Reflections on Romania’s Road to the EU

By Marius Jitea

November 1987 is remembered by my generation for the first organized anti-regime rioting by workers in the lovely mountain town of Brasov. It was the anger, humiliation, and forced obedience that made them stand up against the system. Despite the violent oppression that the system used against them, and regardless of the numerous fake trials they went through, the workers in Brasov were the first in that decade that had the courage to stand up. What they did was the first signal of what happened two years later in December 1989, when the dictators and the dictatorship were removed by widespread revolution. At that time, I was only 12 years old, wondering why I could not have access to the books I needed and why the electricity in my parents’ apartment stopped for hours at night.

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The Implications of Immigration in Europe

A review of Immigration and the Transformation of Europe by Craig A. Parsons and Timothy Smeeding (Cambridge University Press)

By Christopher J. Mulkins

As we venture further into the 21st Century it becomes increasingly obvious that the challenges surrounding demographic change, economic growth and welfare-state reform are inevitably altering the political and social landscape of European countries. In a unique volume, former Maxwell European Union Center director Craig Parsons and Maxwell economics professor and director of the Center for Policy Research, Tim Smeeding, explore “the implications of immigration in Europe.” Immigration by non-European peoples may offer solutions to some of Europe’s challenges. However, it also ignites feelings of hostility among Europeans who perceive outsiders as threats to national identity and economic welfare.

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Each fall semester Syracuse University brings a small group of graduate students to Europe to participate in the Global Europe Program. For the 2006 Program eight students were selected from a highly competitive pool of applicants. They each served in a demanding internship, took courses, and pursued research in the European Union. Upon their return to the Maxwell School, they each participated in a symposium in which they presented their research to the Maxwell community. The Center for European Studies congratulates the following students:

- **ALESHA BLACK:** US Department of State, Refugee & Migration Affairs Office in Geneva. Research on UNHCR mandate expansion in the context of reform.
- **OLINDA CAYCHO DE LA CRUZ:** UN Office of Internal Oversight Services in Geneva.
- **SARAH FALVEY:** European Centre for Minority Issues in Flensburg.
- **KRISTIN LIPKE:** German Marshall Fund of the United States in Berlin. Research on German and American democracy promotion systems abroad.
- **RUXANDRA POND:** Romanian Mission to the EU in Brussels. Research on organizational change within new member states’ representations to the European Union.
- **ION GHETIE ROTARU:** International Organization on Migration in Geneva. Research on the free movement of persons regimes.
- **PRINCE NICHOLAS ZU:** UN Office on Drugs and Crime in Vienna.

It is this dichotomy between the need for immigrants and the negative feelings towards them that has fostered much attention among academics. How can Europe integrate the non-European populations that are essential, economically and demographically, to the future strength of these Western powers? Over the past two decades member states of the European Union have experienced a drop in population growth due to lower fertility rates. The EU experienced a natural population growth of only 0.4 percent in 2003, and dire predictions hold that by 2050 Europe will lose 95 million people. As population growth falls and the existing population ages, a growing burden is placed on the substantial welfare systems of those states and subsequently the economies of the European Union.

Craig A. Parsons and Timothy M. Smeeding thoroughly detail this tension and the policy implications that result. Following a conference in Luxembourg in 2004 on issues surrounding European immigration and the dwindling/aging natural populations of Europe, Parsons and Smeeding have collected 16 chapters from academics. The book is organized into four sections. The first three units focus on the development of the challenges facing Europe through several distinct lenses including demography, economics, and social integration. The final section is composed of examinations of how Europe can address these issues via public opinion, policies, and political parties. The book expertly examines these issues through a selection of multidisciplinary approaches. The intention of the editors was to fill a gap that previously existed in the literature. Parsons and Smeeding comment in the first chapter: "Our goal is to provide a set of representative inroads for novices to develop expertise on the subject, and a set of overlapping foundations on which more familiar readers may build toward more synthetic views." This was certainly accomplished. Professor Tito Boeri of the University of Bocconi in Milan, Italy, stated it most eloquently in his review of the book: "International migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, which can be better understood by combining competencies ranging from demography to economics, from political science to sociology. This volume collects contributions from distinguished experts from these various disciplines and focuses on Europe, the region of the planet where migration is, at the same time, most badly needed and most heavily opposed. It is a must read for social scientists interested in this issue."

**Immigration and Security**

The challenge of integrating non-Europeans into the societies of Europe also has security implications. Following the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005 respectively and the violent riots that plagued Paris for almost a month in 2005, the effect of immigration on European security was brought to the forefront of many national debates. Although the circumstances surrounding each of these incidents varied, the overarching commonality was the frustrated actions of Muslim immigrants, who feel that the European countries in which they live are socially and economically exclusive and racially discriminate against them. The nations of Europe should be motivated to undergo policy changes to more effectively incorporate Muslims into a society that needs them, both for economic and security reasons.

The London attacks identified a growing and coalescing group of jihadist Muslims in Europe. These individuals are not only made up of recent immigrants from Muslim countries that come to the West expressly to carry-out terrorist attacks, but also encompass second and third generation Muslims. The chil-

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Identifying Europe: Othering Turkey?

By Utkuhan Buyuk

Is Turkey European and does the Turkish Republic fit among the current 27 members of the EU? To evaluate this issue in the proper context, we must define ‘Europe’ and Europeanness first. This is not easy, since the idea of Europe evolved throughout history as a result of the dynamics of the continent, which led and still leads to continuous reconstructions of its identity. The irrefutable reality of today is that the political discourse regarding Turkey’s disputed Europeanness is not merely characterized by technical and procedural issues, but also by less tangible matters, such as perspectives on identity. In this case, history can be regarded as a powerful tool in evaluating Turkey’s raison d’être for joining the EU and why this ambition is often perceived as intricate and doubtful as well as obvious. Throughout history, the Ottoman Empire did not only play a significant role in generating geopolitical shifts in Europe, but its realm also shaped and influenced the collective imagination of the continent. Although the word ‘Europe’ was used throughout the Middle Ages, it was not until the fifteenth century that its meaning became conceptualized. It was the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the hands of the Turks that urged European states to end their wars and unite against a common threat. In their writings Podebrad, King of Bohemia, the Italian humanist Piccolomini and Pope Pius II were using the Respublica Christiana and Europe interchangeably as synonyms, which eventually resulted in an imagination of Europe as the Christian continent and the Turk as the ‘infidel’. Throughout the sixteenth century thousands of publications containing prints of the Turk as the nemesis of Christianity were printed all over Europe. Even though the continent was torn in religious wars itself, Christianity defined their unity against the so-called Turkomans. However, in the seventeenth century ideas about Europe started developing in another direction. The humanist Crucé, promoted the idea of a Council of Representatives that would create sustainable peace and free trade in Europe. According to Crucé, the conflicts in Europe were not religious, but political. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire should participate in this Council. Duke de Sully, a Huguenot (Calvinist) did not agree and proposed a Senate that would unite Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans only, and exclude the Ottoman Muslims. Besides this, a Holy Crusade should be waged against the ‘infidel’ Turks. Throughout the eighteenth century there were not only revolutionary changes in the ideas about Europe, but also in the representations of the Turk as the image of the Turk as the negative other was made almost undone. In 1793 the Ottoman Sultan Selim III established permanent embassies in London, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, among others. This direct involvement of the Ottoman Empire in European affairs created a positive interaction, resulting in an image of the Turk as the ‘noble savage’. All over Europe, the Ottomans were often portrayed as enlightened people in contrast to European rulers. It is in this century, that the idea of Europe as a Christian continent was replaced by Europe as a political entity, ruled by the balance of power system that tolerated religious freedom. Again, there were two ideas about the role of the Turks in Europe. William Penn, a Quaker from England, urged the formation (Continued on Page 6)
In August 2006 Syracuse University Abroad announced a new inter-disciplinary program on Muslim Cultures to be offered at its SU London Program in Bloomsbury in Fall 2007. The program will be available to students from schools throughout the United States and Canada. The program director is Prof. Tazim Kassam, a specialist of Islam and chair of the Department of Religion at Syracuse University. The Muslim Cultures program is designed for undergraduate students enrolled in minors and majors in the arts and sciences as well as students enrolled in professional degree programs.

For detailed information on the Muslim Cultures Program in London visit the MuslimCultures page at suabroad.syr.edu or the Syracuse University Abroad office at 1.800.235.3472.

**Title:** Muslim Cultures, Historical Diversity and Contemporary Realities

**Description:** The Muslim Cultures program provides students a rigorous understanding of Muslims’ past and present and the pluralism that exists among them in terms of the languages they speak, their interpretations of faith, their arts and architecture, their political philosophies, and their religious customs. The program will focus on Muslims as part of many different political, cultural, and geographical landscapes. The program combines coursework with cultural encounters. In London, students will visit Sunni, Shi’a, and Sufi organizations, mosques representing a variety of architectural styles, and taste the culinary variety of Muslim cultures. This experience will be augmented by a short stay in Granada in Spain, an Islamic cultural heritage site and home of the famous Alhambra Palace.

**Courses:** The following courses in the program have been designed to offer students a unique opportunity to study Muslim societies in many different contexts. Participants must take the prequel course ANT/GEO/SOC/REL 300: Muslims in a Global City (3 credits). Students have two options: they may take all six courses as a full package, beginning with the prequel, or they may take three courses and the prequel.

- HIS/REL 300: Mapping Islamic History: Muslim Cultures & Civilizations (3 credits)
- ANT//REL/SOC 300: Being Muslim: Contemporary Challenges of Muslim Societies (3 credits)
- ANT/GEO/REL/WSP 400: Gender, Identity and Globalization in Muslim Cultures (3 credits)
- FIA/REL 400: Creative Encounters: Artistic and Intellectual Expressions in Islam (3 credits)
- PSC/REL 400: Perceiving Islam: Politics, Religion and the Media (3 credits)

**Application:** The Muslim Cultures Program is offered in fall semesters only. Enrollment in the program is limited to 28 students. The application deadline is March 15. Apply online at suabroad.syr.edu.
Almost 20 years later, January 2007 is a moment of frailty: Romania is part of the European Union, but legacies of the past remain. I will still be 31 for a while and I keep asking myself questions. I wonder why it took us so long to reach a point where democratic values are at least acknowledged by the vast majority of Romanian citizens? I wonder how long it will take for my co-citizens to no longer continue to refer to periods under dictatorship as having been “better times” than the “democracy ones”?

Romania, a country that for some belongs to Southeastern Europe rather than Central Europe, suddenly found itself, in January 1990, after half a century of brutal communist political system, under a new form of political life. Due to this, it soon became obvious that the recent past still remains very much ingrained in our social behaviors. Forced to obey an oppressive system that controlled almost everything at every level within the society, the country was “voluntarily taken over” by former communist leaders, arguably as a result of their willingness to take over and their ease in handling state affairs.

The first general elections were held in May 1990 and the party that represented the former communists won. Within months, we began rioting to kick them out of power, though within half a year, through democratic elections, they were legitimated again as leaders of the newly-born democracy. Yet, in hindsight, I am now beginning to see that we, as a nation, achieved a lot. We had democratically elected the President and Parliament and with this the hopes of a new prosperous beginning for the country. Meanwhile, mostly intellectuals (students, professors from universities) and highly educated people began realizing the danger that the new political system represented for future development, and, as a result, began to again protest the system. The phenomenon, today widely known as the Piata Universitatii phenomenon, was brutally opposed by the system; it started when the President referred to the Members of Parliament as being “hooligans”, and from 13 - 15 June 1990, called miners from different industrial areas of the country to come to Bucharest and “reestablish/bring order”.

From Paris, a dramaturgy writer Nae Ionesco also referred to them as “hooligans” and associated his widely accepted reputation with the movement, together with students and academic figures from important universities from Europe and United States. The words that were internationally accepted from that point on were “Golan” for an activist against the system and “golaniada” for a movement that goes against the political system. These words were used by protesters in Minsk, Kiev and other revolutions that followed in the years after this crucial moment in modern Romanian history. But for my country, this movement represented a “hundreds-year-step-back” in history. All the advancements that we thought we had achieved from the December 1989 movement were flushed away by the brutal oppression of the freedom to protest that is a fundamental aspect of all democratic systems. But, as a social group, the miners realized their importance on the new political arena and used it every time they had something to achieve. They again reverted to rioting in the capital city, Bucharest, in 1991 and as a result the Prime Minister and the entire cabinet were changed at that moment. There have been attempts of repeating the May 1990 movement ever since through the years, most recently in 1998. What explains this? The answer lies in the legitimacy the miners received from the President, who won two consecutive mandates and stayed in power from 1990 to 1996. Despite the international affiliations that Romania succeeded in establishing (i.e. in February 1993 the country signed the first European Agreement with European Economic Community), the inability to cope with the dynamism of the European political constructions held the country back from a faster and more efficient track of its economic and political development. Fortunately, elections were held and political changes occurred, and the alternation of power did happen, but what was lost with the 1990 movement has been extremely difficult to recover. Adding to this, the social changes the transition period unwillingly caused throughout the layers of society ultimately kept my country in a very difficult position while negotiating its position within the European political system. Indeed, it took ten years, until February 2000, for the official accession negotiations with the EU to start.

On the one hand, the dynamism of the Romanian political scene has been an indication of the eagerness of the country to finally become part of the big European family. Yet, on the other hand, there is the shadow image that communism has imposed on us. If something is extremely difficult to change, it is the mentality that we should put citizens’ needs as the core of any further political action and not politicians’ desires for their private prosperity. The years that passed since the negotiation process started have shown how important the European Union really is for a country that has such a heavy communist past. Moreover, the economy started to show its real strengths with economic growth constantly rising due to the legitimacy that the negotiation process has offered and the trust of the international community was regained. This was a factor that contributed to the present situation: Romania joining the EU as of January 1, 2007.

I hope that those that stood up against the dictatorship in November 1987 eventually find their peace and will someday be able to see that what they struggled for is finally happening. In addition, I hope that my generation, many of whom remain abroad for various reasons, will see the added value that membership in the EU can bring into everyone’s life, and that, if offered the chance to be a part of the change, they do not reject it. Personally, I would not!
inequities that existed in the poorer suburbs of Paris during the riots and made promises to rectify the situation. Chirac stated, “Whatever our origins, we are all the children of the Republic, and we can all expect the same rights.” Yet, on October 1, 2006 riots again flared in one of the same Paris suburbs, forcing the question of what, if any, changes the French government had made to tackle this systemic problem.

One year after the events of London and Paris there appears to be little to no movement from thenationalgovernments of Europe to institute substantial change in their policies and programs to better integrate these disgruntled Muslims living within their borders. Yes, the UK has increased its monitoring of possible terrorist activity, however, these changes do not address the underlying issues that face Europe and their ever-increasing numbers of non-European residents that choose to turn to violent methods to convey their message. A comprehensive analysis must be performed to rectify the discontent felt by many members of the growing Muslim population in Europe and prevent European countries from experiencing further violence.

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of an international parliament, including Russia and the Ottoman Empire. According to Penn, such a political alliance would end all the wars in Europe and create stability on the continent. However, the French philosopher Abbé de Saint Pierre recommended the creation of a European League of Nations, resolutely excluding the Turks and the Russians. After the Napoleonic expansion in Europe and its defeat in 1815 in Waterloo, the meaning of Europe started gaining a historical framework. There were three groups with their own ideas about what Europe was and what it should be: the promoters of the Holy Alliance, the Liberals, and the Democrats. In the late nineteenth century, when the power of the Ottoman Empire declined and Europe advanced technologically, the commonly accepted image of the Turk as the ‘noble savage’ was replaced by the Turk as the ‘sick man of Europe’ and the ‘odd-man-out’. Yet, in 1856 the Treaty of Paris officially recognized the Ottoman Empire as a permanent participant in the European balance of power system, which was later confirmed at The Hague Conference of 1899 and the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. Looking at this narrow historical framework, we might state that Europe is an imagination, a construction whose meaning, framework and even borders changed over time as a result of varying circumstances. Within this imagination the perception of the Turk and its place in Europe has gone through various transformations. Moreover, it is remarkable that the historical confusion about the concept of Europe and the role of Turkey still exists today. In 1963, after ages of strenuous reformations, Turkey confidently knocked on the door of the EU. Ever since, not only has Turkey been struggling with its identity and the fundaments it adapted to define its future, but so too has the EU. Conservatists, right-wing groups and Christian Democrats in France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium are opposed to Turkey’s membership on cultural and religious grounds; the discussion of membership does not only entail the requirements of the acquis communautaire and geostrategic considerations. To give a few examples, Bolkestein (former EU single market commissioner) warned against the ‘Islamization of Europe’ if Turkey joins the Union, obviously referring to Ottoman rule over certain parts of Europe. On several occasions, he also argued that Europe could meet the same fate as that of Austria, referring to the battle in 1683 when the Turks approached the gates of Vienna (although were defeated due to the support of the Polish army led by King Jan III Sobieski). When talking about Turkish membership in the European Union, Wilders, a Dutch MP repeatedly states that ‘Islam and democracy are fully incompatible’. Sarkozy, interior minister of France and possible successor of President Chirac, repeatedly stated that Turkey is not European and its membership would mean the end of political Europe. Giscard D’Estaing, who shaped the European constitution, declared in 2002 that 95% of the Turkish population lives outside Europe, which makes Turkey a non-European country. Hence, we must realize that Turkish membership to the EU is not merely a technical issue. On the contrary, because of Turkey’s ambitions, the history and the future of Europe is again being reevaluated within the framework of identity-related issues.

So, what is Europe? More important, what is the yardstick that determines the future of the EU? Is it a geographical construction as emphasized by D’Estaing? Defined by whom? Is it a cultural/religious entity as favored by Bolkestein and Sarkozy? Or is it solely the political institutionalization of democracy, freedom of speech and human rights, as enshrined in the Copenhagen criteria that define Europeanness? Geographical arguments are usually confusing. We must not forget that even borders are imagined. There are no natural, pre-given borders: we drew them. Even though a sea separates mainland Europe from Great Britain, the King-

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Syracuse University’s Center for European Studies announces the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship competitions for Summer 2007 and Academic Year 2007-2008 in European Studies. The FLAS program provides tuition and stipend for SU graduate students who are US citizens or permanent residents to undertake intensive language training and area studies that complements their program of study. FLAS awards are open to SU graduate students in any program, with interests in contemporary European Studies.

Summer FLAS Fellowships may be used toward study abroad in any accredited language program at the intermediate level or above in any European language. Fellowships may provide up to $4000 for tuition with an additional $2500 stipend. Proposals for internships or dissertation research are generally not accepted unless they contain a substantial language training component. Summer Fellowships are also available to qualifying graduate students at other universities.

We anticipate awarding six Academic Year FLAS Fellowships for 2007-2008 that will provide a $15,000 stipend and up to 24 credit hours of tuition coverage shared by the Center for European Studies and the Graduate School. Preference for academic year FLAS awards may be given to those studying at the advanced level in one of the commonly taught European languages at SU (French, German, Spanish, Russian, and Italian) or at beginning or intermediate levels in the less commonly taught European languages at SU (Polish, Turkish, or Portuguese). Preference may also be given to professional program students and those who may work in public service in future. Generally, FLAS fellowships are awarded to students undertaking coursework, but may be available for dissertation writing under restrictive conditions and subject to special approval.

Fellowship Eligibility Requirements
• Must be a graduate student
• Must be a citizen, national or permanent resident of the U.S.
• Must be enrolled (or accepted for enrollment) in a program that combines modern foreign language with area studies training with professional or disciplinary study

Successful applicants will show potential for high academic achievement based on such indices as grade point average, class ranking, recommendations or similar measures that the institution may determine.

Application Deadlines
Summer 2007: February 15, 2007
Academic Year 2007-2008: March 15, 2007

Please direct all inquiries to CES Director Mitchell Orenstien, at maorenst@maxwell.syr.edu
For an application, please visit http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/euc/funding

Current FLAS Fellows: Academic Year ‘06-’07

Seven summer Foreign Language and Areas Studies (FLAS) fellows and six academic year fellows were selected in 2006 from a competitive pool of applicants: CES received more applications this year than ever before. This year’s fellows represent a wide range of disciplines including international relations, political science, history, science education, public administration, English, and religion.

Francesca Alesi (MA-IR) - Portuguese
Anna Bartosiewicz (MA-IR) - Russian
Aram Weitzman (MPA/MA-IR) - French
Eglute Johnson (MA-IR) - Russian
Erica McCarthy (MA-IR/Econ) - Russian
Duden Yegenoglu (MPA) - Italian
dom is considered European. Before Alaska was sold to the United States, it was Russian. Accordingly, what Europe geographically and culturally entails is still a dialogical process whose outcome has still not been conventionalized. It is this confusion and a certain internal struggle within the EU that constitutes one of the main problems of the interaction between the EU and Turkey. Roughly generalized, we can distinguish between three diverging self-representations of Europe and Turkey that are connected to varying historical ideas. First, there is the image of Turkey as the negative other, an idea that is promoted by European conservatives, Christian democrats and believers in the historical Holy Alliance. Commonly, this group emphasizes the Christian fundamentals of Europe and opposes every nation whose values are not rooted in Christianity. They are the contemporary Podebrads, Duke de Sullys and Piccolominis of Europe. Then there is the image of Turkey as a country that is not necessarily opposed to the European Union, but still is the ‘other’, although in a positive way. This assessment is usually carried out by cultural relativists within Europe, who favor a special cooperation without a fully accepted membership. They have concerns about the fundamentals of Turkish identity and reason that the Turkish Republic should form alliances with countries in the East, or always remain a nation that performs the role of a bridge. Some of these relativists argue that integration within Europe is more crucial than expansion. We might think of them as the present Saint Piers of Europe. Finally there is a group of certain liberals and democrats, who reflect the ideas of Crucé and Penn about the meaning of Europe and the future of Turkey. They welcome Turkish membership, arguing that Turkey would bring the true meaning of ‘unity in diversity’ to Europe and possibly prove the ‘clash of civilizations’ wrong. In conclusion, as Europe continuously (re)defined itself throughout history in relation to the Turk as the ‘other’, it has again the ability to reconstruct its meaning and realm according to its own wishes and ideas. Therefore, before Europe can imagine Turkey and tackle the question of membership, the countries that make up its construction need to identify the historical fundamentals and (re)define the present ingredients of the European concept first, and more importantly find a common stand on this definition. Although this may take a long time, it is inevitable and inevitably necessary for the future of Europe and the course of the Turkish Republic.

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UPCOMING EVENTS:
March 20 (060 Eggers, 4:00pm)
Mr. Joachim Ott, European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs DG
Topic: EU Social Policy

March 19-23
!!!Maxwell European Week!!!
See program at: www.maxwell.syr.edu/moynihan/programs/euc

April 8 (341 Eggers, 4:00pm)
Dr. David R. Cameron
Director of the Yale Program on European Union Studies, Yale University
Topic: European Constitutional Debate

Interested in joining the European student interest group?
E-mail Marius Jitea at ijitea@maxwell.syr.edu

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