy and the High-Adige/South Tyrol region provides an example of wide independence provided for by devolution. This independence was obtained through a long process of negotiation which took place between the Italian government, local independence parties and the Austrian government, from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the 21st century.*

The High-Adige/South Tyrol thus provides an interesting illustration of the links between "territory and identity" among various linguistic communities, the largest of which are the German speaking and Ladino populations.

How then does the notion of borders apply to the High-Adige/ South Tyrol? Are these borders internal or external; geographical, cultural or economic? In this context should we then leave aside the notion of the borders of the Nation State and approach the High-Adige/South Tyrol rather from a "Euroregions" perspective?

Keywords : *identity, independence, bilingualism, cross-border cooperation, Euroregions.*

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Le Conseil de l'Europe en 2010 : une vieille institution pour un projet moderne ? Éléments de réflexion et d'historiographie

Denis ROLLAND

Abstract: *The Council of Europe, the first European common institution, although it failed in its first goal, to unify the continent after the experience of the Second World War, is again one of more active institution in Europe. Its history was not a simply one, and the dabates on its role arising frequently, and although its decisions are used in different field of the European and international life, the Council of Europe is less studied as one of the firstEuropean institutions.*

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Council of Europe is neglected both by political actor and by researchers of the European and international space, and despite its low visibility, the Council of Europe is the institution which, although it is not part of the communitarian angrenage, could play the role of a European political institution.

Keywords: *Council of Europe, political union, european institution, european integration, democracy*

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An emerging border of an emerging state? The case of the IEBL and the Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Péter REMÉNYI

Abstract. *In this article, we examine geopolitical changes in the Balkan region that led to the emergence and evolution of Republika Srpska (RS), which now operates as a semi-autonomous state. During the Bosnian war, the corridors linking the historical Serb-inhabited areas, where the target of ethnic cleansing that fundamentally changed the area's ethnic composition. In the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA), those very corridors became the boundaries of the newly recognized Republika Srpska. Throughout postwar Bosnia, ethnicity affects nearly all aspects of daily life. Serbs are highly disadvantaged and Bosniaks are moving toward a majority. In the 15 years since DPA, Republika Srpska has sought to administratively control these ethnic divisions by enforcing DPA and Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) provisions and obstructing attempt to reduce decentralization. The IEBL, an informal border separating two ethnic communities, is one of the most contested divisions in the Western Balkans. Because of its roots in ethnic cleansing, the boundary line is a symbol of violent secessionism. In recent years, the IEBL has obstructed ethnic "re-mixing" as local RS authorities try to prevent internally displaced persons (IDPs) from relocating there.*

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Slobodan Milosevic and the violent transformation of borders in former Yugoslavia

Monica OPROIU

Abstract: *The dissolution of former Yugoslavia was seen "not just as a misfortune for the Balkans, but as a disaster for Europe as a whole" because it triggered a fierce bloodshed just as the old continent was trying to adapt to the new realities of post-Cold War politics. The label of "ethnic wars" was soon attached to the violence occurring in several former entities of Yugoslavia, raising speculations about the reigniting of ancestral hatreds and the powerful return of nationalism in Europe. Slobodan Milosevic's firm grip of power in Serbia coincided with the transformation of borders in the former Yugoslavia by means of war and this paper is aimed at assessing his role in the process and the quality of his leadership. From the 1987 speech in Kosovo which gave him the aura of a charismatic leader to the subsequent label of "the Beast of the Balkans", Milosevic led the Serbs on a path of violence and ethnic strife, capitalizing on their uncertainties and fears in order to gain and maintain power. By selectively drawing on history in order to portray conflict within Yugoslavia as inevitable and by breaking the taboo of ethnic nationalism, Milosevic attempted to transform borders as to accommodate a "Greater Serbia", a political agenda which attested a toxic component of his leadership and opened Pandora's box for the future sufferings of the peoples in the region.*

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Borders, boundaries, ceasefire lines and *de facto* borders: The impact of mobility policies

Giulia PRELZ OLTRAMONTI

Abstract: *This paper is concerned with the de facto borders of, and within, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and their evolution between the onset of the ceasefire agreements (1992 in the case of South Ossetia, 1994 in the case of Abkhazia) and the resumption of conflict in August 2008. After reviewing the nature of boundaries, borders and ceasefire lines, it examines the complex dynamism of the de facto borders. It then argues that 'mobility policies' are one of the main mechanisms various actors have used to harden or soften the de facto borders. Mobility policies include formal and informal policies aimed at allowing or limiting the movement of people and goods across dividing lines. Through the prism of mobility, this paper analyses how various actors have influenced the dividing lines. These actors include the regional powers, namely Georgia and the Russian Federation, local stakeholders, including de facto authorities and borderlands' populations and entrepreneurs, and external actors.*

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The Role of the "DebOra" Cross-Border Eurometropolis in the
Hungarian-Romanian CBC Relations
A Case Study of Shopping Tourism in Debrecen and Oradea

Mihály T*ÖMÖRI*

Abstract: *The role of borders among the member states of the European Union, including Hungary and Romania, has considerably changed in recent years. Euroregional institutions, such as euroregions and eurometropolises, have successfully transformed dividing borders into connective borders. Cross-border cooperation has become one of the major goals of neighbouring borderlands. One of the most important cross-border activities, shopping tourism, can serve as a significant driving force behind the cooperation of regions or cities. Using an empirical case study approach, this paper introduces the significance of cross-border shopping tourism in creating the eurometropolis of two neighbouring cities, Debrecen and Oradea, along the Hungarian-Romanian border. The paper concludes that the majority of foreign customers in Debrecen and Oradea come from neighbouring areas, so the cooperation of the two cities should be deepened further, in order to better exploit the mutual benefits.*

Keywords: *shopping tourism, retail, Debrecen, Oradea, eurometropolis, cross-border cooperation*

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Regionalism in a Europe without Borders.
Some Approaches on Bihor County

Adriana POPESCU, Ludovic NICA

Abstract: *Regionalism nowadays is definitely in focus. Establishments of various regional organizations are seen in almost every part of the world. Therefore, this paper aims at focusing on regionalism developed especially at European level. Considering this, one of the purposes is to outline the main characteristics of regionalism, its capacities of tackling with regional issues and its implications when is brought to stand face to face with regionalization. In order to understand better the features of regionalism network we resorted to its approaches on the Bihor County. Different raising questions – To which degree can we talk about regionalism in this case? What type of regionalism? How it is developing and what are its outcomes? – are undoubtedly challenging and deserve a special attention. The appealing to the case of Bihor County accounts on the region's peculiarity as a "micro-Europe", greatly allowing us to point out regionalism's implications from political, economic, social and cultural point of views. Additionally, since the 'new' regionalism is foreshadowing we endeavor to notice if there takes place a nascent of this in a relatively malleable region.*

Keywords: *European region, regionalism, regionalization, 'new' regionalism, regional identity, subsidiarity, Bihor consciousness, Bihor "micro-Europe"*