

## interview \_\_\_\_\_

### Răzvan THEODORESCU

Member of the Board of Directors of the European Institute of Romania



As former Minister of Culture you began or continued a series of cultural projects. Looking back, which were the projects closest to your heart? At the same time, following the development of the cultural policies implemented by the Ministry of Culture, which do you consider to have had the largest impact on the Romanian cultural life?

Of all the projects designed during my term of office, the most important was “Sibiu - European Capital of Culture 2007”. It was an initiative of my Luxembourg counterpart and mine, which we supported at the Council of Ministers from Brussels and we obtained the designation of Sibiu as European Capital of Culture in May 2004. My successors at the head of the Ministry continued this initiative and carried it out. I believe that despite the different political orientations of my successors from 2004 to 2007, a good continuity was achieved.

**How would you characterise the Romanian cultural area after more than twenty years since the revolution of December 1989?**

After 1990, the Romanian cultural area has evolved below its possibilities. As one could have expected the state has lost its initiative and the private community is still much too weak for a high quality sponsorship. The excessive politicization of the Ministry of Culture and of the Romanian Cultural Institute greatly hindered the harmonious development of this area ... **p. 2**

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## publication \_\_\_\_\_

### 2011 spring issue of RJE

In the first RJE issue of 2011 one can read about whether the EU economic governance is at a turning point, or how the deposit guarantee schemes join the financial safety-nets. Moreover, the process of economic integration is approached from a holistic view, whilst the social dimension of the internet diffusion in Romania is analysed taking into account the connection between internet users and frequencies. One of the articles refers to the phenomenon of e-inclusion and its implications for Romania. Other topics tackled by various researchers are the Bologna process, or the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. This issue contains also a book review which presents an anthropological perspective on international ethnic conflicts ... **p. 4**



... From the perspective of the historian interested in the Balkan area and the Byzantine tradition, how do you see Romania's cultural future in the European Union? Can the Balkan and Byzantine traditions continue to play an important role in defining Romania's spiritual values in the future?

Romania had an undisputed leading position in the South-Eastern European area, but it has largely lost it. The only emerging point is the activity of the International Association of South-East European Studies from Bucharest, whose Secretary General I have been for 16 years. Yes, Balkan and Byzantine traditions define us in two ways: together with Greece and Bulgaria we are an Orthodox component of the European Union, bringing new spiritual values to the continental structure. On the other hand, in case of the future accession of Turkey to the European Union, Romania is the Member State with the best relations with Turkey.

The historiography regarding the history of the European construction is a continuously evolving area at the European level. What do you deem to be the condition of this area in Romania bearing in mind the active involvement of the Romanian elites in the European issues between the two World Wars? Do you consider this area to be sufficiently present in the Romanian cultural environment?

**Răzvan Theodorescu** is a cultural historian and art historian, university professor, member of the Romanian Academy, politician and senator from 2000 to 2008.

On 9 February 1990, Răzvan Theodorescu was appointed president of the Romanian Radio-television, a position held until 1992.

He was Minister of Culture in the government led by Adrian Năstase (2000 – 2004)

On 14 December 2004 he was appointed member in the National College of the Institute of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989.

In 2008 he was appointed Ambassador of the Alliance of Civilisations for Romania.

He has published more than 25 papers on history, Romanian and European art and over 600 articles in Romanian and foreign journals.

The history of the European construction is ignored by the present Romanian elites which are fundamentally different from the elites of the period between the two World Wars. The dialectics of the European Union's development, which has started from a Nordic "Club", evolving towards the Central, Eastern and Southern Europe has created the two lines of force: the "Euro-Atlantic vertical" and the "Euro-Mediterranean horizontal", the former including the more economically evolved, Catholic and Protestant area, the latter including a less economically developed, Catholic and Orthodox (maybe in the future even Islamic) area. I sadly see that the Romanian political and diplomatic world is less familiar with these concepts.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the EIR, how do you assess the presence and role of the Institute on the Romanian public stage? What courses of action should the Institute approach in order to meet the new trends at the European level?

EIR has distinct and distinguished presence on the public stage. In my opinion, the Institute should be the place where debates on public issues such as those I talked about in my answer to the question regarding the history of the European construction take place.

Interview by **Mihai Sebe**

## The series of conferences Romania-France: together in Europe

### *Consolidating the internal market and rethinking the economic competitiveness of the European Union*

The EIR and the Embassy of France in Bucharest organised the 26<sup>th</sup> event of the project "Romania-France: together in Europe" under the title "After Lisbon: consolidating the internal market and rethinking the economic competitiveness of the European Union" on 17 February 2011.

The special guest of the conference was the French economist **Philippe Herzog**, Counsellor of the European Union Internal Market Commissioner, Founding President of *Confrontations Europe*<sup>1</sup>, NGO created in 1992, today a vast network of citizens and political actors and an important European think-tank. Philippe Herzog referred, in his speech, to the Strategy of the European Union for crossing the economic crisis, to the importance of consolidating the Competitiveness Pact and the Single Market Act, to strengthen the relation between competitiveness and solidarity.



<sup>1</sup> <http://www.confrontations.org/>

The EU 2020 Strategy<sup>2</sup> has a double role: to get the Member States out of the crisis and to ensure a growth that increases the competitiveness of the Union in the world, but its application is still in an initial stage. Moreover, the disparities appeared as a result of the crisis between some Member States undermine the success of the strategy. Therefore, the new solutions proposed - the economic governance and the European semester - require a close cooperation between the national policies and the European institutions. As regards the euro area, the solution proposed has taken the form of the Competitiveness Pact, based on tax coordination and intergovernmental collaboration. Philippe Herzog mentioned that these desiderata have to deal with the subsidiarity principle<sup>3</sup>, with the implications and the high social costs, with the lack of initiative of the political leaders. In order to overcome the obstacles, the French economist identified the following action plans: to cooperate in education, culture and research, to strengthen the cohesion policy, to renew the energy and industrial policies and to make the public private partnerships permanent.

The Single Market Act<sup>4</sup> is a project that has never been more necessary and, at the same time, more unpopular. It stipulates the restructuring and renewing of the internal market, both intended to offer a constant and balanced rhythm of growth of the Member States. An important role in its success belongs to the relation between competitiveness and solidarity, two concepts that could get Europe out of crisis, said Philippe Herzog.

The European Union is no longer the main world economic actor<sup>5</sup> in 2011. The economic growth during the last years has been inferior to that of other economic powers such as India or China. Despite the economic crisis and the mistrust created by it to the citizens, the European Union has to stake on its global diplomatic advantage and to strengthen its strategic position by applying the following economic measures: increasing the attractiveness of the European market, the liberalisation of the world trade, a global vision over the economic field and the restructuring of the public finance.

The measures are necessary in order to redefine the competitiveness of the European Union in the first half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, states Philippe Herzog. Finally, the fundamental value represented by the EU - democracy - will have to ensure its success and to re-establish its internal balance, placing the European Union, once again, among the global economic leaders.

For the full report of the event, please access [www.ier.ro](http://www.ier.ro), Communication and Marketing / Previous events section ([http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/arhiva\\_evenimente/](http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/arhiva_evenimente/))

Maria Toader

EIR organises on **30 March 2011**

## The CONFERENCE

### *Launch of Strategy and Policy Studies – SPOS 2010*

on the occasion of the launch of a new series of studies produced within the EIR research project *Strategy and Policy Studies SPOS 2010*



<sup>2</sup> Available online at [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index_en.htm) (accessed on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Strengthened by the Lisbon Treaty, Title I "Common provisions" and Title II "Provisions on democratic principles".

<sup>4</sup> Available online at : [http://ec.europa.eu/internal\\_market/smart/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/smart/index_en.htm) (accessed on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Available online at : <http://www.gallup.com/poll/146099/China-Surges-Americans-Views-Top-World-Economy.aspx>  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/china-overtakes-japan-as-worlds-second-largest-economic-power-2054412.html>

## 2011 spring issue of RJEA

In the first RJEA issue of 2011 one can read about whether the EU economic governance is at a turning point, or how the deposit guarantee schemes join the financial safety-nets. Moreover, the process of economic integration is approached from a holistic view, whilst the social dimension of the internet diffusion in Romania is analysed taking into account the connection between internet users and frequencies. One of the articles refers to the phenomenon of e-inclusion and its implications for Romania. Other topics tackled by various researchers are the Bologna process, or the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. This issue contains also a book review which presents an anthropological perspective on international ethnic conflicts.



of assets and assumption of liabilities. These new attributes give DGS a role in the mechanism of financial safety-net, along the supervisors of the market.

In her article, **Clara Volintiru**, PhD candidate in Political Science at the Government Department of the London School of Economics assesses the relationship between public governance and economic competitiveness in a globalized world. The author argues that the economic development is not mutually exclusive with good governance, and develops an assessment of the interaction between the integrated world markets, and para-state economic actors, on one side, and the states, and public initiatives to resolve issues of accountability and regulation, on the other side. In her article, **Volintiru** supports the fact that

**Daniel Dăianu**, Professor of Economics at the National School of Political and Administrative Studies (SNSPA) in Bucharest, former Finance Minister of Romania and former MEP, argues the need for a reformed EU economic governance structure. His paper focuses on the roots of the current crisis and the tensions within the EMU in this context, as well as on the main policy issues which derive from the current financial crisis. In **Dăianu's** view the challenges for the EU economic governance reform are to be seen from a broad perspective: the crisis of the financial intermediation system; the sub-optimal character of the EMU; the institutional and policy underpinnings of the EU (EMU) including the regulation and supervision of financial markets; the capacity of the EU to deal with global imbalances, etc. He further concludes that a reform of the EU economic governance has to deal with fiscal rules and compliances, macroeconomic disequilibria and competitiveness gaps, the regulation and supervision of financial markets. According to **Dăianu** the growing cleavage between its northern tier and its southern tier represents a threat for the EMU. NMSs have a deep stake in the EU governance reform since they cannot escape the impact of EU wide externalities and the functioning of their economies depends on the rules of the Union.

Further in this issue, we read about the Deposit Guarantee Schemes (DGS) in the opinion of **Eugen Dijmărescu**, PhD, currently CEO of the Bank Deposit Guarantee Fund (FGDB) in Romania, former Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Romania, and associate professor to the Romanian-American University of Bucharest. Upon the author, the Deposit Guarantee Schemes (DGS) become more visible under the current conditions of the world financial markets. He further argues that, the recent crisis put DGS in a new light, once the guarantee ceiling for eligible deposits grew in order to make for the accumulation of wealth worldwide and the increased risk be incurred by the leverage of banking operations. This way the resources accumulated by the DGS from the member banks and their proper management make possible their involvement in pre-emptive actions aimed to avoid bankruptcies via special administration and purchase

the states are still powerful actors on the global scene, although they must be ready to make certain concessions to the equally powerful economic forces. According to the author, there are as many examples of countries in which excessive statist reach has discouraged economic development, as there are of countries in which good governance, although extensive and intensive, has only encouraged economic development further. Thus, upon **Volintiru**, it is not the extent of statist reach that is in an inverse relationship with the degree of economic development, but rather the quality of governance.

The next article focuses on the social dimension of internet diffusion in Romania and is the result of the collaboration between **Geomina Țurlea** and **Esteve Ollé Sanz**, researchers at the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, Sevilla, and **Constantin Ciupagea**, former Director of the Institute of World Economy, Bucharest, at present Head of the Sustainability Assessment Unit, Joint Research Center, Institute of Environmental Studies, Ispira, Italy. This article presents the statistical setting of occasional users versus the group of regular Internet users that currently represent the main policy focus of the European Commission, synthesizing and analysing some of the findings. This analysis reveals the important role that different types of users play in the transition from occasional to intensive use, and that the main statistically significant differences between intensive and occasional users come from social motivations. The authors recommend that policy makers could focus on the fusion of utilitarian and social motivations as a phenomenal driver of Internet diffusion, using the mix as a catalyser to bridge the important divides in both use and access that still reign in the Romanian information society.

**Viorel Niță**, researcher within the Competitiveness and Innovation Department, Institute of World Economy, Bucharest, and PhD student in Economics, argues on an extended approach to e-inclusion and its implications for Romania. According to the author, e-inclusion becomes nowadays an important public policy objective. Thus he tried to answer to what extent Romania is prepared to deal with the e-inclusion process. His conclusions refer to the fact that

due to specific problems pertaining to key priority issues of social inclusion such as education or income employment structure, a relatively considerable part of Romanian citizens will not be capable of fully integrating into information society and benefit from the transformative potential of ICT. Moreover, Niță states that Romania's relative incipient stage of information society development and its serious social problems call for a holistic and multidimensional public policy response and without coherently articulated national public policies, the e-inclusion process will be hindered in Romania.

In the opinion of Éva Szolár, Research Fellow at the University of Debrecen, within the Center for Higher Education Research and Development, the Bologna process is the comprehensive reform initiative of the European higher education systems, with an unprecedented political support and commitment for changes. From an education perspective the Bologna process is an answer to the challenges created by the transition to mass – and in some Western-European countries to universal – higher education. Szolár states further that, nowadays, the reform serves as an umbrella for comprehensive reform processes in national systems of higher education. As regards Central and Eastern European countries, this process is not only strongly connected to the overall political transformation, but provides for the higher education policy makers an opportunity for the Europeanization of the sector. Upon the author, the Bologna process implies systemic, programmatic, procedural changes. Szolár concludes that the original objectives of the Bologna process are reinterpreted and overwritten by the Lisbon Strategy and several national higher educational policy objectives.

A lot of scholarly attention was devoted to the analysis of the reasons of the Yugoslav war, and ways of conflict resolution. The international community responses to the conflict have also been much discussed. The post-conflict reconstructions, as well as the relations of the Balkan states with the EU, and

further the compliance with the EU accession criteria have been extensively covered as well. Thus, Galina Nelaeva, PhD in Political Science and Senior Lecturer of European Integration, EU Law and European Security at the History and Political Science Department of Tyumen State University from the Russian Federation, draws the attention to the process of creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), an institution established to try individuals responsible for international crimes committed during the conflict, fact which is currently one of the most important EU accession criteria for the Balkan states. In her article, Nelaeva attempts to show how historical analogies were used in the process of creating the ICTY.

The book review of this RJEI issue is done by Patty Zakaria, Lecturer and PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science from Wayne State University. The book reviewed explores the violent Sri Lankan, Kurdish, Rwandan and Burundian, and Bosnian ethnic conflicts and to a lesser degree of violence the Quebec conflict through comprehensive case study analysis. The author is Jack D. Eller who entitled his work *From Culture, to Ethnicity, to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic*. Within the book he illustrates that the characteristics used to define ethnicity cannot be freely applied to all groups since group perception of what their ethnicity encompasses vary significantly. Upon Zakaria Eller's book offers an insightful and extensive understanding of ethnicity and conflict, by arguing that these have developed out of modern social condition and circumstances, as opposed to primordial dynamics.

For the full findings of the authors, available only in English, please access the webpage of the Romanian Journal of European Affairs: [www.ier.ro/rjea](http://www.ier.ro/rjea).

Mădălina Magnusson

in focus

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## Training programmes at EIR

In 2011, EIR continues the series of well-known training programmes and, due to the participants' interest for certain topics included in the existing programmes, it adds two new ones.

Thus, the Research and Training in European Affairs Unit of the EIR included the following programmes in the training offer for 2011: **Public procurement expert** (whose pilot programme will take place between 14 and 18 March 2011) and **Expert in accessing structural and cohesion funds** (which will take place between 4 and 8 April 2011). There is a special price for those who buy both of the programmes.

The programme **Public procurement expert** aims to ensure a basic training for those engaged in public procurement activities, providing essential information for carrying out the awarding procedures. The topics of the programme include: legislation, institutional framework, public procurement process, planning, awarding procedures, special methods of awarding, awarding documentation, tender opening and assessment, awarding of the public procurement contract, ways of appeal, practical presentation of the public procurement procedures carried out by electronic means (ESSP<sup>1</sup>).

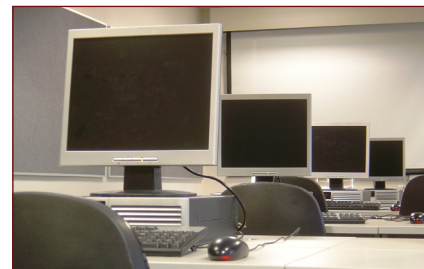
The programme **Expert in accessing structural and cohesion funds** will identify the opportunities for funding from non-refundable funds, will indicate the necessary steps for obtaining a non-refundable financing and for implementing the financed projects, will guide the participants through the drawing up of the financing application for the non-refundable financing programmes. Examples of good practices will also be presented as part of a highly practical programme.

**Both programmes are certified at national level according to the legislation in force** by the Bucharest Commission for Certifying the Providers of Adult Vocational Training from the National Council for Adult Vocational Training.

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<sup>1</sup> Electronic System for Public Procurement

Moreover, the first training session for the preparation of the EPSO competition AD 2011<sup>2</sup> will take place on 19 March, the programme being organised in cooperation with Euphorum – EU Career Portal. Since 2005 Euphorum has been supporting more than 1,500 applicants of EU-personnel selection procedures. Euphorum is a partner of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and conducts a series of trainings each year to improve the candidates' skills to pass the EPSO tests. The training session is open to all persons (students, public servants or employees from the private sector) interested in participating in the EPSO AD 2011 competition for the EU personnel selection.



In 2011, the Translation Coordination Unit (TCU) of the EIR continues the programme **Development of competences for the translation and revision of legal texts** with 4 new sessions: **21 – 25 March, 27 June – 1 July, 4 – 8 July, 24 – 28 October.**

In the context of a translation market which is continuously growing as regards both the demand and the supply, TCU has developed this programme with a view to meeting the needs for developing and strengthening the specific competences for the translation of complex legal documents.

In this endeavour, TCU draws both upon the experience of over 10 years in the area of translation, revision and terminology and upon its role as a trainer on the translation market, strengthened on the one hand in the outsourced projects for the translation of the Community *acquis*, preceded by the training of the external translators, and by the continuous activity of training the interns and on the other hand through the works of reference published in the area of the legal documents translation and revision (*Romanian Style Guide for the Use of Translators of the Acquis Communautaire, Guide for the translation into Romanian of the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, Glossary on the Treaty of Lisbon, Legal Glossary, etc.*).

From its first edition, this training programme was highly appreciated by the participants due to the original logistics used: a computer for each participant, sound system. This format allows the programme to be highly interactive, the participants having the opportunity to employ the acquired information, techniques and instruments in the individual and group exercises.

The trainers, certified by the NCAVT and with a vast experience in the fields of the modules presented, use a range of practical and interactive methods (exercises, role-plays, discussions) designed to facilitate the transfer of information and skills. The competences cover the translation and revision technique (with the help of the CAT tools), basic knowledge of law and legal terminology (especially on the law of the European Union and the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights), terminology research techniques and area-specific documentation techniques, but also the aspects of the organization and development of the translation activity, all of them forming an entirety which is essential to providing high quality legal translations.

The first three editions of this programme, conducted in 2010, were very successful, a fact reflected both by how fast the places were booked and by the number of persons interested in participating to future sessions and by the assessments of the participants regarding the programme and the performance of the trainers. The participants appreciated the organisation, structure and content of the programme, the logistics, the methods, the interactivity and the professionalism of the trainers.

Drawing on the experience of the previous sessions and the feedback received from the participants, it was decided to extend the structure of the programme to 5 days (30 hours of training), which allowed new topics to be included and existing topics to be extended.

For detailed information on the above programmes and on the other training sessions please access: [http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/programme\\_in\\_curs/](http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/programme_in_curs/).

We are looking forward to meeting you at our training programmes!

Alice Olaru  
Diana Popa

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## EIR launches a new project – *European Union Policy Guide*

IEIR started, at the end of 2010, a pilot research project named *European Union Policy Guide* with the intention of disseminating, through a synthetic and objective analysis, the European policies. To this purpose, EIR has selected five such policies that will be analysed within the project: the monetary policy in the euro area, the common trade policy, the economic, social and political cohesion policy, the environmental policy and humanitarian aid and development policy. The pilot project will be finalised by publishing the results of the research under the aegis of EIR.

The full team of the project has a total number of 23 junior researchers, distributed in a balanced manner on the three cycles of tertiary education: graduate, master and PhD. Most of the researchers are students of the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies and of the University of Bucharest, trainees at the European Institute of Romania.

The coordinators of the project are Clara Volintiru, PhD candidate at *London School of Economics* and Cosmin Laza, master candidate at the *Uppsala University*. Each working

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<sup>2</sup> European Personnel Selection Office

<sup>3</sup> Computer Assisted Translation



group will carry out research on a single policy, the work being organised on six levels: key moments in the development and drafting of that policy, legal basis, responsible institutional

actors, instruments used, problems, trends and challenges encountered so far and will finalise a case study concerning Romania.

The preparation of the **Guide** involves a series of meetings of the working groups, an ample research process which is both individual and in team, which represents a good opportunity for the students to develop their analysis and synthesis capacity. Moreover, they have the possibility to fully understand the main European policies and, at the same time, to improve their team working skills. Furthermore, it is encouraged the online communication among the members of the team in order to make the young researchers more comfortable with an efficient and competitive working mode.

The project will take place from December 2010 to May 2011.

Anca Mihalache  
Mihai Sebe

analysis | opinion

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## Historical studies concerning the European construction: perspectives over Romania between the two World Wars

During the last decades we have witnessed an accelerated evolution, both in quantity and quality, in the field of historical studies concerning the European construction. We have to do with a diverse specialised literature which creates an image that integrates the currents of thought dedicated to the creation of a European superstructure.

This evolution raises a question: why should we grant an increasing importance to the historical studies concerning the European construction? **The history should be studied because it is vital for individuals and society.** It helps us understanding people and societies, becoming a memory of the way in which people and societies used to behave in the past.

The historical studies concerning the European construction help us to understand the change and the birth of the European Union of today. The past creates the present and, also, the future. When we try to find out why something has happened - for example, how the necessity of free movement or the project of a single currency have appeared - we have to look for the causes and the factors that have generated it.

Only by studying history we can find out how things have changed, we can understand the factors that have caused the change and only with the help of history we can understand what elements of an institution or society have continued to exist despite the change. By following the evolution of the European idea, both on national and European levels, we shall establish the fundamental aspects for our identity, for our evolution as good citizens.

We need to mention two remarkable European contributions: **Kevin Wilson** and **Jan van der Dussen**, *The History of the Idea of Europe* (1995) and **Anthony Pagden**, *The Idea of Europe from Antiquity to the European Union* (2002). The authors have realised

an almost exhaustive presentation of the history of the European construction, seen from a historical point of view and from the point of view of ideas. Unfortunately, these works are rather deficient in presenting the evolution of the ideas concerning the European construction from a Central and Eastern-European perspective, and especially from a Romanian perspective.

As in Romania between the two World Wars the problem of reporting to Europe and to the evolution of the idea of European unity has not been studied in a continuous and attentive manner, the Romanian historiography has a vast field for exploration, field that can offer numerous academic rewards. The Romanian experts, who have to complete, on the map of the European political ideas, an area which has been marked so far as *terra incognita*, from objective and subjective reasons, can and must continue the researches concerning the Romanian perceptions about the European construction.

The Romanian literature in this field counts some interesting works which manage to bring light to this field. The work of **Eliza Campus**, *The federal idea between the World Wars* (1993), which presents in a synthetic manner the evolution of the federal idea, indicating a number of Romanian diplomatic documents, is important because of the subject approached and the early moment when it was written. The subject is continued and developed by **Gheorghe Sbârna** in *Romanians and the European federal projects between the World Wars* (2002), work that presents, in its annex, relevant documents for this subject. **Simion Costea** in *Romania and the Briand project of European Union* (2004) dedicates an important monograph to the Memorandum created by **Aristide Briand**\* and to the impact it has had over the Romanian society. We have to mention, for the approached period, the trailblazing study *A Romanian history of the idea of "Europe". The old continent from the perspective*

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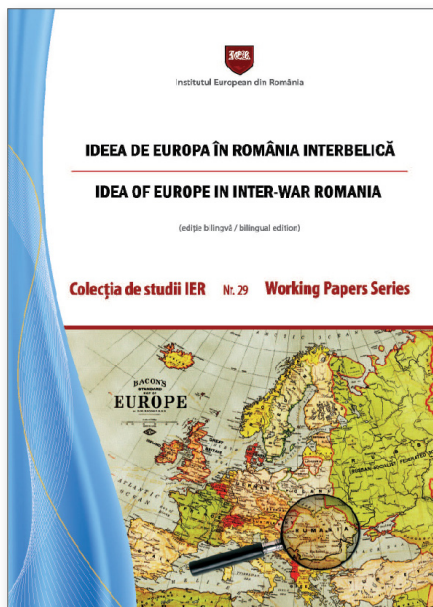
\* Available online at: <http://icp.ge.ch/po/cliotexte/annees-20-30-crisis-totalitarisme/europe.union.1930.html>

of the chroniclers of XVII - XIX centuries published by Laurențiu Vlad in the volume *Romania and the European integration* (2005), coordinated by Ana Maria Dobre and Ramona Coman.

In order to offer to the public elements concerning the history of the European construction and to contribute this way to the development of the European spirit and values, the EIR has begun to publish a number of works meant to cover this lack in the field of historical studies concerning the European construction, seen from a Romanian perspective.

The most recent bilingual work published in the Working Paper Series, *Istoria ideii de Europa în România interbelică. History of the Idea of Europe in Inter-war Romania\*\** falls into this category. The work is situated among the contemporary studies and debates concerning the political and intellectual life in the Unified Romania in the broader context of the European history of ideas. The theme of the work is the history of political ideas as they were reflected in Romania between the World Wars and, more precisely, it is about the history of the European idea, of the creation of a unified Europe, on a federal or confederate basis. I have tried to make a synthetic presentation of the Romanian intellectual currents and evolutions, to present a history of this idea in the political and intellectual environments between the World Wars. The work intends to connect and to correlate this idea with the other evolutions in Romania and in the Europe of those times.

The novelty of the research consists in the analysis of the existing historical documentation (press articles, university lectures, documents resulted after conferences). This method of analysis



allows establishing the chronological evolution and the lineage of the European ideas in the social and political conscience between the World Wars. The analysis takes into consideration the unstable political context. These articles, conferences and works reflect the intellectual and ideological premises of the judgement of the Romanian elite in that period, as well as the political solutions proposed for the “European problem”.

The Romanian concept of a unified Europe identifies itself through the importance given to the political aspect - the European states have to be united, equal and to have their frontiers guaranteed. We have to do with a quality evolution, from the idea of a regional association to the idea of an unified Europe based on the proposal of Aristide Briand. Towards the end of the 1930s and the middle of the 1940s the emphasis is placed on the idea of a European Economic Community, partially based on the German ideas presented during the Second World War.

The Romanian elite of that period proved sensitive to the European evolutions concerning the unity of Europe. The analysis of these propositions is attentive, critical, most often animated by the wish to eliminate the weaknesses that could have affected the European construction. Based on the deep changes in the internal structure of the Romanian society, a society marked by hopes and, at the same time, by darkness, the European idea has found a proper environment for debates. However, the European debate ended abruptly in Romania starting with the period 1945 –1947 when the communist regime came to power.

Mihai Sebe

## book review

# THE IMPACT OF THE LISBON TREATY OVER THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE EU

## A new CEPS report:

### Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor – Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy<sup>1</sup>

It is known that the foreign policy of the EU is directed by a main strategic imperative, that of contributing to the image of world actor of the European Union. The object of the modifications brought by the Lisbon Treaty is represented by the shared competences in this field: article 21 of the TEU<sup>2</sup> presents the objectives of the Union in the foreign policy and

article 24 of the TEU indicates the role of the Union and of the Member States.



In a continually changing international context, in which the increasing power of the countries from Asia and BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) represents a real challenge, redefining the role of the European Union following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty represents a privileged reflection subject. Thus, studies and debates are initiated at the European Institute of Romania, member of EPIN (European Policy Institutes Network), part of the networks of think-tanks and European

\*\* Available online at [http://www.ier.ro/documente/working\\_papers/WP\\_29\\_website\\_.pdf](http://www.ier.ro/documente/working_papers/WP_29_website_.pdf)

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<sup>1</sup> *Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor - Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy*, by Michael Emerson, Piotr Maciej Kaczyński, Rosa Balfour, Tim Corthaut, Jan Wouters and Thomas Renard, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), 2011, 152 p. The full version can be consulted at [www.ceps.eu](http://www.ceps.eu). Also, a very brief presentation, focused on the three institutional issues analysed in the report (explaining the shared competences; the status of the EU in multilateral organizations; restructuring the European diplomacy): <http://www.ceps.eu/system/files/book/2011/01/ME%20et%20al%20EU%20as%20Global%20Actor.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> *Treaty on European Union*



policy institutes coordinated by CEPS (Centre for European Policy Studies). CEPS - created at Bruxelles in 1983 - is a well-known think tank and forum for debates on European themes which intends, among other things, to offer solutions to the problems encountered by the European Union.

We present now a report published by CEPS at the end of January 2011, in which the authors study in detail the institutional aspects involved in carrying out the role of world actor of the EU for the future decades. The report is the result of the efforts of a group of European policies analysts who work in several institutions from Bruxelles and Leuven (Belgium). After the foreword of the authors, there are six chapters, a glossary (actually a list of acronyms) and numerous annexes (A - P). The text includes inserts and tables and the bibliography is indicated only in the footnotes.

The deep analysis, the documentation and the way in which the results are structured recommend this report as a valuable reference in the field for experts, decision-makers, students and the public interested in such themes.

A note concerning the post-Lisbon competences of the EU<sup>3</sup> preceded the report in July 2010. The authors compare the official statements made in documents and presentations with the (informal) conversations in the diplomacy environment, in order to underline the weaknesses of the EU foreign policy. Thus, two dramatic sides of the phenomenon or a double drama result, as the authors say: the need of restructuring in order to give an answer to the changes and challenges in international relations and the budget issue, the need to reduce the expenses.

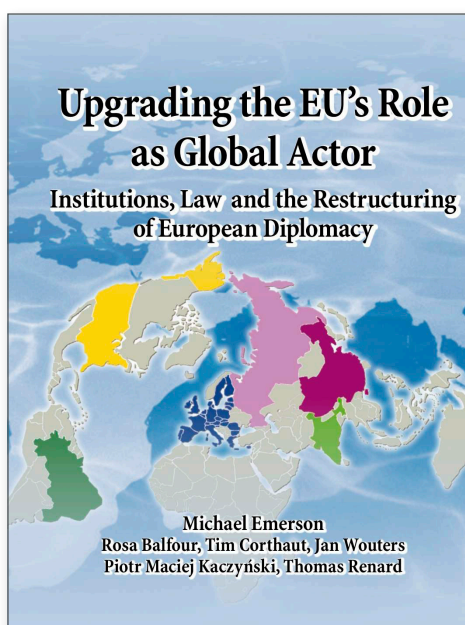
The authors consider that the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty is an excellent opportunity to review a complex landscape in which the EU places itself as a global actor: the multilateral organisations, the international agreements and the high level diplomacy. The very transparent structure of the report allows its reading as a whole or section by section, and the authors' comments explain the deep aspects of the subject.

Moreover, the authors draw attention on the fact that the EU is part of 249 multilateral treaties and 649 bilateral treaties; that these relations have developed in a dispersed manner which raises various problems. Therefore, significantly, almost half of the report is dedicated to these relations (see chapter 6<sup>4</sup>, about *status quo* and perspectives, with a selective view over international organisations, conventions, agreements and summitry). The theme is grouped into three sections<sup>5</sup>, depending on the size of the organisations (global, European and Euro-Atlantic) and their degree of institutionalisation.

The empirical nature of the report is obvious in signalling certain inconsistencies, such as:

- there are organisations and conventions in which, due to the shared competences, both the EU and the Member States are part of, which complicates the procedures of participation to conferences and voting (who speaks, if the EU vote represents one vote or 27 votes, if the Member States can vote etc.) and allows a lack of discipline from the Member States in observing the rules (p.44);
- in the UN Security Council, in its last composition with 15 members adopted in 1963, France and United Kingdom are permanent members while the EU has only three seats that are not permanent (p.68);
- the Union is observer at the Council of Europe (CoE), while the Member States are members of the CoE; therefore, the EU has to become member of the CoE and this is all the more important as through the Lisbon Treaty the EU acceded to the Convention on Human Rights (p.98);
- inconsistencies resulted from limits or deficiencies in the Lisbon Treaty concerning, for example, the way in which the EU should be represented in the G7/8/20 meetings (p.106 - 107).

The authors underline that such problems deserve a careful investigation in order to establish the way to improve the procedures. As it is indicated in the foreword, the present contribution represents an independent vision on how to dynamically apply and observe the Lisbon Treaty, a reference for the present developments in the foreign policy of the EU.



Throughout the report, the critical comments (the paragraphs written with italics) announce positive developments, suggestions for modernising the role of the EU in international organisations, but also inconsistencies, confuse situations, vulnerable points and, in certain cases, solutions that the authors find to those situations. Some of these aim, beyond the EU framework, at reforming other organisations (for example, the huge challenge to reform the UN Security Council, p.70).

Thought and written critically, synthetically and directly, the report represents, for the reader, the opportunity of a stimulating exercise and an example of style.

The book can be consulted or bought on the CEPS site: <http://www.ceps.eu/book/upgrading-eus-role-global-actor-institutions-law-and-restructuring-european-diplomacy>: <http://www.ceps.eu/book/upgrading-eus-role-global-actor-institutions-law-and-restructuring-european-diplomacy>

Mariana Bara

<sup>3</sup> Looking afresh at the external representation of the EU in the international arena, post-Lisbon, by Michael Emerson and Piotr Maciej Kaczyński (CEPS), 2011, 5 p., [www.ceps.eu](http://www.ceps.eu)

<sup>4</sup> Status Quo & Perspectives for Selected International Organisations, Conventions, Agreements & Summitry, p.65 - 114.

<sup>5</sup> 6.1 Global multilateral organisations and conventions, 6.2 European and Euro-Atlantic multilateral organizations și 6.3 Semi-institutionalised summitry and diplomacy.

## Danube Strategy: a Symbol of Central Europe<sup>1</sup>

On 3 February 2011, in Budapest, the Commissioner for Regional Policy, Johannes Hahn, together with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Janos Martonyi, announced that the participating countries agreed to coordinate the priority work areas within the EU Strategy for the Danube Region.



The Danube region covers parts of 8 EU countries (Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania) and 6 non-EU countries (Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Ukraine and Moldova), facing challenges such as environmental threats, untapped fishing potential, insufficient energy connections, uneven socio-economic development, uncoordinated education, research and innovation systems, shortcomings in safety and security.

In December 2010, following the success of the Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, the European Commission proposed a Strategy for the Danube Region, creating a “macro-regional” framework for proactive cooperation and coordination. Without creating new laws or institutions, the Strategy aims at strengthening links and improving the use of existing mechanisms and funds. The 11 priority areas identified by the EU focus on concrete actions based on the Strategy’s four pillars, its time-limited targets and the broader Europe 2020 goals.

As underlined by Commissioner Hahn, for immediate actions to be taken so that the area is revived and to explore its full economic potential, there is need for extensive cooperation between the involved states. It is thus, highly beneficial for each member state involved in the Strategy to take responsibility for at least one area of work, so that there are at least two countries working for each goal, while non-EU states play an equally active part. The priority area coordinators, by means of a highly regional approach, are to agree and refine the targets, according to local problems, as soon as possible.

With the milestone achievement of appointing the coordinators, it is expected that the Strategy, which has become a primary objective for the Hungarian Presidency, will be approved by the June 2011 session of the European Council, so that its implementation can start as the Polish Presidency takes over.

Alexandra Ivanov

### Coordination of Priority Areas<sup>2</sup>

Priority Area	Countries
1) To improve mobility and intermodality <sup>3</sup>	Inland waterways <b>Austria, Romania</b> Rail, road and air <b>Slovenia, Serbia</b> (Interest: Ukraine)
2) To encourage more sustainable energy	<b>Hungary, Czech Republic</b>
3) To promote culture and tourism, people to people contacts	<b>Bulgaria, Romania</b>
4) To restore and maintain the quality of waters	<b>Hungary, Slovakia</b>
5) To manage environmental risks	<b>Hungary, Romania</b>
6) To preserve biodiversity, landscapes and the quality of air and soils	<b>Germany (Bavaria), Croatia</b>
7) To develop the knowledge society (research, education and ICT)	<b>Slovakia, Serbia</b>
8) To support the competitiveness of enterprises	<b>Germany (Baden-Württemberg), Croatia</b>
9) To invest in people and skills	<b>Austria, Moldova</b>
10) To step up institutional capacity and cooperation	<b>Austria (Vienna), Slovenia</b>
11) To work together to tackle security and organised crime	<b>Germany, Bulgaria</b>

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro can also be involved as appropriate.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.eu2011.hu/news/danube-strategy-symbol-central-europe>

<sup>2</sup> Table available online at : <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/11/124&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

<sup>3</sup> An overall coordination for this priority area needs also to be ensured.

# Conclusions of the European Council of 4 February 2011

The meeting of the European Council of 4 February 2011 focused mainly on two themes - energy and innovation - key sectors for the development and prosperity of the European Union. The Council agreed upon a number of priority actions which, once implemented, would contribute to encouraging the economic growth and the job creation, as well as to promoting the competitiveness of the European Union.

On the energy chapter, the Council focused on safety and sustainability, highlighting the necessity of an integrated, fully functioning and interconnected internal market. To this purpose, the Member States have to implement law quickly and correctly, according to the established deadlines.

The attention of the Council was focused on the consumers, especially the more vulnerable ones, underlining the necessity to take efforts in order to modernise and expand the energy infrastructure of the EU by means of alternative supply and transit routes, so that no Member State remains isolated from the gas and electricity networks after 2015.

The proposed solutions included the following: a better coordination between the Member States, the development of a partnership based on transparency and confidence with Russia and the cooperation with third states in order to prevent the volatility of prices. Most of the infrastructure financing costs will be supported by the market through tariffs.

As regards innovation, the investment in education and research is sustained as the key counterpoint in creating and improving the quality of jobs. The Council invited the European Commission to develop a single integrated indicator in order to allow a better monitoring of progress in these fields. Moreover, the private investments in innovative products and services are encouraged, while underlining the necessity to create a Digital Single Market by 2015.



Furthermore, the Council reviewed the existing economic situation and noted that, although important challenges still remain, the general perspective is improving. For this purpose, it requested the relevant authorities to conduct *stress tests* for the Member States in order to ensure the existence of practical plans complying with the rules of the European Union. It also highlighted the necessity of implementing the European Semester.

The European Council supported the continuation of the existing aid programmes in Greece and Ireland. Meanwhile, the Council expressed the necessity of respecting the existing peace agreements in the Mediterranean region and of continuing the Middle East Peace Process. The Council condemned the violence in Egypt and called on the authorities to meet the aspirations of the Egyptian people with reform and not with repression..

Anca Mihalache  
Agnes Nicolescu

## publication

### Europe's World<sup>1</sup>

Based on the partnership agreement signed in 2005, the EIR announces<sup>2</sup> the publishing of the spring 2011 number of this prestigious publication for English speakers<sup>3</sup> which contains studies, reports and opinions offered by an ever increasing community of think-tanks, researchers and opinion makers of the contemporary world. Besides the usual letters to the editor and comments, the best represented section (eleven articles) is the one about Europe. Also, numerous contributions about the international context and the Arab world are proposed to the 100 000 readers around the world.

The dynamic of the debate is created by the possibility of those interested to discuss online and to read in the same number articles and substantiated reactions to these articles. **Jean-François Bureau** (Assistant Secretary General of

NATO during 2007 - 2010, Director for Information and Communication at the French Ministry of Defence) answers to the article<sup>4</sup> from the section Security and defence signed by **Geoff Hoon** (former Minister of Economy, former Secretary of State for Defence, UK) with a positive commentary in which he underlines that the Treaty of Lancaster House signed in November 2010 was greeted at the NATO Summit of Lisbon and that it represents a form of strengthen military cooperation. China analysed from the point of view of the major change in the geopolitical power balance, a theme of great interest in these days and, at the same time, an issue of international



<sup>1</sup> [http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/ArticleIssue/tabid/183/IssueID/233/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/ArticleIssue/tabid/183/IssueID/233/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.ier.ro/index.php/site/>

<sup>3</sup> The French version, *Vu d'Europe*, is temporary out of service, <http://www.europesworld.org/NewFrancais/Accueil/tabid/814/Default.aspx?language=en-US>

<sup>4</sup> Why their EU and NATO partners may look askance at the Franco-British defence pact.

<sup>5</sup> If so, they would be wrong. It holds promise for all Europeans.

policy<sup>6</sup> is a theme treated by Heizo Takenaka (former Minister of Economy in Japan) because the new power could lead to conflicts with the USA. The author identifies three main transformations that have taken place in China and which have geopolitical consequences for the entire world: a) the constant industrial growth (workload, capital inflows, power consumption); b) the appreciation of the national currency (Yuan) in a progressive rhythm; c) the predictable effects of the demographic policy once the present trend of economic growth will start to decline. The author considers that the tensions between USA and China on trade and industry issues could be mediated by the European Union in the world and by Japan in the region.

The themes of the articles in the section *Europe* are the euro, the EU budget, the euro area, the economic governance. Here, Krzysztof Rybinski (Rector of the Warsaw University of Economics and Computer Science, former Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Poland) warns the public about the crisis of the single currency: in a few decades, the Chinese renminbi<sup>7</sup> and the USA dollar might be the only two reserve currencies<sup>8</sup>.

The full printed collection (17 numbers) of *Europe's World* can be consulted at the Documentation Centre of EIR.

Mariana Bara

<sup>6</sup> Europe's vital role will be to defuse U.S. - China tensions.

<sup>7</sup> The official name of the Chinese currency. Yuan is the name of a unit of the renminbi currency. For explanations, see Why China's currency has two names, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10413076>

<sup>8</sup> Europe's last chance to save the euro.

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