

## **Introduction: Security: a Trigger or Result of Frontiers Modification?**

**Dorin I. DOLGHI<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract:** *During the history, Europe has demonstrated its potential to conduct wars and violent disputes among different types of political structures. It was the tragedy of the Second World War that made the European leaders to assume that the state/national approach of power relations in Europe cannot make the Old Continent safer from itself. All conflicts, without exception, had negative impact upon the participants, disregarding the winners/losers parity. The most common cause of conflicts was related to borders and frontiers, as well as power and influence relations. It is the exception of the integration process that can be used as a counterargument for the entire European history in order to understand the falsity of self-interest in a crowded multicultural space as Europe. Once considered an idealistic vision, the integration project demonstrated its capacity to provide peace and security for all the subjects engaged in different forms of integration.*

## **A Security Assessment of the Enlarged European Union**

**Dorin I. DOLGHI<sup>2</sup>**

**Abstract:** *The present paper promotes the argument that the European integration is a security project in the light of the initial purpose assumed by the Western European leaders at the end of the Second World War. In spite of different arguments and critics about the success of the integration, it is clear that the EU is a success in terms of providing security for all actors involved in the process of integration. The normative power of the EU makes it a global security player but the main test was completed with the last waves of integration because the EU managed to engage its members and candidate states within the same goal of sharing security within an enlarged Europe. An important aspect of European security is related to the relationship with the neighbourhood, considering the interdependencies and mutual influences that can shape security on both sides of the borders.*

**Keywords:** *European Union, enlargement, security, borders, neighbourhood*

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# The Security of the Eastern Frontier of the European Union Moldova and Ukraine within the Eastern Partnership

Ana-Maria GHIMIȘ<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract:** *After the “big bang enlargement” on 2004 and 2007, the eastern borders of the European Union have changed drastically and states like Ukraine, Moldova etc. became immediate neighbours of the EU, fact that under the present international interdependences affects the security of all parties involved, be them directly or indirectly (for example the Ukrainian gas crisis or the Georgian war). Because the European Neighbourhood Policy had a too general approach, in 2009 on Poland and Sweden’s proposal, the Eastern Partnership was launched. The program follows the logic of “more for more”, but regardless of their activities the European Union membership still remains an unspoken aspect, fact that making it even harder for Moldova or Ukraine to create and maintain a balance between Russia and the EU. Taking into account the 2012 developments in terms of reforms it remains to be seen if an Association Agreement is a short-term plausible outcome for the two above-mentioned countries.*

**Keywords:** *the European Union, Moldova, Ukraine, the Russian Federation, Eastern Partnership, Association Agreement, Custom Union.*

## The Dilemma of Securitisation of the EU’s Southern Borders: shall we let them in or shall we Keep them out, or the European Way of Dealing with the North African Immigrants

Edina Lilla MÉSZÁROS<sup>4</sup>

**Abstract.** *Nowadays migration, unprecedented in its volume has become a visible challenge, and it’s also a frequently occurring phenomenon in the European Union. The EU must cope with the impact of immigration on social services and also has to strive to find a proper balance between the economic need for fresh work force<sup>5</sup>, the challenge of integrating them into society, and the necessity to halt illegal migration.*

*Our research is composed of three parts; in the first part we will analyse the impact of the Arab Spring on the EU’s southern borders in terms of human mobility. Secondly we will unfold the consequences of the Arab Spring concerning the EU’s border policy towards North Africa, examining the existent cooperation agreements on migration and border control between the EU and North Africa. We will present the migratory waves pushed by the uprisings towards the southern borders of the EU in a causal nexus.*

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<sup>5</sup> Recent projections suggest a natural decrease in the population of the EU between 2010-2050. Assuming zero net immigration, the EU’s population would decrease by 26 million by 2030, and by 50 million by 2050. Barring immigration, by 2050 the working age population (15-64 years old) in the EU is forecast to decrease by 59 million, signifying a major economic challenge.

*Finally we intend to demonstrate the existence of a direct link between these migratory events and the elaboration of the EU's New **Global Approach to Migration and Mobility** also stressing that this over-mediatised human mobility constituted a so called modern **cassus belli** to implement a long-time desired reform to the Schengen acquis.*

**Keywords:** *Arab Spring, illegal migration, Global Approach to Migration and Mobility, Schengen Border Package.*

## **National Security of the Republic of Moldova in the Context of European Integration Process**

**Nicolai AFANAS<sup>6</sup>**

**Abstract:** *To ensure national security in all fields of state activity is one of the imperatives of its existence as a sovereign and independent subject in relation to other states in world politics. The consolidation of the process of regionalisation and globalisation implies not only socio-economic fields, in which states are likely to concede in their national prerogatives in the common interest, but security and defence domains considered as a stronghold of the sovereign state as well. In this context, the Republic of Moldova gets many opportunities, but at the same time runs the risks with its inclusion in the community security scheme. Advantages and disadvantages of this process are to be studied, determining the legislative and structural-functional actions both internally and externally, which are needed to be carried out for plenary inclusion in the complex of European security. The European Union through Community policies assists and supports neighbouring states in strengthening of their own security capabilities, but also calls for transforming the country from a consumer of continental security into an exporter of stability and security in the region.*

*The importance of this study also derives from the fact that the fields of security and defence are minimised in the Moldova-EU dialogue. Political ties and the socio-economic relations between the parties determine interconnectedness and interdependence of national and community security. Mutual interest of ensuring security should be used by the Republic of Moldova through active participation in European programmes and projects intended to strengthen national and, therefore, regional security system. In this context, the European Community is coming up with a proposal to Reform the Security Sector (RSS).*

**Key words:** *integration, national and international security, interdependence, security policies, community policies.*

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# **The Correlation between the Barrier and Contact Functions of the Kaliningrad Section of the Russian Border**

**Gennady FEDOROV<sup>7</sup>, Yuri ROZHKOV-YURYEVSKY<sup>8</sup>**

**Abstract:** *After Lithuania's secession from the USSR and the ensuing disintegration of the Union, the Kaliningrad region, which was a part of the Soviet Union in 1945-1991, became a Russian exclave. Its administrative land border turned out to coincide with the state border of the Russian Federation. The barrier function of the border of the Kaliningrad region started to increase, which became especially pronounced after the accession of Poland and Lithuania first to NATO and then to the European Union. As a result of successful international negotiations, Russian cooperation with Poland and Lithuania, as well as NATO and the EU, the contact function of the Russian-Lithuanian and Russian-Polish borders is gradually increasing. The most indicative examples are the Russian-Lithuanian agreement on the simplified transit document, which is issued instead of a visa for the travel of Russian citizens from the Kaliningrad region to other Russian regions via Lithuania, as well as the Russian-Polish agreement on local border traffic, which has simplified the travel of the residents of the Kaliningrad region to the neighbouring Polish voivodships and that of the residents of the latter to the Kaliningrad region. The development of the Kaliningrad region as a "development corridor" between the Russian Federation and the European Union will contribute to a further decrease in the barrier and an increase in the contact function of the Russian-Polish and Russian-Lithuanian borders.*

**Key words:** *Border, barrier function, contact function, the Kaliningrad region, exclave, development corridor, the Russian Federation, Poland, Lithuania, the European Union.*

## **Security Dilemmas in Post-Cold War Europe: the Shaping Power of Trans-Atlantic Relations and the Baltic Crisis of 1994 in Triggering EU Frontier Shifts**

**Cristina BLANCO SIO-LOPEZ<sup>9</sup>**

**Abstract.** *The open opportunities for change and cohesion in post-Cold War Europe by means of enlargement policy were tempered by the changing interests of the United States – the sole remaining superpower– and Russia – a key player in Central and Eastern Europe–, both holding an immense pressure on the security frontiers of the new Europe. This paper aims to elucidate the interconnections and mutual influences of all*

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actors in the process, highlighting the factors that led to the progressive stabilisation and consolidation of the Eastward enlargement process.

**Keywords:** *Post-Cold War Europe, Eastward enlargement, Baltic States, Trans-Atlantic relations, security.*

## **The Energy Charter Treaty's Failure? The Different Perceptions of Energy Security: within the European Union and beyond its Borders**

**Arthur ROCCO**<sup>10</sup>

**Abstract:** *The European Coal and Steel Community was one solution to warrant the peace among the European Countries considering that the security should be warranted through a common policy over the energetic resources. However, ever since the integration process became deeper and bigger, the energy needs have changed also the energy mix, which the oil and gas became as, or more, important than coal. Another factor to be mentioned is the asymmetry, concerning the energy resources and the infrastructure that have promoted a high interdependence among suppliers, transit and consumer countries. Thus, the facts analysed in this essay provides an overview about the Russia's external policy and how it interfere in the EU energy security. The Energy Charter Treaty was a purpose to increase the energy security in the block nevertheless the fact that Russia's withdrew it is a threat, because not only the inefficient soft power but also the different perceptions, within the EU, of energy dependency from Russia is mining the possibilities to securitize EU interests.*

**Key words:** *Energy security, trans- boundary threats, geopolitics of resources.*

## **Coping with the Challenges of Ukrainian-Romanian Border Security Issues**

**Nataliya NECHAYEVA-YURIYCHUK**<sup>11</sup>

**Abstract.** *This article is dedicated to the main challenges of Ukrainian-Romanian border security issues. The author pays attention to the different aspects of Ukrainian-Romanian relations in the context of border security. Primarily the author analyzes the historical background of Romanian-Ukrainian relations, tries to clarify the main tendencies and painful points in Ukrainian-Romanian relations during the XX century. The last decade of the previous century and the beginning of the XXI century changed the*

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*geopolitical situation in the Europe and of course affected on Ukrainian-Romanian relations including border question. In the article the main challenges in Ukrainian-Romanian border security issues are identified. The author comes to the conclusion that the coping with all these challenges is possible just by joint work and collaboration of both Ukraine and Romania.*

**Keywords:** *border, security, interstate relations, agreement, cooperation.*

## **Undoing States without Redrawing Borders: the Counter-Productive Use of the *uti possidetis* Principle to Secure New European Borders**

**Alexis VAHLAS**<sup>12</sup>

**Abstract:** *It is argued in this paper that the choice made by the vast majority of the international community to promote a systematic and extensive use of the *uti possidetis* principle for defining new international borders of newborn European States has not met the expectations of peace and stability. Starting from the explanation of the initial meaning of the principle in antique Roman law, a first part explores how the principle of *uti possidetis* was reactivated for decolonisation processes in Latin America, Asia and Africa, before being implemented in Europe following the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. A second part is dedicated to the assessment of this import for separations of States whose constituting territory is at stake. The intent is to expose its shortfalls and propose alternative solutions to improve the situations for which the use of *uti possidetis* principle has been counter-productive. One possible option is certainly to promote adjustments of borders under the supervision of the international community.*

**Key words:** *Border, Dismemberment, Frontier, Independence, Indivisibility, Secession, Separation, Separatism, Statehood, Territorial integrity, Unity, Uti possidetis.*

## **Ethnic Processes in the Spatial Structure of the Balkans**<sup>13</sup>

**Gábor CSÜLLÖG**<sup>14</sup>, **Zsuzsa M. CSÁSZÁR**<sup>15</sup>

**Abstract:** *The Balkans as a political region forcefully keeps its historical definiteness. Its specific, European peripheral location, the differences of its geographic formation, the divergent distribution of the population and the migration lines between*

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*them, had effects on the regional formation of the states of the Balkans and on the changing of its ethnic structure of this area. Several ethnic fault lines were evolved based on the spatial identity in the Christian culture and in the three dominant, Slavic, Latin and Greek language areas. By the end of the 18th Century, there was a lot of economical and religious conflict in the region. In the 19th Century ethnic separation and the process of the validation of the spatial law started to begin by the advance of the effort for the autonomic national identity. There was some serious conflict in this area because of the principle of the autonomic state or of the culture or of the geographic space. According to historical studies we cannot “simplify” or permanently unfold these mosaic fragmented, complemented, coherent historical spaces with precise, closed political borders. The migration lines which keep these areas together might be able to consist provisionally without conflicts.*

**Key words:** *the Balkans, the historical spatial structure, the buffer zones, the Islam, the Osman Empire, the ethnics.*

## **Political Personnel, Border Security, the Nation and the European Integration Process: The Consequences of the Political Bordering of the Nation on the EU Decision-Making Process in Matters of Border Security**

**Penelope FRANGAKIS<sup>16</sup>**

**Abstract:** *This paper focuses on the significance of the political bordering of the nation in the EU context and more particularly on political decision-making in matters of border security. The paper examines the role of politicians in the process of bordering the nation within the national and/or the EU framework so as to ensure secure borders. An examination is provided in this paper of the relations between the national and the EU levels, between for example the national parliaments and the European Parliament, relations that are associated with border security political decision-making. The paper examines the initiatives and actions taken at the national and/or EU level, on the part of the political personnel as well as the activities on the part of EU agencies, highlighting especially the efforts made by the European Parliament, the national parliaments, the Presidencies of the Council of the European Union for the effective management of border security. The paper shows the clashes and collaborations between the national and the EU levels including the political debates that take place, the adoption of legislative acts for the establishment of border management systems so as to maintain common standards for border control. The paper also reveals the necessity for coordination among Member States and between the latter and the European Union, so as to produce successful collaborations that will lead to effective border security management within the EU.*

**Keywords:** *borders, security, nation, politics, Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Security and Defence Policy.*

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# Cross-Border Perspectives on Police and Judicial Cooperation in the European Union

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**Abstract:** *The need for a European police and judicial cooperation system has been a major concern for all European countries involved in the integration project. Since the informal establishment of the TREVI Group it was clear that among the positive effects of integration and free movement of people, different security challenges for internal security of the CEE/EU had to be approached within coherent common policies. The Schengen Agreement and the instruments developed within the former Justice and Home Affairs pillar of the EU, as well as the emergence of specialised agencies (EUROPOL, FRONTEX) indicates that internal security of the Union represents one of the main challenges for the future. Our contribution within the conference will emphasize the importance of the transition from an intergovernmental approach of police and judicial cooperation toward to a trans-national and cross-border approach. The variables proposed for the analysis includes EU legal framework, Schengen aquis, and their effect upon the national legislation in the member states, emphasising the importance of the new instruments for cross-border police and judicial cooperation.*

**Keywords:** *European Union, borders, security, cooperation, police, judicial.*

## A Larger and More Secure Europe? Security, Space, Borders and New Neighbours in Historical Perspective

Giuliana LASCHI<sup>19</sup>

**Abstract:** *Within this contribution we developed the argument that the European integration process and the successive enlargements had deep security implications that challenged the traditional Westphalian approach of inter-state relations and also significantly changed the meaning of the borders and frontiers within the enlarged Union. The enlargement process has been a real instrument of redefinition of the European space and led to a clearer definition of EU's security identity in relation with its neighbors. Neighborhood became an important variable in shaping the EU security strategies and also required a distinctive approach based on cooperation rather than isolation. In this perspective, European Union represents a security model that can be shared both within and beyond its borders assuming that security is a precondition of development.*

**Key words:** *European Union, integration, enlargement, security, neighborhood*

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## **Euroregions, a New Framework for Cultural Interaction**

**Cristina-Maria DOGOT**

**Review of:** Perrin, Thomas. *Culture et eurorégions. La coopération culturelle entre régions européennes*. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2013, 196p. ISBN 978-2-8004-15369

## **Dans le creux du rêve européen**

**Mihai MACI**

**Review of:** Vasile Pușcaș, *Spiritul european, azi* [European spirit today]. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon, Colecția Universitas, Seria Istorie Contemporană și Relații Internaționale, 2012, 285 p. ISBN: 973-757-718-4.

## **A More Efficient Cooperation at the Easter Border of EU**

**István POLGAR, Anca OLTEAN**

**Review of:** \*\*\*, *Ways to improve efficiency for transborder cooperation on the new Eastern border of EU. Geopolitics of Ukraine: History and Modern Times*. Uzhgorod, 2012.

## **Ukraine at Crossroads between East and West**

**Ana Maria GHIMIȘ**

**Review of:** *Ukraine and the Visegrad Four: towards mutually beneficial relationship*, edited by Tomas Strazay, Veronika Pulisova. Bratislava, 2010. ISBN 978-80-89356-13-3

## **European Cities: Main Loci of Europeanisation**

**Alina MOGOȘ**

**Review of:** Grazi, Laura (ed.). *Le città e l'Unione europea. La dimensione urbana tra percorsi storici e dinamiche di europeizzazione*. Bologna: il Mulino, 2012, ISBN 978-88-15-24126-9