VII. BOOK REVIEWS

Romanian Journal of European European Affairs, vol. 10, No.1, March 2010, European Institute of Romania, 98 p.; *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, vol. 10, No.2, June 2010, European Institute of Romania, 108 p., ISSN 1582-8271.

Volume 10, No. 1, 2010 of the *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* published under the auspices of European Institute of Romania contains articles signed by Annette Freyberg-Inan, Octavian Manea and Iulia Serafimescu, Daniela Irrera, Clara Darabont, Agnes Nicolescu, Neculai – Cristian Şurubaru.

In the article of Annette Freyberg –Inan, *Equity as the missing link: the values of the European Union, the author* talks about the concept of liberalism in economy and makes its critics. The author militates for an equitable distribution of the wealth of European society. Although, the author considers that the welfare of the society is better preserved in social-democratic



governance, she considers that both systems should focus on equity. The author makes a critic of the European integration that "has suffered from a normative imbalance in favor of aggregate prosperity and external competitiveness and in disfavor of internal solidarity and democracy".

Octavian Manea and Iulia Serafimescu, the article *Disquietude on the Eastern Flank: Awaiting Alliance Response* look at some of the alarm signals coming from the countries of NATO's Eastern Flank, "trying to explain the feeling of insecurity perceived by the states in the region as well as the options available to the Euro-Atlantic community in order to engage in a much – needed process of strategic reassurance". The author consider that making concession to Russia will cause more insecurity in the Eastern flank. The Eastern flank should be consolidated and thus a positive attitude towards Russia is desirable. The alliance should not be asymetric, the security should be offered to equal extent to everybody, says the author.

In the article *EU and civil society: the case of NGOs in peace missions and humanitarian intervention*, Daniela Irrera talks about the role of NGOs in European politics. European Union constitutes itself as an arena characterized by different levels of government and different actors. The author talks about the civil society actors who choose to rely on the mediation of national policy. In the field of security interventions, the role of NGOs is increasing. NGOs started to support the missions of ONU in 1990.

Clara Darabont in the article *Are contemporary wars "new"?* considers that "the change in state's powers and attributions is central to the change in warfare". The politics of states involved in war started to change and warfare are also influenced of globalization. It is important for Romania to start thinking globally.

Agnes Nicolescu writes the article *Changes in Romania's foreign policy from the perspective of NATO and EU membership.* The author identifies the Romanian political goals after the entrance in NATO and European Union. The entrance in EU means for Romania to adjust to European security policy. Romania should give attention to Black Sea region as means to bring closer Central and Eastern Europe and to continue the dialogue with Russia and Turkey "in order to contribute to maximizing the cooperation instruments offered by Black Sea Strategy". The author considers that European politics

has to build more consistent relations with Russia and with other European countries and Romania should set its objectives in foreign policy according to EU politics.

Neculai-Cristian Şurubaru in the article *Between hammers and anvils. The* socialization of European Permanent Representatives: Romania and Bulgaria – A comparative case study asserts that permanent representation of Romania and Bulgaria implement the European politics into the national sphere. The author consider that "Specific for the Bulgarian representatives is their slow pace in acquiring the formal and informal procedures of the committee, while the Romanian diplomats have a different relation with their Ministry of Foreign Affairs". In both countries national politics is on the base of their politics.

Volume 10 No.2, June 2010 edited by European Institute of Romania contains articles signed by Clive H. Church and David Phinnemore, Irina Maria Găman, Scott Nicholas Romaniuk, Adriana Berbec, Mircea Micu, Victor Negrescu and Ionuț Constantin Trăistaru.

Clive H. Church and David Phinnemore in the article *Understanding the treaty of Lisbon* say that ,,The article assesses the status, structure and style of the treaty and its contents, highlighting its provisions on values and rights, powers and policies, institutional changes, democratization and enhanced external activity". According to the author the European Union will be ,,a body based on history, principles, values, treaties and the specific powers and functions conferred on it by the member states".

The author Irina Maria Găman, in the article *La libéralisation des marchée de l'électricité et du gaz naturel au niveau européen – Enjeux et défis actuels* considers that liberalizing the markets of electricity and of gase is a challenge for majority of the states members of the European Union. The author underlines the necessity of having an internal energetical market of the European Union.

In the article *Not so wide, Europe: Reconsidering the normative power of the EU in European Foreign Policy*, Scott Nicholas Romaniuk, analizes the concept of ,,normative power Europe", by focusing on the efficacity of European Neighbourhood Policy in the case of Belarus and Ukraine.

In the article of Adriana Berbec, *Reassesing European Union Limits: What role for the new Regional Partnerships*, the author considers that EU will continue to extend in other countries which are European, but which do not fulfill Copenhagen criteria. Proximmity policy, considers the author, is the way of cooperating with the neighbours without offering them, for the moment, the possibility to adhere to European Community.

Mircea Micu in the article *Romanian Security in an evolving European context* states as a conclusion that "It is clear that Romania's territorial defence concern is satisfactorily addressed within a NATO/US framework only. Nevertheless, Romania's expectations regarding a more spirited EU involvement in its Eastern/ Black Sea neighborhood are not necessarily linked to EU's physical potential, but rely mostly on the political will needed to generate a coherent, unified EU stance towards this particular geographical area".

In the article of Victor Negrescu, *L'opérationnalisation en Roumanie de l'acquis communautaire dans le domaine de la cooperation pour le développement* considers that the European integration of Romania meant the adoption of the aims of European Union in the field of cooperation and national attributions. It is important for the Romanian state to assert a national strategy and to adopt European mechanisms in this field.

The two volumes of *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* are worth reading as they approach different topics of European Politics. The elaborated approaches of the authors make the reader aware of the necessity of adopting new solutions for our country in its relations with

NATO and European Union. In the same time, the volumes identify the future directions of evolution of the European Union.

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Eurolimes, vol. 11, Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders, The Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies "Jean Monnet" Centre of Excellence, Spring 2011 Edition, 232 p., Oradea University Press, ISSN: 1841-9259

This latest issue of Eurolimes is titled "Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders" and brings together the works presented at the conference with the same name, held between 31 March and 2 April 2011. The issue of political leadership has been increasingly present in the public space. Researchers within the field of Humanities have been trying to give frameworks for various socio-political situations when political leaders prove to be influential and/or are known to have had a decisive role in settling certain situations. If it were not for the mass-media, the political leader would remain only a notion with which people would not be so familiar. Nowadays political leadership is intertwined with prime-time television, with high-rate newspaper



journalism, and with whatever else our highly technologized era supposes. Political leadership is not a new field of study; it has been as old as Plato and Aristotle, as Hobbes and Locke, as Machiavelli and authoritarian regimes. The issue of political leadership was approached now from a diachronic vantage point, with some synchronic angles, the articles spanning in the direction of a systematic collection of life history data that can help generate an important evidence base from which to evaluate political policy and practice over the long term. The decision-making ability is seen in contrast to the capacity to lead and to make spot-on decisions and therefore, it all comes down to who the person within the political leader really is.

The two main issues addressed by the articles are of the utmost importance to the contemporary society: political leadership and European frontiers. The period covered by the articles are centred around the Cold War, i.e. before and after the Cold War, with an eye on the variable that the process of the European construction was and with a particular focus on the shifting of borders and frontiers.

The Journal is constructed around three central themes. In the first section, Florin ABRAHAM (Bucharest); Valentina GÎDEA and Lucian Bogdan (Cluj-Napoca); Anca OLTEAN (Oradea); and Ljiljana Manic, Nada Torlak and Natasa Simeunovic Bajic (Belgrade) examine the "Political leadership and the borders of Europe during the Cold War". Florin Abraham, in his article titled "Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Romania's Eastern Neighbourhood", 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; and aspects of the diplomatic

relations. Gheorghiu-Dej was an adept of *realpolitik*, of prudence, in order to avoid any situation that could endanger his political position.

"American diplomats [...] constantly warned of the security risks to Western Europe and the U.S., once Eastern Europe succumbed entirely to totalitarian rule" reads Valentina Gîdea and Lucian Bogdan's article, "From Consensus to Mutual Distrust and Back: The Shifting Boundaries of Free Europe in the Twentieth Century". The concept of a "Free Europe" was reviewed 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.

Anca OLTEAN studies the migration phenomenon of the European Jews, with an emphasis on their emigration from Romania and subsequent immigration to Israel. The Romanian communist state tried to assimilate the minorities and to erase all differences. Emigration was allowed after WW II, but the Jews who immigrated to Israel were stripped from their properties and lost their jobs when they announced their decision to leave Romania. 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 were moments of tension in the Romanian – Israeli relations.

"The Balkan region has a tendency to produce more history than it can consume" (Winston Churchill) is the motto with which Ljiljana Manic, Nada Torlak, and Natasa Simeunovic Bajic opened their argument in "Tito, Yugoslavia, and the "Third Way": Understanding Physical and Symbolic Borders". 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. Yugoslavia's political, economic, and cultural position during the Cold War are explained, together with the relation between the youth, born after Tito's death, and his personality that seems to be imprinted on the younger generation.

Section two, titled "United Europe, Europe of the leaders: European borders from 6 to (+)27" houses five studies carried out by Radu Carp (Bucharest), Helga Zichner and Bettina Bruns (Leipzig), Andreea Crina Horea (Cluj-Napoca), Licia Bagini (Poitiers), and Denis Rolland (Strasbourg). Radu Carp, in his paper "Modernisation envers secularisme? La transformation de la Turquie ante portas", looks into the many issues related to the role of religion in society, either Islam or Christianity.

Helga Zichner and Bettina Bruns (Leipzig), "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", 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

Andreea Crina Horea, "Europe's Gordian Knot – Germany", analyses the European enlargement process from Germany's vantage point and its involvement in shaping the policies of the European Communities, regarding economy, security, unique market and Eastern enlargement and also likes and dislikes from Germany's neighbours towards the German state.

Licia Bagini studies the High-Adige/South Tyrol region, providing an interesting illustration of the links between "territory and identity" among various linguistic communities, the largest of which being 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? These are a few questions that Licia Bagini attempted to answer in her work "Quelles Frontières pour le Trentin-Haut Adige/Südtirol?".

Denis Rolland studies the Council of Europe and the political role that this institution could play ("Le Conseil de l'Europe en 2010: une vieille institution pour un projet moderne ? Éléments de réflexion et d'historiographie").

Section three houses five articles with the common theme of "The place of the leaders after the end of the Cold War: the disappearance/appearance of the borders". Péter Reményi studies the case of the IEBL and the Republika Srpska of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Monica Oproiu visits the violent transformation of borders in former Yugoslavia and the case of Slobodan Milosevic; Giulia Prelz Oltramonti studies "Borders, Boundaries, Ceasefire Lines and de facto Borders: The Impact of Mobility Policies", while Mihály Tömöri presents a most interesting "Case Study of Shopping Tourism in Debrecen and Oradea". Adriana Popescu and Ludovic Nica close this section with their study on regionalism in a Europe without borders that addresses issues regarding the County of Bihor.

Section four houses the Focus Study done by Erhard Busek (Wien) on "Moving borders", who addresses the timelessness of frontiers, borders, language and means of communication in the new era of today.

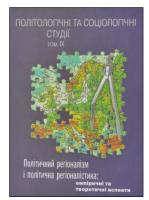
The Journal closes with a section containing book reviews and a few words about the authors who published in this issue of Eurolimes.

All studies span in the direction of political leadership, before and after the Cold War, attempting to take on as many vantage points as possible. The novelty of this issue is its attempt to approach old issues in a new manner. This Journal is useful for the general reader, students of Humanities, or the researcher within European Studies or International Relations.

Daniela BLAGA University of Oradea, Email: msdanielablaga@gmail.com Політологічні та соціологічні студії (Political and Sociological Studies), TOM IX, Political Regionalism and Regional Studies: Empirical and theoretical aspects. ISBN 978-966-399-266-2, p. 575

Published in 2010, the volume is divided into four chapters: from the definition of the regionalism, passing thru the Ukraine regionalism, European Regionalism ending with Global Regionalism. All the articles reflect the opinion of well established researchers from Ukraine.

The first chapter is entitled *Regional Studies: Theoretical, Historical and Political Dimensions.* The articles are written by Miroslava Lendiel, Serhej Adamovych, Ihor Melnychuk, Maksym Iarmystyi, Marian Tokar, Andriy Kruglashov. The articles present different approaches from different point of view of regionalism and the effects of regionalism in Ukraine.



The second chapter Ukraine regional development: looking for efficient *paradigm*, present the development of Ukraine thru the process of regionalization in the contemporary era. The authors are Natalia Rotar, Anatoly Kruglashov, Aliona Hlyvko, Mykola Guitor, Oleksii Kolesnykov, Volodymyr Demidov, Nataliya Nechayeva-Yuriychuk, Roman Martiniuk, Vasyl Buslenko, Vasyl Veren'ko, Olga Brusilovska, Alina Zadorognya, Olena Kutsova, Oksana Dokash, Yuriy Yurijchuk, Oleh Mushekevych and Veronika Kruglashova. Some of the articles have a common base; here I'm referring to the elections from 1999 till 2006 and how the people reacted to the elections. We can se that from the first elections in 1999 till now, people voted first by impression and then continued voting by from a different point of view more democratic, even if the system is recognized as having some problems. The Chernivtsy Oblast is considered, in an article, the future of the Ukraine election system. Reducing dirty technologies in the election campaign may enhance the processes of circulation, recruiting elite and new developing new form of politics. An article presents the regional peculiarities of Ukraine in the elections process and fact that those can be consider a resource, but is to be considered an advantage and not the whole scheme of election in the election plan. The 2002 election opened a new era of political life in Ukraine, because the elections influence the party system development and regional political life. Thanks to the 2004 political reform Ukraine is parliamentary presidential state, and some author ask them self's if this reform was necessary and if it will be effective, because in Ukraine the party system is influenced by the regional context.

The third chapter *Regional Aspects of Political Transformations in Eastern Europe* takes the regional development from Ukraine to the whole Eastern Europe. The authors are: Vira Burdiak, Evhenia Yuriychuk, Okasana Pavliuk, Teofil Rendyuk, Viktor Petrov, Tetiana Fedorchak, Roman Garat, Pavlo Molochko, Ihor Polishchuk, Lyudmyla Prokopets, Roman Kalytchak, Adriy Semenovych, Ihor Moroz, Vadym Pintsak, Anatoliy Lysiuk, Ihor Nedokus, Galyna Osadtsa, Sophia Kirshenblat. The main concern revolves around the development of post-soviet countries in the context of current regionalization. Articles reflect vectors of Romanian, Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, Belarusian, Greek foreign policy and even those of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Chapter IV, *Regional and global: Interdependence and Dissimilarity*, tackles contemporary international topics such as USA foreign policy in the context of Middle Eastern conflicts, immigration, and multiethnic development. The last articles of this chapter take a turn looking into geopolitical factors that concern the Danube as a shipping route and the Black Sea as an important security reagion, The authors: Oleksiy Kandyuk, Anatoliy Khudoliy, Taras Lupul, Oksana Yarosh, Iryna Petrova, Maksym Petrov, Vasyl Zemlyuk, Nataliya Strelchuk, Nataliya Rotar bring their own unique perspectives upon pressing issues such as those mentioned before.

As a personal note on the subject of the volume, the articles enlisted here are a solid building block for anyone that wishes to undertake a study of Ukraine and it's political system from a regional point of view. The book goes beyond that, bordering the regional policy to that of globalization. By extension such topics as regional security and development are present in the book, but also influences from neighboring countries and global powers.

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Studia Universitates Babeş-Bolyai, Studia Europaea, Volume 55 (2010) No. 1

Since 1996, the academic journal **Studia Europaea**, issued by the Faculty of European Studies, has been representing an open arena for promoting research endeavours. The journal is refereed by international specialists and officially acknowledged by the Romanian National University Research Council (CNCSIS). The publication's area of concern is in falling in line with the multidisciplinary profile of the Faculty of European Studies. Consequently, the studies reflect several areas of scientific research (political science, international relations, law, economics, anthropology, information and communication technology), focusing however, on present-day concerns of European integration.



Recent literature on great powers and/or empires in world history shows not only the conventional aspects of military and economic power. They pay attention to new factors that usually were neglected, like the argument of cultural cohesion, cross-border migration, innovation and systems of governance. Many studies include the history of non-European powers and try to present an analytical view of global development through many centuries.

More than fifteen years after engaging in the endeavors of giving a political and security muscle to the already powerful economic European Union, there is still a good deal of work to be done. Most of the institutions necessary for carrying out the security and defense tasks are already at work and still the European Union is rather shy in undertaking such responsibilities. Will the Treaty of Lisbon be able to strengthen the authority of European Union in a very sensitive and highly important area for its respectability as an effective actor on the world stage?

The approach of the European Union external border has been made through an analysis of the concepts of external border from the point of view of official documents and the concepts introduced by authors and specialists in the field and through an attempt to seize certain types of symbolic and ideological borders. Beyond physical border - irrespective of the conceptual approach from whose perspective it is analyzed whether within European Union border – there can be identified other types of "borders". We consider these borders symbolic and ideological, as they are not palpable more often than not. From Europeanism to nationalism, from ethno-religious identities to social chasm, this wide range of approaches on symbolic and ideological borders may continue in the context of new fight against terrorism or of the implementation of an efficient European neighborhood policy.

Ernesto de Martino recognized nowadays as the father of Italian modern anthropology has dreamt a dream, which was to become true after his departure from the living. He has dreamt a dream of a culturally and geographical united Europe in which the cultural South would be appreciated for its intrinsic folks gems.

The common idea is that culture does play a role in the European integration only (at least) when article 128 (now 151) is included into the Treaty with the Maastricht Treaty. A while ago, actions of cultural field on the basis of intergovernmental agreements were given. But the relations between the European integration project and culture are impressively more relevant. On the other hand, a Common Market, as established in the founding treaties is based on a culture and at the same time improving a culture. A political project like the European Communities realized via an economic instrument has inevitably cultural consequences.

The post-communist Romania will confront many changes, both in ideological as in functional fields. If ideological changes were shown as normal by a very large part of the population, the organizational changes would be often more difficult to realize. It is the case of adopting and application of the subsidiary, although the modifications turn out to be more and more visible, and the process of the European integration should be considered as a catalyst of the administrative structures evolution in the direction of decentralization and a stimulus for the people to assume more civic responsibility.

The local development strategy represents a participative tool that involves the entire community and whose goal is to provide the economical development. In most of the cases, local development strategy is a long-term step, being a future community projection. This vision of the community, related with its future development must be shared with all relevant actors at a local level and transposed in a set of specific objectives and a clear action plan.

The strategy of local development involves sometimes implementation of an information system. There are some real benefits of a real implementation of an information system in a state institution of higher education. Information systems have to be developed and integrated architecture framework that is designed to incorporate the dedicated information systems for educational, administrative, research management software systems and an e-learning platform. The interdisciplinary perspective specific to European studies sustains a proficient organizational solution, which combines efficient IT strategies with organizational management perspectives.

Senior as well as junior academics from Europe and from the United States have found in Studia Europaea a way of expressing their preoccupations by publishing academic articles that have focused on the European experience and perspectives in various fields of social science. **In my opinion** Studea Europaea is one of the few Romanian publications committed to European studies; therefore it plays a significant role within the Romanian scientific community.

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Ioan HORGA, Iordan Gh. BARBULESCU, Adrian IVAN, Mykolia PALINCHAK, Istvan SULI-ZAKAR, Regional and Cohesion Policy – Insights into the role of the Partnership Principle in the New Policy Design, 2011, 311 p., Debrecen University Press and Oradea University Press, ISBN: 978-606-10-0449-2

Regional development is the main challenge for all states within Central and Eastern Europe following their accession to the European Union. Territorial cooperation is an efficient means for the balanced integration of the EU territories aiming to modernize the regions that lack economic and social development. "With the major goal of promoting economic, social and territorial cohesion, the EU's economic development policy supports the efforts by each Member State of mitigating the interregional disparities through transfer of financial resources to the backward regions." (Foreword) Multi-level governance supposes the regional and the local authorities working together to design and implement programs for cohesion



and development. The initiative of the Committee of the Regions (CoR) to start a "large debate forum" about the "involvement of the sub-national authorities" was welcomed by all stakeholders, from local and regional levels to the business community, civil society and academic field.

The Institute for Euroregional Studies (IERS), "Jean Monnet" European Centre of Excellence of the Universities of Oradea and Debrecen has engaged in the debate. In December 2009 IERS was the only Romanian institution and one of the very few within Central and Eastern Europe that expressed a point of view on the White Paper of MLG of the CoR. IERS took the extra step in organizing, as part of the second stage of the debate, a conference titled "Regional Development and Territorial Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe in the context of the White Paper of Multilevel Governance of the Committee of Regions (20-21 May 2010)". IERS enjoyed the support of "Altiero Spinelli" Centre for the Study of European Governance of Babes Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, of the Academic Club for European Studies of the National School for Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest, of "Alcide de Gasperi" Centre for European Studies of the Western University in Timisoara, and of the National University of Ushorod.

This book brings together all works presented at the conference and is centred on two major themes: *Regional Development: Performances and Perspectives*, and *Territorial Cooperation and CoR White Paper on Multilevel Governance*.

The first theme, *Regional Development: Performances and Perspectives*, contains studies addressing the role of the nation in communitarian-related debates, as well as in the process of regionalization, aiming to clarify such divergences as the dichotomy

between solidarity and individualism in the modern society (Nicolae Paun). Papers signed by authors such as Ilosvai; Castro-Conde; Bargaoanu and Dascalu; Unita; Mezo, Barta and Kozma; Iov; Penzes; Kincso; Molnar; Nistor and Sipos; Nemeti, address issues ranging from state-of-the-art ICT, the potential for enhancing democratic credential of the EU post-Lisbon Treaty, insights into the role of the Partnership Principle, or a possible east-European model of regionalization, to the changes in the system of deconcentrated public administration in Hungary, or the administrative reform and regional development in the context of Croatia's EU accession, or even the potential for transnational cluster development in EU macro-regions.

The second theme, *Territorial Cooperation and CoR White Paper on Multilevel Governance*, contains studies centred on the issue of the new spatial dimension of the European Union and brings together authors like Suli-Zakar and Tomori; Horga and Gyula; Silasi and Magagnotti; Serzhanova; Pop; Buangi Conde; Soproni; Chirodea; Huszthy; Balogh; Gal and Brie; Szabo; Popoviciu; Stoica; and Nemes. The subjects span from MLG, governmental centralization, immediate self-governing, cross-border organization, subsidiarity principle and White Paper on MLG, data protection supervision, ENPI CBC Programmes, to teaching cross-border language as a tool, or the European media conglomerates on the communication market, along with standard of product and advertising, the role of regional networks in MLG, the frontier workers and the cross-border cooperation, or the role of e-participation in the process of territorial planning.

This book incorporates and at the same time addresses renowned specialists within the field of Euroregional studies, scholars, young researchers, doctoral students and experts from public and private institutions, with interests in reflecting the new spatial framework in the full modelling process within Central and Eastern Europe, in view of the current double effect: globalization and Europeanization.

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