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Can be Hungarian-Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan an Inclusive Frontier of Europe?¹

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Abstract: Using the Hungarian-Romanian border as a solid example, this paper will attempt to prove how borders have changed from the hard, close, exclusive border to the soft, open, inclusive frontier. We have highlighted the Hungarian and Romanian authors' scientific contributions, with a special emphasis on the members of the Debrecen-Oradea Euroregional Studies Institute (IERS), the "Jean Monnet" European Centre of Excellence, as well as on the developed joint projects. These contributions have created a certain level of expertise in the development of cross-border cooperation that could be transferred for the benefit of similar situations, arisen with the EU enlargement eastwards, such as the EU's eastern frontier on the Hungarian-Romanian-Moldovan-Ukrainian-section.

Key words: Hungarian-Romanian border, frontier, IERS, Hungarian-Romanian-Moldovan-Ukrainian, cross-border cooperation

Introduction

The paper regards Hungarian-Romanian border as an example of transformation of hard, close, exclusive frontier to soft, open, inclusive frontier. Starting with modernity, borders became symbols of rigorous delimitation of states. The contemporary times transformed the border in a unifying factor, transforming regions of border in centres of vivid life. The same transformation from exclusive to inclusive frontiers happened, in time, after 1989, with Romanian-Hungarian frontier. The present study considers the Romanian-Hungarian cooperation in the regions of border as a pattern to follow.

This process was encouraged by the close cooperation of the University of Oradea and University of Debrecen including through the creation of Debrecen – Oradea Euroregional Studies Institute and of the "Jean Monnet" Centre of Excellence, important poles in carrying out related scientific activities. The paper tries to identify the major problems debated by the specialist gathered around the Institute, points of reference in the study of development of Hungarian – Romanian cross-border cooperation. Other settlements from the regions of Romanian – Hungarian border have been analyzed, studies have been carried out in the study of economic development of the region and the competitiveness of the region and the paper underlines a few of initiatives of our Institute in developing an economy based on competitiveness, encouraging a culture of diversity and ethnopluralism.

The present study also mentions the directions of research and the ideas of the most important specialists in the problem of borders and in cross-border cooperation related aspects who published interesting studies in the framework of our institute. Such specialists are Gerard Delanty, Süli-Zakar István, Ioan Horga, Penzes János, Molnar Ernő, Mircea Brie, Țoca Constantin, Gulyás László, Sisák Erzsébet, Benedek József, Stașac Marcu, Kozma Gábor, Luminița Șoproni, Bosnyák Ildikó, Veres Lajos, Teperics Károly, Gödör Zsuzsanna, Várhelyi Tamás, Müller Anetta, Csordás László, Dávid Lóránt, Bujdosó Z., Tóth, G., Tömöri Mihály, Ambrus L. Attila, Blomquis Anders, Hofmann Martin, Tátrai Patrik, Alina Stoica, Maron Fabienne, Kundera Jaroslav, Ciocan Vasile, Nicolae Păun, Georgiana Ciceo, Griffiths, Robert T, Quispel Chris, Pop Irina, Țicu Octavian and others.

The importance of *Eurolimes*, the journal of the Debrecen – Oradea Euroregional Studies Institute is emphasized by the authors. The Journal included a variety of subjects and the authors mention the most important contributors, including the targeted and approached fields of research of *Eurolimes*. Topics of interest for the authors that published in *Eurolimes* were *Europe – an inclusive*

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frontier or the image and identity of the Frontiers of the New Europe. The achievements of the Debrecen - Oradea Euroregional Studies Institute would have been impossible without the contribution of academics that published in the publications edited by the institute mentioned in text and in the bibliography.

By these achievements, the frontier zone Oradea - Debrecen developed through local initiatives and university initiatives, the border area become a territory inhabited by Romanians and Hungarians who develop together common projects, where economy and tourism developed, a region which promotes competitiveness, where the Universities of Oradea and Debrecen try to reconstitute the history of the region and also to focus on present days achievements laying the basis of future cooperation and initiatives.

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The border has marked the rise of modernity and also the geopolitical system of nation-states. Borders are no longer dividing lines akin to the traditional notion of a frontier in the sense of a line demarcating one state from another; they have become considerably weakened and are more diffuse, often sites of overlapping communities and regions. There are some interesting examples of the border becoming a site of cosmopolitan reorientations in previously divided identities. The relevant examples that can be cited are changing cross-border relations in South Tyrol, Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Hungarian-Romanian border area (Delanty, 2007: 65-66).

The Hungarian-Romanian border, throughout the 20 years from the fall of communism and the 90 years from the Trianon Treaty, has changed its status of hard, close, exclusive border to that of soft, open, inclusive frontier. In the two decades after the events of 1989-1990 we have witnessed not only a shaping of the geographical border in terms of boosting the cross-border traffic flow or the cross-border cooperation, but also a mutation from the ethno-national mentalities to a cosmopolitan mentality. In fact, actually speaking, it is not only a revelation of a culture of cohabitation, but a rediscovery of a coexistence pattern previous to drawing national borders.

It goes without saying that the academic environment has played a major role in the entire equation of shaping up a transnational and deeply European cosmopolitan mentality. One example of the highly successful *Universitas transilimes* lies in the very close collaboration between the Universities of Debrecen and of Oradea (Nagyvarad), which took shape in numerous student and teacher exchange programs, projects, conferences, workshops, summer schools, etc. For each of the two universities their most important partner is located 60km away, which makes them a true European academic pole.

Amongst many examples of good cooperation, the project of Debrecen-Oradea Euroregional Studies Institute, the "Jean Monnet" European Centre of Excellence (www.iser.rdsor.ro) is the real icing on the cake. Born as a joint project in 2005 and funded by the Jean Monnet Action, IERS (Debrecen-Oradea Institute for Euroregional Studies) managed to bring together experts in border issues, border cooperation and regional development of the two universities, and for some time specialists not only from the two countries, but also from neighbouring areas (Moldova, Serbia, Ukraine).

The ISER action has been concentrated on two axes:

- a) Contributions to shaping the Hungarian-Romanian border into a space for knowledge, development and competitiveness
- b) Contributions referring to shaping the European borders subsequent to the latest EU enlargement

1. Contributions to shaping the Hungarian-Romanian border into a space for knowledge, development and competitiveness

Further to the Institute's semi-annual sessions, the research contributions of IERS members, and not only, took the shape of published volumes; these books approached two types of issues, both with incidence of shaping up not only the Hungarian-Romanian border area, but also other neighbouring border areas. Also, the *Eurolimes* journal (Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies), semi-annual publication has been dealing with particular aspects of the new border meaning.

As for the **regional and Euroregional development at the Hungarian-Romanian border** there has been a highlight on the role played by smaller or larger towns from within the border area in creating development poles. The towns are centres of the economic space of their counties and the value of the inner potential depends on the distance from the county-seat. (Penzes, Mollnar, 2007: 25-37). A particular attention has been paid to the role that Debrecen and Oradea can have in creating a genuine *eurometropolis* (Suli-Zakar, 2009: 144; Tomori M., 2010). The moderate opportunities of the mutual agglomerations of Debrecen and Oradea are shown by the minor potential difference of the settlements locating between the two great towns (Toca, 2009: 253-260). The role played by Oradea in the local development of some urban communities in Hungary is also to be noted. Also, between 2006 and 2007 IERS developed a joint development strategy of Debrecen and Oradea, materialized in a package of measures adopted by the two cities public administrations (Horga, I. Toca, C: 2008, pp. 73-82).

In addition to the two towns (Debrecen and Oradea) and counties (Bihar and Hajdu Bihar) seen as development engines for the Hungarian-Romanian border area, the IERS members also looked into other settlements: Satu Mare (Romania) – Szabolcs-Szatmar-Berg (Hungary) (Benedek, 2006: 371-380) or Timisoara – Szeged (Gulyás, L.; Sisák, E. 2009)

The economic dimension of the Hungarian-Romanian border area development was one of the priorities of the studies and research run within the IERS. Having the analysis of the economic potential of the most active counties at the Hungarian-Romanian border as the starting point (Penzes, Mollnar: 2007, 25-36), the IERS team carried out studies of regional planning and co-operation within different spots of the Hungarian-Romanian border (Nagy, G: 2008, pp. 167-174), together with studies of socio-economic and natural indicators of rural settlements development in the Hungarian-Romanian border area (Stasac, M, 2006: 397-402). Aspects related to the economic management of the local public authorities within the border area during post-accession (Şoproni, L., Horga, I., 2009; Kozma G., 2008), as well as the comparative analysis of social-economic-infrastructure indices in the micro-regions of the Hungarian-Romanian border counties represent scientific concerns with reference to the political decision area (Abonyiné Palotás, J., 2008)”.

Before and even after 1989, the economic growth of the counties located at the Hungarian-Romanian border was regarded as an uncertain investment by both states, as these were peripheral areas. But with the evolution of Hungary and Romania towards EU accession and their subsequent joining, the development philosophy has been greatly changing. Even to this date the two countries have failed to see a priority in developing these areas, but as the borders have changed and become much more fluid, thanks to the increasing economic exchanges between the two countries, the peripheral border areas stand a chance to development not only in connection with the general development of the two countries, but also by interaction with the neighbouring area. This paradigm shift is obvious in both the furnishing of the border space, but mostly in the development of an economy based on increasing competitiveness (Bosnyák I., 2006), where the transport network complementary element plays a fundamental role (Veres, L., 2006).

The involvement of the Institute for Euroregional Studies in developing an economy based on competitiveness has materialized in several actions. First of all, it created a partnership with the employers' associations from Bihar and Hajdu Bihar Counties and this led to the publishing of a monthly business newspaper, which aims to create partnership opportunities for joint economic projects. Second of all, IERS got involved in prospecting the labour market for recruiting and training of ITC specialised personnel for T-System/Deutsche Telekom and for Debrecen. Third of all, IERS is involved in developing analysis for training of human resources from within the area (Toca, C. 2006; Teperics, K., 2006; Teperics, K., 2007; Gödör, Z., 2008).

One of the major dimensions of a competitive economy is the tourism. From this perspective we can speak of a veritable turntable of the tourism located within Bekescsaba-Gyula-Debrecen – Hajdusobolso (in Hungary), Moneasa-Tinca-Baile Felix-Oradea – Sacuieni (Romania), areas that have the most important thermal water springs in Central and Eastern Europe. The rising spa tourism tends to become a real economic engine for the region. Romanian tourists from border counties can be found in the spa resorts from across the border just like the Hungarian tourists can be found in the Western Romanian resorts, especially those that have a mountain settlement. It is obvious that such phenomenon with diverse social and cultural forms - Romanian police and the Hungarian counterpart patrolling together the roads to and between the resorts and spas in Hungary or Romania, or

handicrafts and gastronomy festivals held on both sides of the border - could not have failed to be in focus of the ISER, as phenomenon for analysis, expertise and diagnosis for the policy makers (Várhelyi, T. ; Müller, A., 2008; Csordás, L., 2008; Dávid, L.; Bujdosó, Z.; Tóth, G., 2008). Also, the development of the shopping tourism within the Romanian-Hungarian border area is not only a result of the advantageous cross-border cooperation, but also an interesting object for analysis (Tömöri, M., 2006; Tömöri, M., 2010; Radics Zsolt; Kulcsar Balazs, Kozma Gabor, 2011). The cross-border cooperation in healthcare was the subject of a successful thesis elaborated within the ISER (Ambrus, A: 2008).

Certainly, such phenomenon of the cross-border cooperation is due to the actions of certain actors, trained, educated in this spirit, actors that acting through public institutions, economic agents, NGO's, schools and universities, have made it possible for a highly disputed border, one of the most militarized before 1989, to become a dynamic factor, both economic and social. Such a change has aroused the interest for research undertaken by the observers "far" from the local bias, research that show the Hungarian-Romanian border as a place of good practice in changing the borders in Europe (Delanty, 2007: 65-66; Banus, E., 2007: 134-136; Hinfray, N, 2006; Khonde, M.B., 2009).

The territorial marketing takes a very important place among the projects developed by IERS, designed to emphasize the cross-border investment opportunities for Hungarian-Romanian border space. Starting from the idea of a joint development strategy for Debrecen and Oradea, designed to create a pole of competitiveness with relevance within the Central European space, the Institute members have published studies and research designed to show how to carry out an efficient territorial marketing within the border areas (Komádi, M., 2006), to show how to use the cross-border cooperation and border location attributes within marketing area of expertise (Kozma, G., 2006; Soproni, L., 2006) or how to use a region brand (Transylvania) in developing the marketing within the Hungarian-Romanian border (Şoproni, L.; Popoviciu, A., Cl., 2006).

The process of creating an economically and socially dynamic area within the Hungarian-Romanian border space is based on developing a new culture of diversity. What we have here are two different concepts of diversity, one that is primarily based on multiculturalism and the rights of citizenship and one that is more ethnopluralist and is generally directly concerned with regional and ethnic autonomies. It is not clear how the current notion of diversity, as constrained as it is by national borders, is able to suggest a way forward. So my third thesis states that the Central and Eastern Europe has a long way to go in linking citizenship with diversity, while on the other hand Europe as a whole will need to move beyond the currently bifurcated conception of diversity. The problem of ethnopluralism has a direct bearing on the question of borders since much of the problem is due to the fact that many national minorities are linked to a majority population group in neighbouring countries (Delanty, G., 2007: 65). In such cases where there are contested borders, different and conflicting collective memories, minority rights relating to religion and language, political representation and so on, considerable progress has been made with respect to moving towards reconciliation and negotiation of conflict (Delanty, G., 2007: 66)

Within this context, IERS has organized debates regarding the other person's corresponding image across the border settlements where Hungarian and Romanian communities live. (Blomquist, A., 2006; Tátrai, P., 2008); the practice of intercultural dialogue in the multi-ethnic settlements of the border space (Hoffman, M., 2006; Hoffman, M., 2008; Hoffman, M., 2009); the impact of Euro-Atlantic integration of Hungary and Romania onto changing the cultural paradigm within the common border area (Zainea, I., 2006); the role of cultural and educational relations in the development of a cross-border cosmopolitan culture (Toca, C., Stoica, A., 2010; Teperics K., Czimre K., Pasztor, I. Z., 2011), the role of the border traffic in creating a new border culture (Ciocan, V., 2006).

Since within the development of cross-border cooperation in Europe there have still been disturbance factors, resulted from habit and national legislative and administrative practice, IERS has undertaken for the Hungarian-Romanian border to conduct studies and analysis of the action of the European, national and local legislations (from the two countries) in boosting this process. The impact of fiscal measures in both countries on cross-border cooperation and the trends in legislation harmonization again in both countries to boost the cross-border cooperation have been the subject of studies published under the auspices of ISER (Carmaciu, D., 2010; Ursuta, M., 2010). Further to a Phare project, CBC/2006, a compendium of law applied to cross-border cooperation was elaborated

under ISER auspices, a useful document for any entrepreneur partaking to projects and activities with Hungarian-Romanian cross-border characteristics.

The implication of ISER in scientific, research and development projects at the Hungarian-Romanian border comes to actually prove how a long term exclusive border has been turning into an inclusive border. A discontinuous border has become a true borderland, a strong development core in a region located on the outskirts of Hungary and Romania.

2. Contributions referring to shaping the European borders subsequent to the latest EU enlargement

The enlargement of the European Union towards Eastern Europe gave the European Borders a new dimension, i.e. a promoter of peace. This was possible because the Eastern border of Europe was integrated into an agreed and mutually accepted agreement (Pfetsch, F.R, 2007: 18). According to Etienne Balibar, Europe is a borderland (Balibar, 2004). Jacques Rupnik speaks not only about Europe's frontiers, but also about the new frontiers "inside Europe" (Rupnik, 2003; Rupnik, 2007). Thomas Christiansen writes about fluid frontiers (Christiansen and all, 2000). Olli Rehn considers that the notion *next frontier* is more suitable than *border* for testing ground for the EU soft power (Rehn, 2006).

Based on these findings, in 2005 IERS launched the *Eurotimes* journal, a journal that would express the new paradigm of the EU borders, post-enlargement to CEEC (2004-2007). It is interesting that I had the same idea (Horga, I., 2006) without any prior contact between us that far, with the paradigm stated by Kalypso Nicolaidis in 2003 (Nicolaidis, K., 2003) and resumed in 2007, when he writes that *Eurotimes* is "un paradigme qui lie l'integration a l'interieur et a l'exterieur, les liens intercultureles, interethniques et interclasses tisses au sein de l'Union d'aujourd'hui et les liens inter-Etats tisses avec ses nouveaux membres potentiels" (Nicolaidis, 2007: 287).

Our journal aims at presenting the way in which the changing in the meaning of internal frontiers takes place as it has been seen evolving from the national perspective towards the community one; and the way in which the meaning of the EU's external frontier changes from an exclusive community perspective to a flexible inclusive one. The balance between open frontiers and closed frontiers (Delanty, 2006), confirming the borders – transcending the borders (Dimitrovova, 2007), intercultural dialogue and the impact of media (La Brosse, 2007; Malovic, 2007), the role of media in changing the meaning of borders (Horga: 2003; 2007), interethnic relations (Soproni, 2006; Follrichova & Rouet, 2007), interreligious relations (Bazin, 2007), across border social relations are terms used in the first three issues of our journal (*Eurotimes*, 2006/1-2; 2007/3) and will also be used in the following ones.

In its five years of existence, *Eurotimes* has become a debate gallery on shaping the Eastern and South-Eastern borders of the EU towards turning them into bridges or cores of cooperation and development. Concrete results have been published with respect to cooperation at the Hungarian-Romanian-Slovakian-Ukrainian or Romanian-Moldovan-Ukrainian: cross-border cooperation mechanisms and European Neighbourhood Policy; transport and infrastructure; the role played by minorities in developing the cross-border cooperation; the role of education in developing the intercultural dialogue at the EU Eastern borders.

We followed these steps under the circumstances in which the greatest part of the papers deal with the changing in the meaning of frontiers between the new EU member states. This change proves to us that the researchers, mainly those from the newly integrated countries, but not only them, are more interested in a pragmatic perspective than in a cosmopolitan one.

Europe – an Inclusive Frontier is the direction promoted by *Eurotimes* in its debates. The European frontiers are not mere geographical space and peoples living on both sides of the borders, but they refer to a much larger context including migrants, refugees, transnational communities (Nicolaidis, 2007: 287).

The concept of borderlands with respect to current developments in European societies, especially in the context of the recent enlargement of the EU and the changing nature of borders with a view towards offering an assessment of the notion of a post-western Europe was developed by G. Delanty (Delanty, G., 2006; Delanty, G., 2007). The new assessment is of the periphery, periphery that can be seen as a zone of re-bordering. Within such periphery the relation between the inside and the

outside is complex and ambivalent; while often taking exclusionary forms, this is a relation that can also be viewed as the site of cosmopolitan forms of negotiation (Bideleux, R., 2006).

Under the umbrella of rethinking the European frontiers (Maron, F., 2007), *Eurolimes* has fostered various debates within the context of enlargement.

The accession of the East- Central European countries to the Euro zone was another subject presented in the *Eurolimes* (Kundera, J., 2007). The statistical analysis indicates that only few countries have fulfilled the convergence criteria distinguished under the Maastricht Treaty which doubted the usefulness of applying the named criteria to countries undergoing transformation. In the author's view, the benefits for the PECO countries subsequent to their partaking to the Euro zone will be greater than the economic costs. The entire publishing space of the journal was given to the effect of economic crisis on the European economic frontiers (*Eurolimes*: 2009).

The human trafficking in Eastern and South Eastern Europe is an important subject in the IERS debates (Ciocan, V., (2006; Gavrilă, M., 2007; Szabolcs, M., 2010). Trafficking victims often miss critical opportunities for social, moral and spiritual development. In many cases, the exploitation of the victims is progressive, a child trafficked into one form of labour may be further abused in another (Gemie, S., 2010). The countries are requested to strengthen their border control in order to prevent and detect human trafficking. Establishing and maintaining direct channels of communication should strengthen cooperation among border control agencies. It also means close cooperation between different national actors, e.g. the Police, prosecutors, NGO's and others, with border control authorities.

The **Image and Identity of the Frontiers of the New Europe** is another subject discussed within IERS. We can notice the contradictory images of perceiving frontiers: from the process of relativized frontiers towards the idea of bringing frontiers under discussion in the context of globalization (Duna, D., 2009); from the opening of the East and Central Europe to the depreciation of the concept of frontiers and sovereignty up to the west countries' temptations to close borders both to the immigrants and to the countries that would like to accede to the EU (Rupnik , 2007: 304). The changing in perceiving frontiers in the transformational context during the last decade in Europe (Tavares-Ribeiro, 2003) and accepting these changes have become important ideas in the enlarged Europe.

Fabienne Maron considers that the effects of 2004 and 2007 enlargement combined with the raising mobility, the old and new migrations, the important exchanges with the rest of the world through commerce, education, travelling, globalization have increased the interaction between cultures, religions and the languages inside and outside Europe (Maron, F. 2007; Ištvánfóyá, Z., 2009)

In this multicultural European society and in its enlarged space permanently changing, the role of media and intercultural dialog is of a great importance both for keeping the Union's cultural diversity and for enforcing its cohesion by promoting the respect for the common values (Chabanna, M., 2009; Silași, G.; Dogaru, Al., 2009). Media and dialogue also give Europe the possibility to make connections with neighbouring countries (Horga, I. 2007; La Brosse, R. de, 2007; Malovic, S., 2007). In this situation, the frontier becomes borderline, in a positive sense, because it gives the possibility to share values, ideas and projects (Rezsohazy, R., 2007).

The intercultural dialogue has its roots in recognizing the differences and multiplicity of the world we are living in (Pinheiro, T., 2008). These differences in opinions, points of view, or values can be identified both inside the culture itself, and between different cultures. The intercultural dialog considers these differences by trying to understand the other and it opens an interaction aiming at sharing ideas and values (Marga, A., 2009) It also encourages us to define our own cultural frontiers and suggests to communicate beyond these frontiers or place them under question. Borders can be political, economic, cultural, etc. but they can also be linguistic (Horga, I., Brie, M., 2010). As all kinds of borders, language borders are dynamic and they highly depend on political border shifts (Climent – Ferrando, V.; Ugalde, E. G., 2006).

The "political reality" borders can turn into "cultural reality" borders. The element of "otherness" stands as a defining element: the other is he who lives on the other side of the border - not to speak about the problem when the "other" is living within the own community, the problem of the minorities, people belonging to the same political community, but unified by a different cultural code (Antes, P., 2008; Banus, E., 2007; Contogeorgis, G. 2008). Physical borders are mentally assumed as

cultural borders. These mental borders can divide the world into closed cultures. The mental borders try to separate in an absolute way the own culture from the culture of the "other" (Banus, 2006: 202).

IERS has entered the debate regarding the new signification of the EU Eastern frontiers in the context of a new approach to the principle of subsidiarity by the Lisbon Treaty (Horga, I., 2010), not only from a theoretical perspective, but also specifically addressing a part of the EU Eastern border space, located within the immediate proximity: the Romanian-Hungarian-Ukrainian border (Mytryayeva, S., 2008) or Romanian-Moldovan-Ukrainian border (Dandis, N., 2009). Another special attention is paid to the dimension of the cross-border cooperation in the economic, social and cultural areas: attracting investment with special legal regime of economic activity in border regions between Ukraine and the EU (Yehorova, Ol., 2009); construction of intercity railway passenger traffic between Hungary and Ukraine (Sebestyén, E., 2008); complex rural development, habitat rehabilitation and ecotourism in the Hungarian–Romanian–Ukrainian triple border region (Raffay, Z., 2010); tourist-territorial development program in the Hungarian, Romanian Ukrainian border (Radics, Z., 2008; Ilies, Al., Drugaș, D., 2006; Sturza, A., 2006; Țoca, C., Popoviciu, A., 2010); educational cooperation along the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian border (Teperics, K., 2007).

The points of view expressed by the authors in the articles published by *Eurolimes* and the IERS organized conference books prove that the perspectives upon the future of Europe cannot be foreseen without taking into account the identity and the frontier dimension, because Europe is a mainly open society. The present day European crisis has raised the problem of the frontiers (Geremek, 2007:21). The successive accessions have overrun the internal separations (Tavares-Ribeiro, 2004) and have broken the mental blocking of how the geographical horizon of European integration is perceived. During this process, the European frontiers are defined in terms of Geography, axiology and political will. For example, the accession conditions from Copenhagen establish the European frontiers by referring to the fundamental values accepted by the countries that decided to be part of the EU (Păun, N., Ciceo, G., 2010; Pop, I., 2009). It is important to mention that these values do not push Europe to closure after each wave of accession, because contemporary processes and phenomena - mondialization and interdependent markets - stop this danger (Bauman, 2004).

The contents of the current issue make clear the idea that Europe does not want to become a state defined by certain frontiers. The existing images of a crisis, as well as certain doubts, are a part of the European construction process. The solutions to these problems are to be found both in the process of deepening the internal reform of EU, of defining the European citizenship through an inclusive process, by reconciling the historical memory, by harmonizing the developing pattern based on competition with the social pattern, by accepting the role of immigration in the European society. On the other hand, the solutions must be found in building a common memory and in accepting diversity as dimension of a dynamic deontological code in which the notion of frontier has the meaning of dialog rather than of dispute.

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