

Third International Conference on Nordic and Baltic Studies in Romania

European networks:

the Balkans, Scandinavia and the Baltic world in a time of economic and ideological crisis

Târgoviste, Romania, May 25-27, 2012

This conference celebrates 20 years of higher education in Targoviste

The webpage of the conference: <http://www.arsbn.ro/conference-2012.htm>

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Practical information

Venue

All sessions take place at the International Centre for Conferences of Valahia University of Târgoviște (Ion Alexandrescu St., No. 39 – see map). Conference opening session, plenary sessions I, II, III and IV and periodicals presentation session take place in Auditorium (ground floor). Panels 1, 3, 5 and 7 are held in the Green Room which is located at the first floor. Panels 2, 4, 6 and 8 and plenary session IV will take place in the Blue Room which is located at the first floor, vis-à-vis the Green Room.

The RoBaltNord opening, the photo exhibition *Tallinn-Turku: Capitals of Culture 2011* and Museum of Art visit are organized at the Museum of History and Museum of Art of the “Royal Court” National Museal Complex of Târgoviște (Calea Domneasca, no. 181).

Conference office opening hours

The Conference office is open for registration and information at the International Centre for Conferences as follows:

Friday, 25 May 9.00-12.00

Saturday, 26 May 9.00-11.00

Practical information can be acquired from phone numbers (004)0724403094 and (004)0724501139 and e-mail: conference2012@arsbn.ro

Website of the conference: <http://www.arsbn.ro/conference-2012.htm>

Accommodation

Accommodation is organized at Nova Hotel (<http://www.novahotel.ro>) and Hotel Tolea (www.hoteltolea.ro), situated close to the city center and between 3 to 10 minutes to the Museum of History and the International Centre for Conferences of Valahia University. Nova Hotel where most of you will be accommodated is situated on Arsenalului St., No. 14, just 3 minutes walking from the Conference Center. Hotel Tolea is situated on Linistei St., No. 28 – 30.



Lunch, dinner and refreshments

Will be served at Belvedere restaurant and Nova Hotel restaurant.

Coffee will be served during breaks. A refreshments room is located at the ground floor of the International Centre for Conferences.

Shopping

Supermarkets are normally situated in the city centre. We recommend you Supermarket Kaufland (open 8 AM to 10 PM) situated on Lt. Stancu Ion, No. 2C and Carrefour Mondial situated in the Prefecture Square.

Emergencies

Pharmacies are normally open from 9 AM to 5 PM, but some pharmacies are open during nighttime as well. There are many pharmacies in the city center on the Mircea cel Bătrân Ave., Independenței Ave and in the Prefecture Square. Catena pharmacies offer online shopping (<http://www.catena.ro>).

More information can be acquired from the hotel and from the organizers.

In case of emergency, please call the organizers at (004)0724403094 and (004)0724501139.

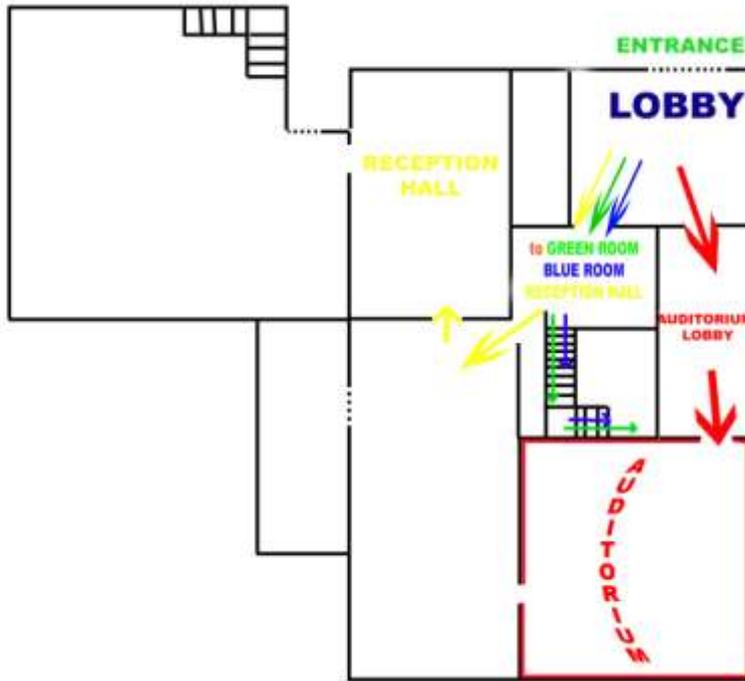
Conference map



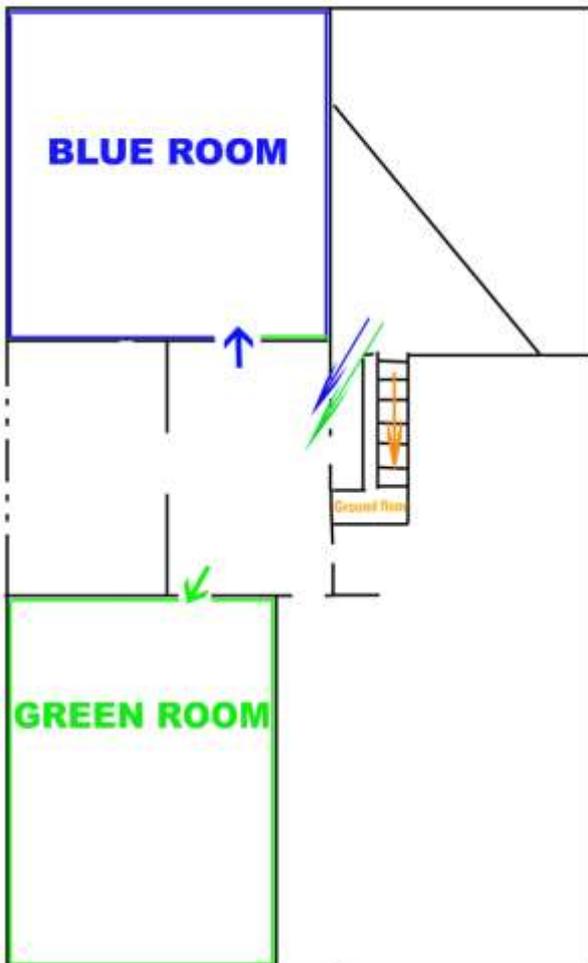
Legend:

- International Centre for Conferences of Valahia University of Târgoviște (Ion Alexandrescu St., No. 39);
- Museum of History of the “Royal Court” National Museum Complex of Târgoviște (Calea Domneasca, no. 181) –on the map reads Museum.

Map, Conference Centre ground floor



Map, Conference Centre first floor



Aims of the Conference:

Conference general topic description:

The current global economic crisis has generated debate in Europe regarding not only the future expansion of the EU, but the very viability of the European project itself. The discussion regarding the integration of the Balkans in the EU or NATO has been accompanied or even replaced by the question of whether the European project will in fact survive the general economic and social crisis that Europe faces today. While the Balkans still look towards Western European models and standards, Europe itself is suffering a crisis of political deadlock, economic decline, and an increasingly sharp ideological divide. Similarly, while Estonia has just entered the Euro club and Latvian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian and Romanian leaders talk about joining into the Euro zone, top world economists are at the same time predicting the end of the Euro as a currency sometime in the near future.

The economic crisis in Europe seems to be partially responsible for the adoption over the past few years of anti-immigrant policies, something also being fed by fears of the future role of Islam in Europe. But these policies have also targeted citizens of European Union countries in Central and Eastern Europe (such as the Roma minority in Romania), as well as those of non-EU Balkan states.

A common reason stated for exclusionary policies is to safeguard the jobs of domestic workers. However, this crisis has also fostered the development of a new far right bloc around Europe, having as one of its features the exaltation of xenophobia, fear of immigrants and foreigners in general. The debate regarding the Roma has been particularly fierce, with even the Finns and the Swedes opposed to the formers' presence in their countries. A transformative moment in the evolution of this phenomenon occurred in July of 2012, with the Oslo attacks carried out by Anders Behring Breivik, allegedly done to save Norwegian society from the government's liberal policies on immigration and multi-culturalism. Disturbingly, this event proved that even advanced and well-organized European states such as Norway are unable to prevent large-scale extremist violence.

The major goal of the conference is to foster debate and academic discussion regarding contemporary problems facing the Balkan and Baltic regions during a period of severe global economic instability. These include the rise of extremist political groups with violent aims in the Baltics, the continued activity of Balkan-origin organized crime groups in Scandinavia, and the role that Baltic states may play in helping Western Balkan countries integrate politically and institutionally with the EU. The second aim of the conference is to foster cooperation and the creation of research networks between scholars from two geographical peripheries of Europe.

In this respect, the conference will address themes such as:

- The accession of Balkan states to the EU and/or NATO, with particular reference to the experiences of the relatively new EU and/or NATO Member States from South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Baltic region. What lessons or information-sharing experiences or networks do the latter states have for the Balkan ones?
- Perceived threats to Western Europe (in economic, security or cultural terms) posed by Balkan and/or Eastern European states/non-state actors. Are these threats real or exaggerated? What measures can and are being taken to deal with them?
- The development of the far right in the Balkans and in Northern Europe, past, present and future. What linkages can be observed, and what conclusions can be made?
- Strategies for integrating minorities in the Baltic Sea rim countries and in the Black Sea areas. What is being done, and how can it be done better?

- Past and present networks of cooperation at state or NGO level between the Baltic and Black seas regions. Do these present a useful model for results-oriented cooperation (i.e., in sharing experiences for EU membership goals), or otherwise how should they be modified?
- Current economic relations between Baltic and/or Nordic states, on the one hand, and the Balkan countries, on the other: trends and directions of trade between the two regions, labor costs and competitiveness, business perceptions, economic integration etc.
- Current political, cultural and diplomatic relations between Baltic and/or Nordic states, on the one hand, and the Balkan countries;
- Balkan organized crime in the Scandinavian countries
- The Balkan Roma peoples as a “threat” for Western Europe

Panels and roundtable:

- Integrating minorities in the Baltic and Nordic Sea rim countries
- Global and regional crises
- Extremism and extremists
- EU and the European peripheries
- Influencing each other
- Ethnic minorities and European Identities I and II
- Historical interactions I and II

ORGANIZERS:

Executive Agency for Higher Education Research and Innovation Funding



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of Târgoviste

20 years of higher
education in
Târgoviste

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Baltic and Nordic
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Friday, 25 May 2012

09.00-12.00: Registration of the participants;

The International Centre for Conferences, Entrance hall, Info Desk, Valahia University,
Ion Alexandrescu St., No 39

09.30-09.45: The opening of the Third Annual International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania: EUROPEAN NETWORKS: THE BALKANS, SCANDINAVIA AND THE BALTIC WORLD IN A TIME OF ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS;

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences, Valahia University of Târgoviște,
Ion Alexandrescu St., No 39



Chair: Ms. Elena Dragomir, The Secretary of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies

Speakers:

Associate Professor Dr. Călin Oros, The Rector of Valahia University of Târgoviște;
Mr. Gabriel Boriga, The Mayor of Târgoviște;
Ambassador Liviu Bota, Black Sea

University Foundation;

Mr. Chris Deliso, The Director of Balkanalysis.com;

09.45-11.15: Roundtable: Integrating minorities in the Baltic and Nordic Sea rim countries

Chairs: Chris Deliso and Silviu Miloiu

Speakers:

Mr. Taavi Toom, The Ambassador of Estonia to Romania;
Ms. Ulla Väistö, The Ambassador of Finland to Romania;
Mr. Vladimir Jarmolenko, The Ambassador of Lithuania to Romania, Honorary President of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;
Ms. Hilde Berit Eide, Counsellor, Deputy Head of Mission, The Embassy of Norway in Romania;
Mr. Anders Bengtén, The Ambassador of Sweden to Romania;
Mr. Ioan Donca, The Honorary Consul of Latvia in Bucharest;

11.15-11.30: Coffee Break

The Reception Hall of the International Centre for Conferences

11.30-12.15: Plenary session I

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences

Chair: Elena Dragomir, The Secretary of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;

Speaker: Michael North, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald
Keynote address I: *Reinventing the Baltic Sea Region: From the Hansa to the EU-Strategy of 2009*

12.15-13.00: Plenary session II

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences

Chair: Saulius Kaubrys, University of Vilnius;

Speaker: Kari Alenius, University of Oulu

Keynote address II: *Beggars, scammers, discriminated against by the whole of Europe". Romania's Roma in Finnish tabloids, 2008-2011*



13.00-14.00: Reception;

The Reception Hall of the International Centre for Conferences

14.15-14.30: guided visit of the photo exhibition: Tallinn-Turku: Capitals of Culture 2011

Museum of History, Calea Domneasca St., no. 181

14.30-14.45: The opening of the Small Library for

Baltic and Nordic Studies (RoBaltNord) and guided visit of the Art Museum

The Small Library for Baltic and Nordic Studies at the Art Museum, Calea Domneasca St., no. 181

15.15-19.30: Conference sessions

The International Centre for Conferences Valahia University, Ion Alexandrescu St., No 39

Panel 1

Extremism and extremists

Chair: Kari Alenius

Bogdan Aitana, Oana-Andreea Sprincenatu, *Romania and Right-Wing Extremist Behavior: A Network Approach*

Silviu Miloiu, *The failure of Nordic interwar right-wing movements from the perspective of Romanian diplomacy*

Dimitris Michalopoulos, *Far right in the Balkans: Roots and perspectives*

Panel 2

The EU and the European peripheries

The Blue Room

Chair: Chris Deliso

Görkem Atsungur, *The Politics of Painting: Political Graffiti in the Balkan and Baltic Regions*

Andrius Švarplys, *The European Union and Russia in the Lithuanian Mass Media after the Entering the European Union*

Aneta Cekik, *Small states lobbying in the European Union- the experience of the newer member states*

Session 1

15.15 – 16.45

16.45-17.00: Coffee Break

The Reception Hall of the International Centre for Conferences

Panel 3

Ethnic minorities and European

Identities, I

The Green Room

Chair: Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor

Dragana Kovacevic, *Young people from Bosnia and Herzegovina in*

Panel 4

Conflict and peace

The Blue Room

Chair: Adrian Mac Liman

Sajal Lahiri, Valerica (Val) Vlad, *Peace Dividends in a Trade-theoretic*

Session 2

17.00 – 19.00

Norway: Migration, Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations

Oana-Raluca Glăvan, Lucia Andrievschi – Bartkiene,
Multiculturalism vs. Nationalism and the Role of Ethnic Minorities in the Public Life of Lithuania

Saulius Kaubrys, *Polish minority of Lithuania during 1930s: between challenges and accommodation*

Model of Conflict

Mehmet Efe Biresselioglu,
Evaluation of the Balkans' Position as a Transit Route for Natural Gas Supply to the EU

Sara Núñez de Prado, *The Projection of the Political Turkish Model beyond the Balkans*

Valentin Nicula, *The Romanian-Turkish Relations in the Framework of the Strategic Partnership*

19.00-19.30: Regular meeting of the members of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;

The Blue Room of the International Centre for Conferences of Valahia University;

19.30-21.30: Conference Dinner (restaurant Nova Hotel)

Saturday, 26 May 2012

09.00-11.00: The registration of the participants;

The International Centre for Conferences, Entrance hall, Info Desk, Valahia University, Ion Alexandrescu St., No 39

09.00-09.45: Plenary session III

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences

Chair: Chris Deliso, The Director of Balkanalysis.com;

Speaker: Matteo Albertini, Balkanalysis.com;

Keynote presentation III: *Organized Crime from the Balkans to Scandinavia: state of affairs;*

09.45-10.00: Periodicals Presentation and Call for Papers

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences

Chair: Elena Dragomir

Speakers: Silviu Miloiu and Cezar Stanciu

Revista Romana de Studii Baltice si Nordic / The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies, vol. 3, no. 2 (2011) and vol. 4 (2012)

Valahian Journal of Historical Studies, issue 16 (2011) and issue 18 (2012)

10.00-10.15: Coffee Break

10.15-12.15: Conference session

The International Centre for Conferences Valahia University

Session 3
10.15 – 12.15

Panel 5

Influencing each other
The Green Room

Chair: Nerijus Babinskas

Kinga Dudzinska, *The Baltic States after crisis – causes, consequences and perspectives*

Elina Skujiņa, *Literature as the reflection of reality. Laima*

Muktupavela „The Mushroom Covenant. Bloody Balts in Ireland.” (2002)

Alexandra Anton, *Policy makers’ beliefs about assessment versus primary school teachers’ practices of assessing pupils. Comparative study: Finland and Romania*

George Calotă, Petrișor Gruia, Ion Croitoru, Emilia Vasile, *The effects of Balkan countries’ adherence to European Union*

Panel 6

Historical interactions, I
The Blue Room

Chair: Cezar Stanciu

Bogdan Teodor, *The Balkans between Democracy and Regional Stability*

Veniamin Ciobanu, *The appointment of a Swedish vice-consul in Bucharest in 1835*

George Cristea, *Family kinships between the Romanian and Swedish royal houses: an impetus for multilayered cooperation between the two countries*

Elena Dragomir, *The improvement of the Romanian-Finnish relations in the early 1960s as seen from Bucharest*

12.15-12.30: Coffee Break

12.30-13.15: Plenary session IV

The Auditorium of the International Centre for Conferences

Chair: Silviu-Marian Miloiu, The President of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;

Speaker: Chris Deliso, The Director of Balkanalysis.com;

Keynote presentation IV: *Contemporary Extremism as an Intelligence Problem;*

13.15-14.15: Reception

The Reception Hall of the International Centre for Conferences

14.15-18.00: Conference sessions

Panel 7

Ethnic minorities and European Identities, II

Chair: Kinga Dudzinska

Ádám Németh, *Alteration of the Ethnic Segregation and Ethnic Diversity Index in Latvia during the First and Second Independence Periods*

Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor, *The Repatriation of the Germans from Baltic States and Romania, 1939-1941. Policy, Diplomacy and Social Drama*

Panel 8

Global and regional crises

Chair: Sara Núñez de Prado

Oana-Camelia Stroescu, Dorin Popa, *The Greek-Turkish Crisis of 1996. The Role of the Greek Daily Political Press in Solving the Unsolved*

Ruxandra Alexianu, *Romania, Finland and the 2008 war in Georgia*

Session 4
14.15 – 15.45

Eva Birzniece, *Construction of Resistance Discourse in Latvian Post-Soviet Literature about Deportations to Siberia (in 1940 and 1949)*

Adrian Mac Liman, *The impact of the green revolutions upon the stability in Southern Europe and the Balkans*

15.45-16.00: Coffee Break

The Reception Hall of the International Centre for Conferences

Plenary session IV

16.00 – 17.30

Historical interactions, II
Chair: Veniamin Ciobanu

Nerijus Babinskas, *Economic challenges of the early modern ages and different responses of European margins: comparative considerations on the basis of historiography (the cases of Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth and Moldavian principality)*

Costel Coroban, *From the Fringe of the North to the Balkans: The Balkans Viewed by Scottish Medical Women during World War I*

Mioara Anton, *War and Peace: Soviet strategies in the Balkans and Black Sea regions (1946-1947)*

17.30-18.00: Closing Session

The Green Room
of the International Centre for Conferences, Valahia University of Târgoviște

Chairs: Chris Deliso, The Director of Balkanalysis.com and Elena Dragomir, The Secretary of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;

18.00-19.00: visit of the town of Targoviste;

20.00-23.00: Festive Dinner offered by the organizers;

Restaurant Belvedere

Sunday, 27 May 2012

08.00-13.00: Guided excursion to Padina in the Carpathians;

Presenters' index:

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50.	Emilia Vasile	“Athenaeum” University of Bucharest	Romania	rector@univath.ro
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Organizing Committee:

Honorary Chairs of the Organizing Committee:

- H.E. Dr. Vladimir Jarmolenko, The Ambassador of Lithuania in Bucharest, Honorary President of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;
- H.E. Taavi Toom, The Ambassador of Estonia to Romania;
- H.E. Ulla Väistö, The Ambassador of Finland to Romania;
- H.E. Øystein Hovdkinn, The Ambassador of Norway to Romania;
- H.E. Anders Bengtén, The Ambassador of Sweden to Romania;
- Mr. Ioan Donca, The Consul of Latvia in Bucharest;

Chairs of the Organizing Committee:

- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Silviu Miloiu, The President of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies
- MA Chris Deliso, The Director of Balkanalysis.com

Members of the Organizing Committee:

- Assist. Prof. Dr. Kari Alenius, University of Oulu (Finland)
- Ambassador Darko Angelov (Macedonia)
- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Florin Anghel, Ovidius University of Constanta (Romania)
- Dr. Nerijus Babinskas, University of Vilnius (Lithuania)
- Dr. Stefan Ewert, University of Greifswald (Germany)
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- Prof. Dr. Eriks Jekabsons, University of Latvia (Latvia)
- Prof. Adrian Mac Liman, Ciencias Sociales Mundo Mediterráneo Foundation, Altea, Alicante (Spain)
- Dr. Dimitris Michalopoulos, Director of the Historical Institute for Studies on Eleutherios Veniselos and his Era (Greece)
- Dr. Abel Polese, Institute of Governance, Tallinn University (Estonia)
- Prof. Dr. Sara Núñez de Prado, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos (Spain)
- Dr. Bogdan Schipor, "A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History of Iasi (Romania)
- Prof. Panos Sophoulis, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens (Greece)
- MA Islam Yusufi, Center for Policy Studies, Budapest (Hungary)

Secretary of the Organizing Committee:

- Elena Dragomir, University of Helsinki;

Deputy Secretary of the Organizing Committee:

- Ioan Bodnar, Valahia University of Târgoviște;

Conference secretariat:

- Andreea Andreescu, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Mihaela Diaconu, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Daniel Diaconescu, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Tatiana Drăguțan, The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies;
- Magdalena Ionescu, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Daniela Nica, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Georgeta Soare, Valahia University of Târgoviște;
- Florina Sorescu, Valahia University of Târgoviște;

The webpage of the conference: <http://www.arsbn.ro/conference-2012.htm>

Past conferences:

<http://www.arsbn.ro/conferences.htm> and <http://www.arsbn.ro/conference-2011.htm>

Contact information:

For further assistance, please contact the organizers of the conference at:

Address: Dr. Silviu Miloiu, Valahia University, Lt. Stancu Ion St., No. 33, 130105
Targoviste, Romania, Tel. (004) 0724403094, Fax (004) 0345 819714, E-mail:
conference2012@arsbn.ro

PAPERS ABSTRACTS

Bogdan Aitana, Oana-Andreea Sprincenatu, *Romania and Right-Wing Extremist Behavior: A Network Approach*

Abstract:

The 2011 Norway attacks conducted by Anders Breivik and his manifesto „2083. A European Declaration of Independence” returned right-wing extremism into the limelight of politics and the academic community.

The paper starts from the hypothesis that right-wing extremist entities from Eastern and Western Europe tend to form an informal network, although they don't perceive themselves as such. Traditionally, right-wing extremist organizations are closely-knit on the inside and isolationist on the outside. However, socio-political evolutions in Europe, namely the creation of the European Union and the technological transformations brought on by the Information Age have effectively forced them into establishing cooperation relations.

By using the network society theoretical model developed by Manuel Castells this study aims to prove that regarded as a whole all these bi-lateral and multi-lateral relations form an informal network of organizations, which share common goals and are united by ideological affinity. According to Castells, a network has no center, just nodes with different functions, which is in accordance with the autonomy claim of extremist entities and the manner in which they relate among themselves.

The interaction between right-wing radical groups has multiple layers, each providing valuable insight on the nature of the relations established. Therefore, this paper addresses several types of ties: interconnectivity of sites, organization and participation in common events, exchange of know-how and transfer of ideology.

Furthermore, we have selected the case of the Romanian right-wing extremist organization Noua Dreaptă to serve as an example for the multiple layers of interaction developed between right-wing extremist entities in the Balkans and similar organizations from Western Europe.

As other organizations of its kind, Noua Dreaptă claims total autonomy. However, this study proves that it behaves just as a node within a wider European network, replicating the model and adapting to the behavior of similar organizations.

Matteo Albertini, *Organized Crime from the Balkans to Scandinavia: state of affairs*

Abstract:

The last twenty years has seen an increasing presence of Balkan organized crime groups in security reports and newspapers' headlines.

This does not mean that mafia groups did not exist during Socialist Yugoslavia – even if its collapse and the following war made criminals and smugglers useful for politicians and leaders to maintain their power; it rather means that Balkan organized crime came outside its traditional areas of action in Serbia, Montenegro and Albania: less territorial and nationalist than it was before, it is now gaining prominence in an international scenario, making agreements with Italian and South American mafias – the so-called Holy Alliance – to manage drug routes towards Western Europe.

One of the most interesting factors concerning Balkan mafia groups today is their presence in countries which traditionally do not have a history of organized crime, such as the Scandinavian states. One of the reasons lies in the wide percentage of immigrants moving from Balkan countries to Sweden or Norway. Since the wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia, war-crimes fugitives were able to become common criminals in these countries, such as the infamous Zeliko Raznjatovic (“Arkan)..

However, year by year, these gangs grew larger, taking advantage of the “expertise” and the resources gained during the war. In particular, the most spectacular case – the

Vastberga helicopter robbery in 2009 – showed how these groups operate with military-style precision, utilize a wide number of participants, and have at their disposal large amounts of weapons and money.

This paper will draw on the importance of Scandinavian – Balkan mafia relations in relation to three main criminal areas: drug and weapon smuggling and human trafficking, in order to underline the role of diasporas in enforcing organized crime groups and the extent to which these mafias could be a threat for the stability in both Eastern and Western Europe.

Kari Alenius, “Beggars, scammers, discriminated against by the whole of Europe”. Romania's Roma in Finnish tabloids, 2008-2011

Abstract:

Roma are one of the groups whose movement within the EU has attracted much attention in recent years. In the case of Roma populations, perhaps Romania's Roma, many of whom have moved to the north and to Western Europe within the last few years, have caught the most international attention.

This study examines what kind of image Finnish tabloids have presented of the Roma issue during the years 2008-2011. This subject matter has been unexplored so far. However, this subject is important as the media is of great significance in regards to the formation of human opinions, attitudes and worldviews. Tabloids, the so-called yellow press, are, in turn an important research topic within the media as these papers are quite popular and they are visible in the everyday lives of ordinary people. Their news coverage is also sensation-seeking and has a way of dramatizing things. Therefore, it can be assumed that people pay attention to tabloids and they can affect people.

In Finland, two tabloids are published, the *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Ilta-lehti*. This study has systematically analyzed the contents of each paper during the years 2008-2011. To uncover the specific characteristics of these tabloids, the content of one “ordinary” newspaper has been systematically examined for this same time period, to which it is possible to compare the tabloids. The *Turun Sanomat*, similar in its circulation statistics, has been chosen for this.

The image created of Roma in Finnish tabloid newspapers from 2008-2011 can be summed up as follows: the Roma are a strange, clearly different group from the Finns, a typical representative of “otherness”. This difference consists of practicing pursuits of livelihood which are foreign in Finland; begging and street selling, and in addition, Roma are widely seen to violate the laws of Finland as well as moral values and manners.

Ruxandra Alexianu, Romania, Finland and the 2008 war in Georgia

Abstract:

The main purpose of this paper is to present the positions undertaken by Romania and Finland towards the Georgian-Russian war in August 2008. This research is important in the field of international relations because it studies how these two states have reported to an external problem but on which there is a major interest due to the geographical proximity and to the relations these two countries have with the major player involved in the area- the Russian Federation.

Unlike similar research regarding the responses of different actors of the international arena, this paper wants to bring a comparative analysis of the responses given to the war in August 2008 by two now member states of the European Union which have had a long, tumultuous relation with URSS/ Russian Federation. The method used was a case study of the responses given by Romania and Finland towards the five days conflict.

Through the systematization and interpretation of previous empirical studies, press articles and official statements this work offers a clear image of how the two different states acted towards that war.

This paper may elicit a more analytical interest for research groups interested in foreign relations in general, and policy of some Eastern UE member states toward the Eastern neighbourhood of the continental organisation, in particular.

The key contribution of this paper consists of providing an analysis of the official positions taken by the two East EU countries and of some of the factors behind the decision making process regarding the war in August 2008.

Alexandra Anton, *Policy makers' beliefs about assessment versus primary school teachers' practices of assessing pupils. Comparative study: Finland and Romania*

Abstract:

In the last few decades, schooling has gone through more or less radical changes that have introduced or eliminated assessment practices. The purpose of assessment must have been diverse, as long as two European countries (Finland and Romania) adopted a totally opposite approach. Considerable attention has been devoted to the consequences that assessment has in the learning culture, practices and outcomes, but only a few studies have been interested in comparing teachers' and policy makers' beliefs about assessment. The aim of this paper is to give a voice to experienced primary school teachers and policy makers, and ask them to describe the process and purpose of assessment as they see it, in order to establish how much standardized tests are considered measures of valued educational goals and how much of the latest reforms were based on the collaboration between the two parts.

Mioara Anton, *War and Peace: Soviet Strategies in the Balkans and Black Sea regions (1946-1947)*

Abstract:

The allied military success of Spring-Summer 1944, but especially the advance of the Red Army, fundamentally changed the balance of forces in the Balkan and Black Sea regions. The former Soviet ambassador to London, Ivan Maisky, proposed in a memorandum to Molotov, in January 1944, the increase Soviet influence in the Balkans and undermining the position of Turkey on the Straits. Control of the Straits meant not only cutting British lines of communication, but also ensured Soviet dominance in the Middle East, through the creation of a security zone for the Caucasus oil field.

Soviet pressures caused a revision and reorientation of American policy concerning the issue of the Straits. The change in direction did not go unnoticed by the leaders in the Kremlin, who were obliged to reassess strategy in their turn. Having to accommodate new international realities was a provocation for Stalin. Soviet policy in the Balkans, pressure on Turkey, and crisis with Iran led to the formulation of a common Anglo-American policy whose aim was obstructing the expansion of communism.

The outbreak of the Cold War left the Straits out of Soviet control and announced the beginning of new stages in the shaping of centers of power and domination in the Balkans and the Black Sea region. The aim of this paper is to provide new available information from British and Romanian archives concerning the Soviet strategies in Black Sea region.

Görkem Atsungur, *The Politics of Painting: Political Graffiti in the Balkan and Baltic Regions*

Abstract:

The purpose of this study is to analyse "political graffiti" in the Balkan and Baltic regions. Whether it is art or vandalism, graffiti as a part of subculture stands as an expression of emotions and reactions in the mass society. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been sharply increasing of extremism and radicalism throughout the European continent. These extremist/radical groups express strong hostility towards immigrants and

other ethnic/religious minorities. They are in favour of strong nationalism and homogeneity in the society. On the other hand, due to severe economic crisis in Europe, many street demonstrations have been taking place and they rebel against the central authority and/or International financial institutions. So, “the others” will be directly targeted in the society and many people unconsciously encounter with these “symbols” in everyday life. In that respect, graffiti as pulse of the streets are crucial to express a political practice. These kinds of political graffiti are important symbolic representations of the political, economic and ethnic conflict. If there is a chance to draw a picture of the “political culture” in a modern life, graffiti would be the first option. Graffiti can be used as a tool to spread their messages and ideologies. They do not need to spend too much money or take an action with violent methods. For instance, instead of using costly ways such as giving an advertisement, they choose to express their views freely. National Media is mostly controlled; therefore, radical views are mostly censored. As a result of this, it is crucial to understand that how graffiti reflects on the community.

The paper starts with an overview of the political graffiti in the Balkan and Baltic regions. It describes the main slogans, messages, political movements’ symbols and ideologies. There will be comparative analysis of “who targets are” and who “the others” are. Are the political graffiti in these regions from Radical-right or Radical-left? Their main positions at the political spectrum will be researched. The study seeks to answer that whether there is a “general impression” of the political graffiti or they have some peculiarities due to their political culture. Then the study continues to cover the reactions of these graffiti in the society. Do the political graffiti remove by the officials in order to decrease discrimination in daily life? What should be reactions of the government towards these political graffiti? This study aims to answer these questions.

Nerijus Babinskas, Economic challenges of the early modern ages and different responses of European margins: comparative considerations on the basis of historiography (the cases of polish-Lithuanian commonwealth and Moldavian principality

Abstract:

The author of the current paper has an intention to draw attention at some stereotypes which simplify historical reality but nevertheless still prevail in historiography. There is a very common statement about the so-called second edition of serfdom (it presupposes manor farm based on corvée [Folwark]) which spread all around the so-called Eastern (or Eastern and Central) Europe region in the 16th century. This turn of social development is usually explained as determined by internal (peculiarities of social structure of Eastern Europe compared with Western Europe) as well as external (changes in the international markets and international division of labour: rapidly growing demand for food [especially grain] in Western Europe, Eastern Europe’s specialization as a food supplier) factors. If to put the considered problem into frame of Marxist explanation one can distinguish two extreme poles: traditional Marxism and world-system approach. Supporters of traditional Marxism emphasize internal factors while adherents of world-system attitude accentuate external factors.

The author of the current paper also wants to emphasize that to treat so-called Eastern Europe as a coherent historical region in the early modern ages (as well as in the Middle Ages) is inadequate distortion. As works of the outstanding Moldavian historian Pavel Sovietov has grounded obviously on the case of Moldova, specific features of development of productive forces should be taken in one’s consideration first of all in order to explain reasons of social development of any society in an adequate way. Exactly the peculiarities of Moldova’s bio-productive economy’s structure (prevails animal raising, viticulture, apiculture; grain raising is less developed than, for example, in Poland) determined very limited growing of corvée (labour rent) method of exploitation in Moldova in the 16th – 17th centuries (although serfdom as such was introduced in Moldova exactly

at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries). The influence of external factors also should not be exaggerated. This statement has grounded by the recent research (2009) of Lithuanian historian Darius Žiemelis. In his doctoral thesis he has established that especially in the case of Grand Duchy of Lithuania manor farms of nobility were oriented first of all to internal market and not to the export.

Eva Birzniece, *Construction of Resistance Discourse in Latvian Post-soviet Literature about Deportations to Siberia (in 1940 and 1949)*

Abstract:

During the soviet era there were no literary representations of thousands of civilians of Latvia deported to Siberia and Far East by the soviet regime. This was marginalized and silenced experience in all possible respects – politically, socially and culturally. The narratives (in books published in state owned publishing houses) emerged only in the beginning of 1990ies when the Soviet Union collapsed.

Several novels – “Veļupes krastā” by Melānija Vanaga and “Exhumation” by Anita Liepa were published immediately after Latvia and other Baltic Republics regained their independence in 1991. It proves that these novels were written long before the collapse of the Soviet Union but were not published because of strong censorship. Both novels deal with the unexpected and unfair deportations of Latvian civilians to Siberia in 1940 and in 1949 and the survival and return (or death) of the deported people.

A documentary novel “With Dance Shoes in Siberian Snows” by a prominent Latvian independence fighter and current politician Sandra Kalniete was published in 2001. It is the first documentary novel about Siberia that not only recounts the events of deportation recounting experience of the survivors but gives a vast factual material about the deportation process in Latvia. (Kalniete studied all available archives.) The novel by Kalniete is the most widely translated modern Latvian writing that has been translated into more than 12 languages so far.

All these novels not only reconstruct continuity to the previous Latvia, independent Republic of Latvia founded in 1918 and link the revived state to the Western values of democracy but also construct a very strong discourse of resistance – both on individual and collective level. Construction of narratives about deportations in a new political environment gives the writers agency to reconsider actions and reflections of the people and milieu described on what really happened 30-40-50 years prior to their writing.

Mehmet Efe Biresselioglu, *Evaluation of the Balkans' Position as a Transit Route for Natural Gas Supply to the EU*

Abstract:

In the aftermath of the 1970s energy crisis, the globe has realized the possibility of energy scarcity. As a result, the term *energy security* has emerged in governmental agendas throughout the globe, especially in the European countries. From that time, energy supply security became an important issue in the European Community and, then, the EU. However, with the transformation of the world system and newly independent countries' emerge due to the end of Cold War, the range of the supply concerns has widened. The dangers of over-dependence on a single supply source via single route became evident for the EU, especially starting from late 1990s. As a result, energy supply diversification has become a top issue in the union's politics. Accordingly, one of the important region that could enhance the EU's diversification efforts is the Balkans. Given the rising importance of the Balkans as the principal transit corridor for the export of Caspian and Middle East natural gas to Europe, especially via Turkey, several pipeline proposals has emerged. Therefore, this study examines the pipeline diplomacy of the region, considering the operational, under construction and planned projects in order to analyze the region's current and potential role as a transit for the natural gas supply to the EU.

George Calota, Petrisor Gruia, Ion Croitoru, Emilian Vasile, *The effects of Balkan countries' adherence to European Union*

Abstract:

EU adhesion requires that each administrative area and each sector of a Member State to comply with the community acquis. The compliance with EU requirements on the basic budget process, financial control and audit is an obligation of the Members.

Through this article the authors present and analyze specific aspects of the control and audit in several Balkan countries, considering the characteristics encountered in their practice. At the same time here are highlighted the role and objectives of control and financial audit aiming the effective management of funds in accordance with EU objectives and general and sectorial regulations governing the community policies. The preparation of this paper was made based on a comparative analysis of the practice of public internal financial control both in European Union countries and from countries that are acceding. This paper aims to clarify concepts raised in discussion, to provide information on good practice in the field of Member States by synthesizing the identified solutions and expertise gained. It aims to provide an overview of the subject and an analysis of several key aspects highlighted to be known, discussed and try to implement them in practice. The focus is on the practical experience and the conclusions of those that were and that are involved in daily activity of adoption and development of public internal financial control system. In conclusion, this paper addresses a current problem and opportunity that the literature has not received sufficient attention. The work should not be perceived as a „finished product”, as through it authors aim to provide a starting point for seminars, workshops and future debates between academics and practitioners from Balkan countries and Member States.

Aneta Cekik, *Small states lobbying in the European Union- the experience of the newer member states*

Abstract:

The paper examines the available and exploited means of interest representation at the European Union level of governance by the interest groups and wider civil society organizations from the Baltic States and Slovenia. Based on the results of an empirical research conducted in Brussels, and the suggestions in the theoretical literature on EU lobbying, it aims to create a model for successful interest representation of the same actors from the small postcommunist Balkan states.

The regular EU level activities of interest groups from smaller and newer member states are very much in line with those of similar actors from the older and bigger member states. This is the case with regard to participation in the European associations of national interest groups, networking and coalition building, the used lobbying channels and the creation of their lobbying strategies. However, the direct participation in the EU decision making processes (Brussels office) is severely limited by non sufficient human and financial resources, as well as lack of experience in interest representation processes at national level. There are also country to country differences and additional domestic factors that limit the EU-level performance. With regard of the size of the country of origin, other factors as coordination and cooperation activities among interest from the same country of origin, and their relation to national permanent representations in Brussels when acting at EU level, are examined.

Costel Coroban, *From the Fringe of the North to the Balkans: The Balkans Viewed by Scottish Medical Women during World War I*

Abstract:

Much like the British, the Scottish people had strong historical and cultural links with Scandinavia, so that often they are also included in 'Nordic Europe'. This paper is about the venture of the units of the Scottish Women's Hospitals organization in the Balkans during World War I. It is important to note that these women, inspired by the

ideals of equality and compassion, were not part of any governmental organization, as the British War Office refused to employ them, and thus acted entirely based on their ideals. The first unit to serve in the Balkans under Dr. Elsie Inglis was captured by the Central Powers on the invasion of Serbia, but would be later reorganized as the SWH London unit, and would travel to Romania and Russia together with its ambulance unit, in order to help the First Serbian Volunteer Division. After the unfortunate demise of Dr. Elsie Inglis on 26 November 1917 upon her arrival at Newcastle upon Tyne, the unit was renamed the “Dr. Elsie Inglis” unit, and travelled to Macedonia and Serbia in order to continue its relief work. Other units that served in Macedonia and Serbia since 1916 were the Girton and Newnham unit, the America Unit, their transport (ambulance) sub-units, and briefly Dr. Mary Blair’s unit. The SWH Committee in Edinburgh had the honourable initiative of crowning their efforts throughout the war by founding an “Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital” in Belgrade during the spring of 1919, but this project would last only for a year.

Chris Deliso, *Contemporary Extremism as an Intelligence Problem*

Abstract:

Europe today is suffering from several existential crises simultaneously. Financial strains and disputes over economic policy have toppled governments and generated concern over the future of the single currency, while political polarization seems to be increasing, with the continuing debate over social values and traditions, identity and religion along with assimilation of minorities and immigrants growing fiercer. This environment has created the conditions for the voices of groups from the political margins to be heard, and even to assume power in some cases. Under such conditions, the likelihood of violence from extremist groups and individuals motivated by various ideologies is increasing as well.

Unfortunately, diagnosing, understanding and countering extremist groups and behavior ranging from criminal activity to acts of terrorism today is being complicated by several critical and interlinked factors. These include media depictions of groups and narrative interpretations of security events, political developments, the evolution of prevalent forms of violence, and a general reluctance or at least disinterest in finding new cognitive frameworks for discussing the evolving aspirations and capacities of extremist groups.

In such a situation, the obfuscation of actual agendas, the confusion of events, and even the identities of involved actors becomes more likely. And so something that is confusing enough for the layman thus becomes hard to approach even for intelligence practitioners- and thus increasing the likelihood of bad governmental policy, social cleavages and needless conflict.

Nevertheless, in tackling this problem contributions can in fact be made by academics, journalists and other researchers. This begins with an examination of the discursive aspect of extremism, including media coverage and choice of language and contextualization. An interesting dimension of this topic today is the apparent changing meaning and implications of descriptive terminology, for example ‘terrorism’ and ‘right-wing extremism,’ beyond previously tacitly understood meanings.

In addition to a more attentive focus on the discursive level, research tactics today might also include an assessment of the shifting relationship between political trends and affiliations and extremist activities, and what this may mean in future. In the presentation, it is posited that the speed and quality of these developments should challenge us to think in new ways, to raise questions, and to develop new lines of inquiry. It is emphasized that a critical and proactive strategy – rather than reactive thought – is necessary for gaining insight into the possible tactics of extremist groups in today’s rather fluid environment.

The recent experiences of two dissimilar but inter-related regions – Nordic Europe and the Balkans – with extremist groups and events provide some of the real-life case studies for illustrating how such an approach might be applied in practice. The events and

areas discussed throughout the presentation, therefore, are intended to shed light on different aspects of extremism as an intelligence problem, and ideally will lead to stimulating and productive discussion on a critical area for European stability now and in the future. These topics include: the progression of recent violent incidents in Macedonia; the identity development of Albanian extremist groups; political participation of the far right in Greece, Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria, as well as extremism in the Nordic countries and particularly the Anders Breivik case.

Elena Dragomir, *The improvement of the Romanian-Finnish relations in the early 1960s as seen from Bucharest*

Abstract:

In 1963, the Romanian and Finnish diplomatic offices from Helsinki and Bucharest were raised to the rank of embassy, marking a gradual improvement of the bilateral relations. However, very little is known today about the reasons and expectations of each part from this rapprochement. This paper investigates the shift from the Romanian-Finnish relations from a Romanian perspective on the basis of the evidence provided by the Archive of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Romanian Ministry of foreign Affairs. Thus, the study presents and analyzes the Romanian leaders' reasons, expectations and perceptions with regard to the improvement of Romania's relations with Finland in the first half of the 1960s.

Oana-Raluca Glavan, Lucia Andrievschi-Bartkiene, *Multiculturalism vs. Nationalism and the Role of Ethnic Minorities in the Public Life of Lithuania*

Abstract:

Lithuania has become a member of the E.U. in 2004 and it is intensively preparing nowadays to take over the European presidency in the second half of 2013. As today E.U.'s agenda is oriented with priority to tackle the economic crisis, the survival of EURO zone and euro-skepticism, Lithuania's foreign policy is concentrated among others on developing further the area of freedom and security, promoting further enlargements and development of relations with Eastern countries. In this respect, Lithuania is keen to share its integration experience with candidate and potential candidate countries and make the further enlargement of the E.U. with the Western Balkans countries a similar successful story as the 2004 enlargement, with Croatia joining the EU on 1st of July 2013 during the Lithuanian presidency and planning to have an impact on the finalization of negotiations with other candidate countries.

Since joining the EU, Lithuania has experienced difficulties arising from its role as a destination, source and transit country for legal and irregular international migration. As Lithuania is one of the member states which have external borders with non-candidate countries (Byelorussia and Russia – Kaliningrad oblast), it is as well concerned about security issues, migration and integration of minorities in the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy. Minorities account for 16.5% of the population of Lithuania, out of which Poles-6.7 %, Russians and Byelorussians-7.5% and Ukrainians-0.7 %. Other minorities such as Jews, Germans, Tartars, Latvians, Roma, Armenians etc. account together for 0.7 % of the total population. Lithuanians generally have a positive relationship with their national minorities and the integration of former may be regarded as somewhat advanced, but discrimination cannot be excluded, especially on the labor market.

This article will investigate the Lithuanian strategy for the integration of national minorities, their role in the public life and their influence over the internal and external policy of Lithuania.

Kinga Dudzińska, *The Baltic States after crisis – causes, consequences and perspectives*

Abstract:

The economic crisis in the years 2008–2010 proved to be extremely painful for the Baltic states, especially for Latvia. At the same time, however, it showed how significant the differences are that divide these three small states. Estonia has fared the economic crisis best because of its timely response to the early symptoms of an impending economic collapse. However, the Latvian and Lithuanian economies found it far more difficult to cope with the crisis.

The aim of this paper is to analyze as well the causes of the economic crisis, as the effects of the decline in the Baltic states, with a particular emphasis on Latvia's case (but still in the comparative perspective to Lithuania and Estonia). The thesis assumes that the crisis in Latvia, as a result of complex processes, has created conditions conducive to the political system of this country, and especially to socio-economic cleavages in that system. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is an attempt to clarify whether and to what extent the economic crisis could affect changes in the political system (in the Latvia's domestic and the foreign policy in comparison with Lithuania and Estonia). This seems particularly interesting because of the current economic situation in the EU, when the future of the Eurozone is still uncertain.

Saulius Kaubrys, *Polish minority of Lithuania during 1930s: between challenges and accommodation*

Abstract:

Polish factor played a great role in forming Lithuania's political processes and stipulated some characteristics of its internal life. A new regime (1927-1939) limited some chances of Polish minority's self-expression, but at the same time some possibilities were not lost. Analysis of the census of public organisations of Lithuania, which was held at the end of 1931 testified 16 Polish organisations operated or were active at the same time. It is notable that persons of other nationalities took an active part in those organisations too. All mentioned Polish units activities were grounded on the legal basis. During 1930s some precedents of non-legal operations were fixed too. The network of secret Polish schools and organisation of its financial aid testified on favour of minority's self-defence. Some violations of admission procedures to Polish gymnasiums (there were 3 high schools in Lithuania) were denied by the heads of mentioned institutions- they found some positive arguments for their own explanation. Lithuanian public environment was not ready for tolerating some measures adopted by Polish representatives. The last ones behaviour created a basis for misunderstanding and wrong argumentation on both sides. The fact of political maturity didn't serve on favour of mentioned communities- the way for dialogue was not found. The tactics of collective behaviour was changed at the end of 1930s- the era of new diplomatic relations opened other motives and abilities for understanding and daily practices.

Dragana Kovacevic, *Young people from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Norway: Migration, Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations*

Abstract:

Dragana Kovacevic's paper will focus on young people originating from Bosnia and Herzegovina, permanently residing in Norway, who first came to Norway as children and conflict refugees in the 1990s. The paper investigates how they relate to their identity and origin, and how they discursively represent nationalism(s) and wars in the sending society. She discusses their integration into Norwegian society and poses a question how ethnicity is contextualized in a receiving society in which it is generally socially desirable to express values of tolerance and respect for multiculturalism. Material from the interviews with young Bosnians and the participant observation of relevant events makes it possible to

reflect on such phenomena as transnational belongings and the so-called long-distance nationalism, leading to the discussion about the contested claims of victimhood in the post- Yugoslav immigration context.

Adrian Mac Liman, *The impact of the green revolutions upon the stability in Southern Europe and the Balkans*

Abstract:

The outbreak of the so-called “Arab springs” has generated a change of paradigms on a level with studies about the prospects of the Islamic/Arabic world. After the initial moments of uncertainty, it has been assumed that the so-called “spontaneous” movements were fruit of the profound unrest reigning in the society (it would be somewhat risky to use here the expression “public opinion”) of said countries vis à vis the authoritarian regimes unable or not willing to introduce the socioeconomic changes indispensable for the modernization and/or democratization of that part of the world.

The majority of political scientists have tried to silence, voluntarily or involuntarily, two key elements for the start and the development of the revolts. It relates to the principles enunciated in the initiative of the “Great Middle East” elaborated by the Bush Administration in 2004 and the academic study “From Dictatorship to Democracy” by Professor Gene Sharp, published for the first time in 2003 in Bangkok (Thailand) that had become a reference for the non-violent movements. The combination of both factors has enabled the success of most of the vindictive movements in the Arab Muslim world. In other cases, however (Libya, Syria, etc.), the failure of this ideology has led to violent confrontations between the political power and the masses.

“The impact of the green revolutions on the stability in Southern Europe and the Balkans” pretends to analyze the possible repercussions on the European member countries in the South of Europe by the establishment of “moderate” Islamic regimes in the southern basin of the Mediterranean.

Sajal Lahiri and Valerica Vlad, *Peace Dividends in a Trade-theoretic Model of Conflict*

Abstract:

We construct a trade-theoretic model for three open economies two of which are in conflict with each other and the third is the source of foreign investments to the two warring countries. War efforts — which involve the use of soldiers — is determined endogenously. The purpose of war is the capture of land, but the costs are production sacrificed, reduced flow of foreign investments, and general disruptions in the economy. We examine the effect of a bilateral piecemeal reduction in war efforts on the level of foreign investments and on welfare in the three countries. We find positive effects on all fronts.

Dimitris Michalopoulos, *Far right in the Balkans: Roots and perspectives*

Abstract:

Contrary to what most people think (scholars included) the roots of the European Far Right lay in the Balkans. As early as 1916, Greeks fathered archetypal Fascism, on which Mussolini was to mould early in the 1920s his own Fasci di Combattimento. The Greek reservists (Epistratoi) of the 1912-3 Balkan Wars were organised into associations (Syllogoi) headed by officers of the Army. It is noteworthy that their main features were social and not national: They adored King Constantine I of the Hellenes, a typical King-soldier figure; they advocated the neutrality of Greece in WW I, and subsequently they rejected any proposal for Greece’s territorial expansion formulated either by the Entente or the Central Empires. The crux, further, was that they wanted their country to be run exclusively by autochthones. In other words, they regarded the Greek Diaspora and mainly the wealthy of those as their bitterest foes.

In November, 1916, the troops of the Entente Cordiale tried to seize Athens. The Reservists put up a fierce resistance and the Anglo-French military units suffered a serious defeat. In 1917, nonetheless, after the March Revolution in Russia, King Constantine opted to leave Greece because of Anglo-French pressure on him. He was afraid of his Royal Family's losing the Greek crown. As a result, French troops occupied Athens and bitterly persecuted the Reservists. Yet they did not give up; and they assured the defeat of Venizelos in the 1920 elections. The end of their story was the death of King Constantine early in 1923. But their memory survives up to our time – mainly in Athens and Piraeus, its harbour.

The Romanian Far Right, shaped by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, had no nexus with either the Crown or the Army. It is well-known that Capitanul was murdered thanks to King Carol's aversion against him and that the Legion of Archangel Michael was exterminated in Bucharest thanks to General Ion Antonescu - and Hitler as well. (Ich brauche kein Fanatiker...) Thanks to the indifference the Legionnaires marched to death (Trăiască moartea!), they left the example of a Rightist movement deeply imbued with religious mysticism...

...Something that was lacking in the Balli Kombëtar, the Albanian Far Right movement, the salient feature of which was its republican tendency.

Is it possible for these Balkan Far Right movements to revive in the future? In their traditional shape, of course it is not. Still none can exclude their revival in new, ultra-modern forms.

Silviu-Marian Miloiu, *The failure of Nordic interwar right-wing movements from the perspective of Romanian diplomacy*

Abstract:

This paper approaches the way the Romanian diplomacy perceived the birth, the development and the final failure of the Nordic right-wing movements during the interwar period. It uses as a frame of analysis Ulf Lindström's (1985) taxonomy of causes which explain the failure of these movements and parties and tries to discover in the Romanian diplomatic documents held in the Romanian Foreign Ministry Archives and memoirs how these reasons were perceived and interpreted by the Romanian diplomats and military attaches at the time. We expect that the outcome of this research will tell something about the antibodies which helped the Nordic countries preserving their democratic system and about the peculiarities of each of the four Nordic states (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland) in this respect, and more about the beliefs and value system of Romanian diplomats and military attaches.

Ádám Németh, *Alteration of the Ethnic Segregation and Ethnic Diversity Index in Latvia during the First and Second Independence Periods*

Abstract:

The Baltic Region plays the role of a special macro-region in our continent: it constitutes a natural bridge – sometimes a wall and fortress – between Northern, Eastern and Central Europe. For hundreds of years this peculiar geostrategic position has been determining the everyday life of the area's inhabitants, thus it is not accidental that one of the oldest and most classical buffer zones of our continent is located here. By proving that there are no sharp, straight line-like borders in the geographic space, it is an excellent example of the definition of ethnic contact zone as well.

Many experts in several journals have already published on Latvia's ethnic history. This study, considering its theme is also one of them, but it is trying to open up new vistas by its methods. The author transplants two special mathematical indexes – which are based on probability theory and was originally utilised by ecologists – to human geography and consistently performs it at national and municipal level. The study seeks the answers to: where, when, why and how has the Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Segregation Index

changed in Latvia during the First and Second Independence Periods? What kind of spatial patterns are possible to observe on the basis of the transformation? What kind of conclusions can we draw in the matter of “integrating minorities”? The enormous data is processed by modern GIS software products and projected on thematic maps.

Valentin Nicula, *The Romanian-Turkish Relations in the Framework of the Strategic Partnership*

Abstract:

The paper analyzes Romanian-Turkish relations from the perspective of the Strategic Partnership signed by the two states. Our interest for this subject is motivated by the uniqueness of the extended Black Sea region as a geopolitical area marked by volatility and situated in the immediate vicinity of the European Union and at the Eastern borders of NATO. Another characteristic of this region is the large number of international actors interested in expanding their influence, with Russia being the most aggressive in pursuing its political objectives.

The hypothesis of this paper is that Romanian-Turkish relations are defined by their common interest for the extended Black Sea region. In this respect, Halford Mackinder’s geopolitical theory is as relevant today as it was at the time of its publication.

After briefly mentioning some relevant events in the history of the Romanian-Turkish relations in the period after the end of the Cold War, we employ Mackinder’s Heartland theory in order to analyze the importance of the Black Sea Region within the European balance of power as well as to evaluate the roles played by the two actors: Turkey and Romania in this context.

In addition, the paper will address the general debates surrounding the placement of the anti-missile shield in Romania and Russia’s stance on the issue as well as the interest manifested by Moscow for preserving its control over the Black Sea. Another section of this paper is dedicated to the study of Turkey’s strategy for European integration and Romania’s stance in regard to Ankara’s European road, elements which can be found in the strategic document signed by the two states.

In conclusion, Turkey’s recent actions in the field of international relations led us to believe this state is trying to find an ally in Romania, in the extended Black Sea region in order to counterbalance Russia’s influence at the Black Sea and to confirm its status of a strong regional actor.

Sara Núñez de Prado, *The Projection of the Political Turkish Model beyond the Balkans*

Abstract:

Since the fall of the URSS, Turkey began to emerge as a most important international and interregional player in the area. Its geostrategic significant location, its size and particularly its relations with Turkmens, adding its desire to westernize without losing its Islamic roots, made of the old Ottoman country the best competitor to become the leader of the region. This position apparently got reinforced in 2005 with the opening of negotiations between EU, but since that moment until now, the pieces of that regional “chess board” have changed their strategic value. Erdogan’s Turkey has lost velocity and interest into its goal named Europe, at the same time it has turned to the Arabic world. Precisely, those democratic processes which look like to get initiate into the Mediterranean region and the Middle East that has shown a new possibility where Turkey could get establish as model to be followed by these countries because of Turkey combines the so-called “Triad”: democracy, Islam and economic market, facing the conciliation between the two most polemic questions of this “Triad”: democracy and Islam. Because all of this, from this perspective of the analysis we aboard the main question of this conference: the risk it could be assumed for the occidental world and particularly for the EU that Turkey evolves in its regional politic strategy and turns from being the reference power in the Balkans to

be the model to be followed by the still non natus democracies resulted from the recent Arabic protests.

Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor, *The Repatriation of the Germans from Baltic States and Romania, 1939-1941. Policy, Diplomacy and Social Drama*

Abstract:

Beyond aspects strictly related to political or territorial issues, the Soviet-German non-aggression pact signed on August 23, 1939 generated important demographic mutations in Eastern Europe, hard to foresee prior to the outbreak of the war. After the delineation of the spheres of influence and the new possessions of Germany and Soviet Union, Berlin tried to determine the German ethnics in Eastern Europe, including from territories obtained by the Soviet Union, to choose to return to Germany, considered the true homeland. This decision was the basis for an ample program for the repatriation of the German ethnics from the Baltic States or Romania. In the particular case of Romania, which we have in view, the program was developed in 1940, but we must take into consideration a few distinct elements.

The German authorities asked Moscow on this occasion to solve the problem of the almost 100.000 German ethnics who lived in the region between Prut and Dnester. Berlin was intrigued by the fact that the Soviet ultimatum addressed to Romania referred equally to Bukovina and the Herta area, territories on which also lived many people of German origin. Their issue could be solved directly with the Soviets, but the Reich's leaders also took into account the repatriation of the Germans from Romania. The negotiations regarding the repatriation of the Germans from Romania started almost immediately, and when they were concluded, in the autumn of 1940, the German ethnics, and not only they, had sufficient reasons to choose to leave for Germany. Romania had lost vast territories in a very short period of time, waves of refugees and, with them, the news that came especially from the territories occupied by the Soviets were increasingly alarming, so leaving for Germany represented for many the best option for them and their families to live a more secure life. The fact that many of them subsequently returned was determined maybe not only by homesickness, but also the fact that the internal situation of Romania remained somewhat stable and calm until 1943-44.

On the other hand, in case of the Baltic States there were two waves of repatriation or "resettlement". The first was between October 1939 until May 1940 and the second from January to March 1941. The agreements forming the official basis for the first wave of repatriation in the Baltic States were concluded between Germany and the legal governments of those countries, and the other one between Germany and Soviet Union, which had meanwhile occupied Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and accordingly the conditions for the two waves of repatriation were different. In addition, there are also different sources of information about the resettled individuals. Differently from the 1939-1940 repatriation, there are very few documents on later repatriation.

Obviously, we never lose sight of the fact that the repatriation of the Germans from Bukovina, Bessarabia or Dobrudja represented only a part of a much larger process which cannot be fully understood if we do not compare it, for example, to similar phenomena in the Baltic countries. In retrospect, the political decision to repatriate the German ethnics either from the Baltic States or from Romania, irrespective of the administrative or legal measures that accompanied and facilitated it, created, on both sides, deep social and human disruptions whose consequences can still be felt today, and at the same time, represented an accurate indicator of the fate and the particular situation of these countries. The repatriation of the German ethnics from Latvia, Estonia or Lithuania can emphasize both similarities and distinctions which, together, can form a more accurate image on an uprooted ethnic group seeking a new identity in the old homeland, animated by promises, hopes and dreams of a better life.

There is no doubt, however that the repatriation of the Germans from Eastern Europe in 1939, 1940, and 1941, beyond any similarities or distinctions, nuances or consequences was nothing but an element of the redefinition of the spheres of influence, a barometer of the Soviet-German relations and of aggression.

Elīna Skujiņa, *Literature as the reflection of reality. Laima Mukstupāvela „The Mushroom Covenant. Bloody Balts in Ireland.” (2002)*

Abstract:

Contemporary Latvian literature tends to run away from the reality of the moment. Nevertheless the existing reality in Latvia is protracted economic, ideological and social crisis that causes wavy emigration of residents to other countries.

Laima Mukstupāvela is one of those few Latvian writers who has embodied the current processes in a literal text – novel “The Mushroom Covenant” is a story told in a manner of picaresque novel about wanderings of a Latvian woman aiming to find a job in Ireland. Novel was published already in 2002 but it has become even more topical today since Latvians still continue to go abroad in quest of happiness and money.

Novel points to considerable alienation of people from their country caused by state power’s indifference towards the problems of several social classes. Latvian feels alien and rejected both in his or her country as well as after emigrating to another country; it brings about the issue of identity.

Novel outlines also the situation of Romanian emigrants who perform the black work in Ireland. The characters of Laima Mukstupāvela novel recommend Latvians to take the example from Romanians: “... one should learn to live in Ireland like Romanians do! [...] ..one should learn using democracy instead of working hard and receive almost nothing.”* In Latvian’s opinion Romanian in Ireland is skilled in that. Paper will elaborate on literature as the reflection of reality – the processes reflected in Laima Mukstupāvela novel “The Mushroom Covenant” of the current situation in Latvia as well as positions of Latvian blue collar worker in Western Europe’s labour market.

Novel “The Mushroom Covenant” is translated and published in Lithuania (2003), Germany (2008), Sweden (2011), fragments of novel is translated

Oana-Camelia Stroescu, Dorin Popa, *The Greek-Turkish Crisis of 1996. The Role of the Greek Daily Political Press in Solving the Unsolved*

Abstract:

Stereotyping the Turks has been an enduring and unfortunate feature of the Greek press after the Cyprus conflict of 1974. This paper details the elements contributing to the development of Turkish typification in the Greek daily political newspapers during the Greek-Turkish crisis of 1996. An effort is made to analyze the position of the Greek dailies on the Aegean crisis and to show the Greek media behaviour towards the Turkish people. Do the Greek printed media use ethnic stereotyping to exaggerate the conflict and the crisis? Is the Greek press an obstacle in trying to solve the unsolved? Our purpose is to remonstrate that the Greek daily press produces and perpetuates stereotypes on Turks through textual and visual messages at least for the duration of the crisis. The front page articles of the major Greek dailies contain textual messages that stereotype Turks by their concentration, frequency and omissions. The methodology applied for this particular research is the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content of the major Greek newspapers’ front pages during the Aegean crisis of 1996.

Andrius Švarplys, *The European Union and Russia in the Lithuanian Mass Media after the Entering the European Union*

Abstract:

Europe and Russia have been a long time the key-markers in the Lithuanian national collective identity construction. Unconditional political direction to the ‘West’, i.e.

the European Union and NATO, after the restoration of independence in 1990 have been accompanied by deep Lithuanian self-understanding of belonging to the Western European political-cultural space from the one side, and by perceived a constant historical danger from Russia from the other side.

Lithuanian national mass media have persistently supported these two core assumptions while Lithuania had tried to achieve a membership in the European Union and NATO. 'Europe' has been presented as 'natural home' for the Lithuanians, basically without any eurosceptical voices, and Russia – as historical enemy, that forced Lithuania to lose its sovereignty and always in a pursuit of its imperialistic ambitions.

However, do Europe and Russia continue to play the same role in the national public discourse after Lithuania has joined the European Union? Is a national collective identity of Lithuanians still being constructed so positive to the European Union and negative to Russia? Or maybe the roles of both are changing?

The paper addresses these questions by referring to the collected data from mass media monitoring of five national newspapers during 2004-2006, three years thereafter Lithuania has enjoyed membership in the EU. The basic findings suggest that despite of the European Union and Russia remain very important factors in the Lithuanian mass media, their role is about to shift, though not fundamentally and not equally. It seems that the European Union earns more critical evaluations based on the assumed danger to the Lithuanian national uniqueness and on the discrepancy with national interests. Russia on its turn seems to continue to play a geopolitical hazard to the Lithuanian mass media while at the same time it deserves a marginal positive view.

Bogdan Teodor, *The Balkans between Democracy and Regional Stability*

Abstract:

Historically, the Balkans have enjoyed significant attention from the part of Europe, being regarded as a possible source for regional instability, which can be explained through its ethnic and religious diversity, which has modeled the political evolutions of the states belonging to this region. From the perspective of the European Union and Romania as a member state, the vicinity with a region marked by instability and possible conflicts represents a risk to internal security, manifested through the phenomenon of migration and difficulties in the process of securing the borders. Therefore, we will take into consideration the EU stance on the Balkans, as it is presented in official documents regarded the Neighborhood policy and illegal migration.

This paper addresses the problem from the perspective of the democracy-regional stability relation starting from the hypothesis that the existence of democratic regimes represents a factor of stability in the region.

From a theoretical perspective, the main aspects of a democratic state such as solving its differences through negotiations and cooperation, respect for the rights and liberties of individuals and minorities represent the premises for a low level of conflict risk. Furthermore, inter-state dialogue and relations establish easier among democratic regimes and currently, the main factor of regional stability is represented by the fear of each actor that a conflict can deteriorate the status-quo.

The paper starts with a geographical delimitation of the Balkan area and a short historical context of the regional evolution after 1990. Later on, we will attempt to elaborate a classification of regimes encountered in the states belonging to the Balkans based on the political science criteria that determine whether a particular regime is a democracy or not.

In conclusion, by identifying the democratic majority in the region we will be able to formulate a scenario of positive evolution regarding regional stability in the Balkans for medium term. Otherwise, the existence of non-democratic regimes or regimes which have only recently embarked upon democratization will accentuate the danger of regional instability, allowing the formulation of a worst-case scenario.